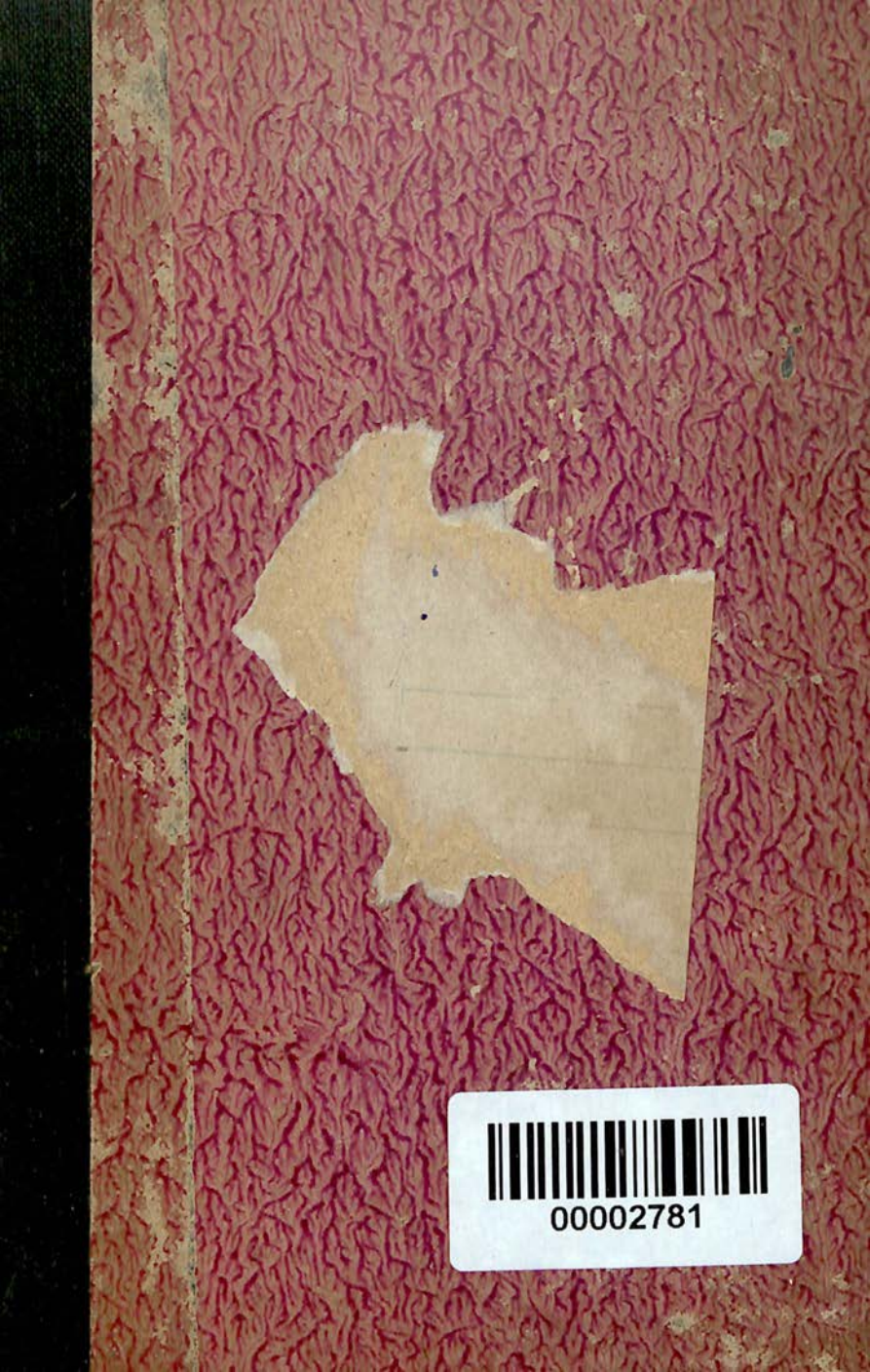
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THE

HISTORY OF THE JEWS

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BY

HENRY HART MILMAN, D.D.

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THE

HISTORY OF THE JEWS.

BOOK I.

THE PATRIARCHAL AGE.

Prefatory Remarks—Life of Abraham—Isaac—Jacob—Progress of Civilisation—Observations on the Patriarchal History.

THE Jews, without reference to their religious belief, are among the most remarkable people in the annals of mankind. Sprung from one stock, they pass the infancy of their nation in a state of servitude in a foreign country, where, nevertheless, they increase so rapidly, as to appear on a sudden the fierce and irresistible conquerors of their native valleys in Palestine. There they settle down under a form of government and code of laws totally unlike those of any other rude or civilised community. They sustain a long and doubtful conflict, sometimes enslaved, sometimes victorious, with the neighbouring tribes. At length, united under one monarchy, they gradually rise to the rank of a powerful, opulent, and commercial people. Subsequently, weakened by internal discord, they are overwhelmed by the vast monarchies which arose on the banks of the Euphrates, and transplanted into a foreign region. They are partially restored, by the generosity or policy of the Eastern sovereigns, to their native land. They are engaged in wars of the most romantic gallantry in assertion of their independence, against the Syro-Grecian successors of Alexander. Under Herod, they rise to a second era of splendour, as a dependent kingdom of Rome: finally, they make the last desperate resistance to the universal dominion of the Cæsars. Scattered from that period over the face of the earth—hated, scorned, and oppressed, they subsist, a numerous and often a thriving people; and in all the changes of manners and opinions retain their ancient institutions, their

national character, and their indelible hope of restoration to grandeur and happiness in their native land. Thus the history of this, perhaps the only unmingled, race, which can boast of high antiquity, leads us through every gradation of society, and brings us into contact with almost every nation which commands our interest in the ancient world; the migratory pastoral population of Asia; Egypt, the mysterious parent of arts, science, and legislation; the Arabian Desert; the Hebrew theocracy under the form of a federative agricultural republic; their kingdom powerful in war and splendid in peace; Babylon, in its magnificence and downfall; Grecian arts and luxury endeavouring to force an unnatural refinement within the pale of the rigid Mosaic institutions; Roman arms waging an exterminating war with the independence even of the smallest states; it descends, at length, to all the changes in the social state of the modern European and Asiatic nations.

The religious history of this people is no less singular. In the narrow slip of land inhabited by their tribes the worship of one Almighty Creator of the Universe subsists, as in its only sanctuary. In every stage of society, under the personal tent of Abraham, and in the sumptuous temple of Solomon, the same creed maintains its inviolable simplicity. During their long intercourse with foreign nations in Egypt and Babylon, though the primitive habits and character of the Hebrew nation were greatly modified, and perhaps some theological notions engrafted on their original tenets, this primary distinction still remains; after several periods of almost total apostasy, it revives in all its vigour. Nor is this merely a sublime speculative tenet, it is the basis of their civil constitution, and of their national character. As there is but one Almighty God, so there is but one people under his especial protection, the descendants of Abraham. Hence their civil and religious history are inseparable. The God of the chosen people is their temporal as well as spiritual sovereign; he is not merely their legislator, but also the administrator of their laws. Their land is his gift, held from him, as from a feudal liege-lord, on certain conditions. He is their leader in war, their counsellor in peace. Their happiness or adversity, national as well as individual, depends solely and immediately on their maintenance or neglect of the divine institutions. Such was the common popular religion of the Jews, as it appears in all their records, in their law, their history, their poetry, and their moral philosophy. Hence, to the mere speculative inquirer, the study of the human race presents no phenomenon so singular as the character of this extraordinary people; to the Christian, no chapter in the history of mankind can be more instructive or important, than that which contains the rise, progress, and downfall of his religious ancestors.

Abraham, the Father of the Faithful, holds an eminent place in all Oriental tradition, not only among the Jews, but likewise among the Persians, Arabians, and perhaps the Indians. It is difficult to say how far these legends may have been propagated by the Mahometan conquests, for our knowledge of the history and literature of Eastern nations, anterior to the Hegira, is still limited and unsatisfactory. The Arabian accounts of Abraham, adopted into the Koran, are no doubt much older than Mahomet; but whether they were primitive traditions, or embellishments of their authentic history, originating among the Jews themselves, is a question perhaps impossible to decide. The simplicity of the narrative in the Book of Genesis affords a remarkable contrast to the lofty pretensions which the patriarch assumes in these legends, as the teacher not merely of religious truth, but of science, arithmetic, mathematics, and astronomy, to the Egyptians. Abram was the son of Terah, the head of a pastoral family, consisting of three sons, Abram, Nahor, and Haran. Haran, probably the eldest, died early, leaving a son named Lot; Abram was married to Sarah, daughter of Terah by another wife; Nahor married Milcah, a daughter of Haran. Their native place was Ur, a district to the north-east of that region which lies above the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates, and became afterwards the seat of the great Babylonian monarchy. About Ur the country is open, dry, and barren, well suited for pasture, but not for tillage. In the spacious and level plains of Chaldea, where the nights are delightfully cool and serene, a pastoral people would naturally be led to contemplate the heavenly bodies with peculiar attention. To this country the first rudiments of astronomy are generally ascribed, and here the earliest form of idolatry, the worship of the host of heaven, usually called Tsabaism, began to spread. The Arabian traditions suppose that a farther step had been already taken, and represent Terah, the father of Abram, as a maker of images, called from his name Teraphim. Other legends attribute to this period the origin of fire-worship. But whatever the system or systems of religion, in whatever manner he acquired his purer notions of the Deity, Abram stood alone in a tribe and family of idolaters, as the worshipper of the one great Creator.* According to the usage of nomadic tribes,

* The most pleasing of the traditionary fictions is the following:—"As Abraham was walking by night from the grotto where he was born, to the city of Babylon, he gazed on the stars of heaven, and among them on the beautiful planet Venus. 'Behold,' said he within himself, 'the God and Lord of the Universe!' but the star set and disappeared, and Abraham felt that the Lord of the Universe could not thus be liable to change. Shortly after he beheld the moon at the full: 'Lo,' he cried, 'the Divine Creator, the manifest Deity!' but the moon sank below the horizon, and Abraham made

the family of Terah broke up from their settlement at Ur, and migrated to Carrhan, a flat barren region lying west of Ur, and celebrated in later history for the defeat of Marcus Crassus, near Carrhæ. After a residence of some years in Carrhan, the pastoral horde divided, and Abram set forth to establish an independent tribe in a remote region. Lot, the son of his brother Haran, followed his fortunes. Nahor remained with Terah his father, the hereditary chieftain of the settlement in Carrhan. This separation of Abraham, as the single stock from which a new tribe was to trace its unmingled descent, is ascribed to the express command of God. Already while in Ur, Abraham had received some communication from the Deity; to his departure into Canaan he was incited by a direct promise, the most splendid which could be offered to the ambition of the head of a nomadic tribe, in which numbers constitute power and wealth: His seed was to become hereafter a great nation. A more obscure and mysterious intimation was added, that some part of his future race should exercise a most important influence on the destinies of mankind. The family of Abram, already grown into a petty clan, moved with all their flocks and slaves across the Euphrates; according to a tradition preserved by Justin and by an ancient author quoted in Josephus, dwelt some time near Damascus, and arriving at length in Palestine, settled first at Sechem, a valley between the mountains Ebal and Gerizim; then in a hilly region to the north of Jericho, afterwards called the Desert of Quarantania. As the pastures were exhausted, the tribe moved southward, till a famine again drove them forth, and Egypt, probably the earliest, certainly the most productive, corn-country of the ancient world, became, as at a later period, the only place of refuge.

Except as showing that the valley of the Nile was already occupied by an industrious agricultural population, the visit of Abram throws little light on the existing state of Egypt. The monarch seems to have lived in considerable state, and possessed a numerous seraglio, which was supplied by any means, however lawless or violent. This was so notorious, that Abram, though an independent Sheik or Emir, if his fair-complexioned Mesopotamian wife should excite the cupidity of the swarthy Egyptians, might apprehend the worst consequences. He ran the risk, not only of losing his wife, but of being murdered for the sake of so valuable a prize. He took the precau-

the same reflection as at the setting of the evening star. All the rest of the night he passed in profound rumination; at sunrise he stood before the gates of Babylon, and saw the whole people prostrate in adoration. 'Wondrous orb,' he exclaimed, 'thou surely art the Creator and Ruler of all nature! but thou, too, hastest like the rest to thy setting!—neither then art thou my Creator, my Lord, or my God!'"

tion, therefore, to make Sarai assume the name of his sister, (she was in fact his father's daughter, though not by the same mother,) perhaps hoping that, if sought in legitimate marriage, he might protract the espousals till the famine would permit him to make his escape from the country. The event justified his apprehensions; Sarai was seized and transferred to the harem of the sovereign, who was so proud of his acquisition as to make magnificent presents to Abram, intended, it may seem, as a dowry for his sister. In a short time a pestilence broke out in the royal family: the king, having discovered the relationship between Abram and Sarai, attributed the visitation to the God of the stranger, who thus revenged his breach of hospitality. Abram received back his wife, and returned to Canaan loaded with possessions suited to his habits of life—"*sheep and oxen, and he asses, and men servants, and maid servants, and she asses and camels,*" a curious picture of the wealth of a pastoral chieftain. In Canaan, Abram is described, as not merely rich in these simpler commodities, but in silver and gold, obtained, probably, in exchange for the produce of his flocks and herds, from the settled native population of the towns. Abram first re-occupied his former encampment, near the site where Bethel subsequently stood, and offered sacrifice for his safe return from Egypt, on an altar which he had before built on one of the adjacent heights. There the pastures proving insufficient for the great stock of cattle which the tribe possessed, disputes arose between the herdsmen of Abram and Lot. The chieftains, dreading lest the native clans should take advantage of their divisions, and expel or plunder both, agreed to part amicably, and thenceforth inhabit independent settlements. Lot departed eastward into the rich and blooming valley of the Jordan, then abounding in flourishing towns. This separation still farther secured the unmingled descent of the Abrahamitic family; and the Almighty renewed the promise of a race, countless as the dust of the earth, the future possessors of Palestine, which Abram was commanded to survey from its northern to its southern, its eastern to its western extremities, as the inalienable patrimony of his descendants. In pursuance of this command, Abram again moved his encampment, and the tents of his tribe were pitched in the southern plain of Mamre. But the more fertile district which had attracted the choice of Lot, exposed him to perpetual dangers. The rich valley of the Jordan was invaded by a confederacy of the kingdoms on the Euphrates and Tigris, headed by Cedor-Laomer, king of Elam (Elymais). His subordinate allies were Amraphel, king of Shinaar (the Babylonian plain), Arioch, king of Ellasar (perhaps Thelassar), and Tidal, king of Nations. Whether a considerable monarchy had already grown up on the banks of

the Tigris, or whether this was a league of several small predatory tribes, does not appear from the Hebrew annalist. The independent princes in the valley of the Jordan, the kings of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Tseboim, and Tsoar, submitted to pay tribute. Thirteen years after, they endeavoured to throw off the yoke; but Cedor-Laomer advanced into the country, subdued all the neighbouring tribes, some of whom were of gigantic stature, and at last joined battle with the princes of the Jordan, in the vale of Siddim. There the ground was broken with deep pits and fissures caused by the bituminous nature of the soil; the troops of the five confederates were routed, two of the kings fell among the pits, the rest of the army dispersed, and Lot, among others, was seized as a captive. A fugitive brought the intelligence to Abram, who hastily collected three hundred and eighteen of his own clan, called some of the neighbouring tribes to his assistance, and pursued the enemy to a place near the fountains of the Jordan. He fell on their camp by night, dispersed them, rescued Lot, with the rest of the prisoners, and recovered the booty. This defeat, by so small a force, is thought to give but a mean notion of the strength of the invading army, yet among undisciplined troops of different nations, the panic from an unexpected night attack is often so great, that the inference can scarcely be considered decisive. This bold exploit ensured the admiration and gratitude of all the native chieftains. The king of Salem (by some thought to be Jerusalem, by others a town near Scythopolis, where a ruin, called Melchizedeck's palace, was shown in the time of Jerom) met him at a place called the King's Vale (sometimes identified with the valley of Jehoshaphat). Melchi-Zedech, the King of Justice, (such was his honourable title,) united in his own person, like the monarchs of the heroic ages in Greece and Rome, and indeed of most among the early Oriental tribes, the office of king and priest. Like Abram he worshipped the one Great God, in whose name he blessed the deliverer of his country from foreign invaders, and refreshed his troops with bread and wine. On his part, Abram, according to general custom, consecrated a tenth part of the spoil to their common Deity by Melchizedeck, whose priesthood he thus recognised. As he rivalled Melchizedeck in piety, so Abram equalled the king of Sodom in generosity; he refused to retain any part of the spoil, not so much as a shoe-latchet, he only reserved a portion for the young native sheiks, Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre, who had joined him in his expedition. But the pious conqueror returned to a childless tent and a barren wife. The name, the chieftainship, of his clan, would pass away into the line of a stranger, Eliezer of Damascus, who held the next rank in the tribe. Yet the divine promise was repeatedly renewed, and under the most striking

circumstances. One night as Abram gazed on the cloudless heavens, the Celestial Voice commanded him to count the stars of the firmament, for even so numerous should be his descendants. The aged and childless man yielded up his soul to perfect reliance on his Almighty Benefactor. The promise was further ratified by a covenant, transacted in the primitive form of federal compact, which subsisted among various nations to a late period. A sacrifice was offered, the victims exactly divided, and the contracting parties passed between the two halves, which lay opposite to each other. Abram offered an heifer of three years old, a she goat of three years old, a ram of three years old, a turtle dove, and a young pigeon. These he divided, except the birds, and sat watching till the evening, lest the fowls of prey should stoop upon them. As the sun declined, a deep sleep fell upon him, and more than common darkness spread around. A voice announced the fate of his posterity, their servitude of four centuries in a foreign land, their return, their possession of the whole territory from the Euphrates to the sea. As the sun set, the symbol of the Deity, a cloud of smoke like that of a furnace, a flashing fire like that of a lamp, passed between the severed victims, and thus solemnly ratified the covenant. Still the tent of Abram resounded not with the welcome cry of infancy. At length Sarai, despairing of issue from her own body, had recourse to a custom still known in the East, particularly in China. The chief or lawful wife substitutes a slave in her own place: the children born in this manner have the rank and privilege of legitimacy, and are considered in every respect as the offspring of the mistress of the establishment. In this manner Hagar, an Egyptian slave, bore a son to Abram: he was named Ishmael. Fourteen years after, when Abram was a hundred, Sarah ninety years old, a new revelation from the Divinity announced the surprising intelligence that Sarah herself was to bear a son. There is something singularly beautiful in the attachment of Abram to the first child, who had awakened the parental feeling in his bosom. He would fain transfer the blessing to Ishmael, and is reluctant to sacrifice the earliest object of his pride and joy to the unborn son of Sarah. But the race of Abram is to be beyond every possible impeachment on its legitimacy; Abram is commanded to assume the mysterious name of Abraham (the father of a multitude), as the ancestor of a great and numerous people, who were to descend from Sarah, and become lords of all Palestine. The tribe were to be distinguished by the rite of circumcision, perhaps before, certainly afterwards, common to many people of the East; a rite of great utility, as conducing, in southern climates, both to health and cleanliness.

During this time Abraham had occupied his former encamp-

ment near Hebron. Here, as he sat in the door of his tent, three mysterious strangers appeared. Abraham, with true Arabian hospitality, received and entertained them. The chief of the three renewed the promise of a son to be born from Sarah, a promise which the aged woman received with laughter. As they pass forth towards the valley of the Jordan, the same Divine Being, for so he manifestly appears to be, announces the dreadful ruin impending over the licentious cities among which Lot had taken up his abode. No passage, even in the sacred writings, exhibits a more exalted notion of the Divinity, than that in which Abraham is permitted to expostulate on the apparent injustice of involving the innocent in the ruin of the guilty. "Shall the city perish (he successively asks) if fifty, if forty-five, if forty, if thirty, if twenty, if ten righteous men be found within its walls?" "Ten righteous men shall avert its doom." Such was the promise of the Celestial Visitant—but the guilt was universal, the ruin inevitable. The horrible outrage attempted against the two inferior of these preternatural beings, who descended to the city; the violation of the sacred laws of hospitality and nature, which Lot, in his horror, attempted to avert by the most revolting expedient—confirmed the justice of the Divine sentence.

The valley of the Jordan, in which the cities of Sodom, Gomorrah, Adma, and Tseboim, were situated, was rich and highly cultivated. It is most probable that the river then flowed in a deep and uninterrupted channel down a regular descent, and discharged itself into the eastern gulf of the Red Sea. The cities stood on a soil broken and undermined with veins of bitumen and sulphur. These inflammable substances, set on fire by lightning, caused a tremendous convulsion; the water-courses, both the river and the canals by which the land was extensively irrigated, burst their banks; the cities, the walls of which were perhaps built from the combustible materials of the soil, were entirely swallowed up by the fiery inundation; and the whole valley, which had been compared to Paradise, and to the well-watered corn fields of the Nile, became a dead and fetid lake. The traditions of the country, reported by Strabo, Tacitus, and other ancient writers, kept alive the remembrance of this awful catastrophe. In the account of the latter, the number of cities destroyed is magnified to thirteen. The whole region is described by modern travellers as a scene of gloomy desolation, precipitous crags hanging over dull and heavy waters—not indeed, as the local superstitions have asserted, devoid of life, for the lake abounds in fish, nor fatal to the birds which fly over it—but the specific gravity of the water is so great, that those who cannot swim, float on the top; and it is bitterly salt to the taste. Unwholesome fogs hang

perpetually over the lake, and the stagnant surface is broken by clots of asphaltus, which are constantly bubbling up from the bottom. A distinguished modern geographer * thus describes the present indications of the physical agency by which Divine Providence brought about this memorable destruction :—"The valley of the Jordan offers many traces of volcanoes: the bituminous and sulphurous water of Lake Asphaltites, the lavas and pumice thrown out on its banks, and the warm baths of Tabarieh, show that this valley has been the theatre of a fire not yet extinguished. Volumes of smoke are often observed to escape from Lake Asphaltites, and new crevices are found on its margin."

Lot, warned of the impending ruin, fled with his daughters. His wife, in contempt of repeated warnings, lingering behind, was suffocated by the sulphureous vapours, and her body encrusted with the saline particles which filled the atmosphere †. Later tradition, founded on a literal interpretation of the Mosaic account, pointed to a heap or column of salt, which bore perhaps some resemblance to a human form, and was believed, even by the historian Josephus, who had seen it, to be the pillar into which she was transformed. Lot fled first to Zoar, near the end of the present lake, then into the mountains. The tribes of Ammon and Moab, famous in the Jewish history, were derived from an incestuous connexion into which he was betrayed by his daughters, who, according to Josephus, supposing themselves and their father the only surviving remnant of mankind, the rest having perished in the recent catastrophe, did not scruple to violate the laws of nature.

While these rival tribes were thus born of incest, amid all the horrors of convulsed nature, the legitimate parent of the numerous offspring promised to Abraham is at length born. He is named Isaac, from the laughter of Sarah when the birth was announced. But now the jealous apprehensions of the mother are directed against Hagar and her child. Usage, stronger than written law, gives to the chief wife in the tent of wandering pastoral people unlimited authority over her female slaves. Hagar had already been exposed to the jealousy of Sarah when, previous to the birth of Ishmael, she had been treated with such harshness as to fly into the wilderness, whence she had returned by the direction of an angel. Sarah now insists, and Abraham, receiving a divine intimation as to the destiny of the elder born, complies with her demand, that Hagar

* Malte Brun.

† The view of this and the preceding transaction is chiefly taken from two learned dissertations of Le Clerc. The author finds, on reference, that the authorities quoted by the learned editors of the "Family Bible," on this and many similar points, concur with his own.

and Ishmael should be sent forth, to seek their fortune in some of the unoccupied and uncultivated districts which lay around. The supply of provisions which they carried from the tent of Abraham soon failed, and the mother and the youth wandered into a district which was destitute of water. History or poetry scarcely presents us with any passage which surpasses in simple pathos the description of Hagar, not daring to look upon her child, while he is perishing with thirst before her face. *And she went and sat her down over against him a good way off, as it were a bow-shot; for she said, Let me not see the death of the child. And she sat over against him, and lift up her voice and wept.* But Ishmael likewise was to become the father of a great people; by divine interposition Hagar discovered a well, the water restored them to life. Ishmael either joined some horde of Arabs, or maintained himself in independence by his bow, till his mother obtained him an Egyptian wife. The wandering Arabs to this day, by general traditions adopted into the Koran, trace their descent to the outcast son of Abraham. "The wild man whose hand is against every man, and every man's hand against him," still waylays the traveller by the fountain, or sweeps his rapid troop of horse across the track of the wealthy caravan.

The faith of Abraham was to pass through a more trying ordeal. He is suddenly commanded to cut off that life on which all the splendid promises of the Almighty seem to depend. He obeys, and sets forth with his unsuspecting child to offer the fatal sacrifice on Mount Moriah. The immolation of human victims, particularly of the most precious, the favourite, the first-born child, appears as a common usage among many early nations, more especially the tribes by which Abraham was surrounded. It was the distinguishing rite among the worshippers of Moloch; at a later period of the Jewish history, it was practised by a king of Moab; it was undoubtedly derived by the Carthaginians from their Phœnician ancestors on the shores of Syria. The offering of Isaac bears no resemblance either in its nature, or what may be termed its moral purport, to these horrid rites. Where it was an ordinary usage, as in the worship of Moloch, it was in unison with the character of the religion, and of the deity. It was the last act of a dark and sanguinary superstition, which rose by regular gradation to this complete triumph over human nature. The god who was propitiated by these offerings, had been satiated with more cheap and vulgar victims; he had been glutted to the full with human suffering and with human blood. In general it was the final mark of the subjugation of the national mind to an inhuman and domineering priesthood. But the Hebrew religion held human sacrifices in abhorrence; the God of the Abrahamitic family, uniformly beneficent, imposed no duties which entailed human suffering, demanded no offerings

which were repugnant to the better feelings of our nature. Where, on the other hand, these filial sacrifices were of rare and extraordinary occurrence, they were either to expiate some dreadful guilt, to avert the imminent vengeance of the offended deity, or to extort his blessing on some important enterprise. But the offering of Isaac was neither piacular nor propitiatory; Abraham had committed no guilt, and apprehended no danger; the immolation of his only son seemed for ever to deprive him of that blessing which was nearest to his heart, the parentage of a numerous and powerful tribe. It was a simple act of unhesitating obedience to the divine command; the last proof of perfect reliance on the certain accomplishment of the divine promises. Isaac, so miraculously bestowed, could be as miraculously restored; Abraham, such is the comment of the Christian Apostle, *believed that God could even raise him up from the dead.* Still while the great example of primitive piety appears no less willing to offer the most precious victim on the altar of his God, than the idolaters around him, the God of the Hebrews maintains his benign and beneficent character. After everything is prepared, the wood of the altar laid, even the sacrificial knife uplifted, the arm of the father is arrested; a single ram, entangled by his horns in a thicket, is substituted, and Abraham called the name of the place, Jehovah Jireh, the Lord will provide. Near this same spot, eighteen centuries after, Jesus Christ was offered, the victim, as the Christian world has almost universally believed, "provided by the Lord"—inexplicable, if undesigned, coincidence! This last trial of his faith thus passed, the promise of the Divine blessing was renewed to Abraham in still more express and vivid terms. His seed were to be numerous as the stars of heaven, and as the sands of the sea-shore; their enemies were to fall before them; and the whole world was to receive some remote and mysterious blessing through the channel of this favoured race.

After this epoch the incidents in the life of Abraham are less important, yet still characteristic of the age and the state of society. He lived on terms of amity with the native princes, particularly with Abimelek, the king of Gerar, on whose territories his encampment at one time bordered. With Abimelek an adventure took place, so similar in its circumstances with the seizure and restoration of Sarah in Egypt, as almost to excite a suspicion that it is a traditional variation of the same transaction, more particularly as it is unquestionably related out of its place in the Mosaic narrative, and again repeated in the life of Isaac. Abimelek permitted the stranger sheik to pitch his tent and pasture his flocks and herds in any part of his domains. The only dispute related to the valuable possession of a well, and this was prudently and amicably arranged.

The death of Sarah gave occasion for another friendly treaty with the native princes. Every independent tribe has its separate place of burial: the family union continues in the grave. The patriarch or parent of the tribe has the place of honour in the common cemetery, which is usually hewn out of the rock, sometimes into spacious chambers, supported by pillars and with alcoves in the sides where the coffins are deposited. Each successive generation, according to the common expression, is *gathered to their fathers*. On Abraham's demand for permission to purchase a place of sepulture, the chiefs of the tribe of Heth assemble to debate the weighty question. The first resolution is to offer the rich and popular stranger the unusual privilege of interring his dead in their national sepulchres. As this might be misconstrued into a formal union between the clans, Abraham declines the hospitable offer. He even refuses as a gift, and insists on purchasing, for four hundred pieces of silver, a field named Machpelah, surrounded by trees, in which stood a rock well suited for sepulchral excavation. Here, unmingled with those of any foreign tribe, his own remains, and those of Sarah, are to repose.

In another important instance the isolation of the Abrahamitic family, and its pure descent from the original Mesopotamian stock is carefully kept up. The wife of Isaac is sought not among their Canaanitish neighbours, but among his father's kindred in Carrhan. At a later period the same feeling of attachment to the primitive tribe, and aversion from mingling with the idolatrous Canaanites, is shown in the condemnation of Esau, for taking his wives from the inhabitants of the country, *which were a grief of mind unto Isaac and to Rebekah*, while Jacob is sent to seek a wife in the old Mesopotamian settlement. So completely does the seclusion and separation of Abraham and his descendants run through the whole history. Abraham solemnly adjures his most faithful servant whom he despatches to Carrhan on this matrimonial mission for his son, to discharge his embassage with fidelity. Having sworn by the singular ceremony of placing his hand under his master's thigh, a custom of which the origin is unknown, the servant sets off with his camels, and arrives in safety near the old encampment of the tribe. At the usual place of meeting, the well, he encounters Rebekah, the beautiful daughter of Bethuel, the son of Abraham's brother Nahor. The courteous maiden assists him in watering his camels; her relations receive him with equal hospitality. The intelligence of Abraham's wealth, confirmed by the presents of gold and jewels which he produced, make them consent with alacrity to the betrothing of the damsel to the son of Abraham. The messenger and Rebekah reach in safety the encampment of Abraham; and Isaac when he hears

the sound of the returning camels beholds a fair maiden modestly veiled, whom he conducts and puts in possession of the tent of his mother Sarah, that which belonged to the chief wife of the head of the tribe.

After the death of Sarah, Abraham took another wife, Keturah, by whom he had many children. Isaac, however, continued his sole heir, the rest were sent away into the east country; their descendants are frequently recognised among the people noticed in the Jewish annals, but always as aliens from the stock of Abraham. At length the Patriarch died, and was buried in Machpelah, by Ishmael and Isaac, who met in perfect amity to perform the last duty to the head and father of their tribes.

Such is the history of their great ancestor, preserved in the national records of the Jewish people, remarkable for its simplicity and historic truth, when compared with the mythic or poetic traditions of almost all other countries. The genealogies of most nations, particularly the eastern, are lost among their gods; it is impossible to define where fable ceases and history begins; and the earlier we ascend the more indistinct and marvellous the narrative. In the Hebrew record it is precisely the converse, God and man are separated by a wide and impassable interval—Abraham is the Emir of a pastoral tribe, migrating from place to place, his stations marked with geographical accuracy, and with a picturesque simplicity of local description; here he pitches his tent by some old and celebrated tree, there on the brink of a well-known fountain. He is in no respect superior to his age or country, excepting in the sublime purity of his religion. He is neither demi-god nor mighty conqueror, nor even sage, nor inventor of useful arts. His distinction is the worship of the One Great God, and the intercourse which he is permitted to hold with this mysterious Being. This is the great patrimonial glory which he bequeaths to his descendants; their title to be considered the chosen people of the Almighty, is their inalienable hereditary possession. This is the key to their whole history, the basis of their political institutions, the vital principle of their national character.

The life of Isaac was far less eventful, nor is it necessary for the right understanding of the Jewish history, to relate its incidents so much at length as those of the great progenitor of the Jewish people. At first, the divine promise of a numerous posterity proceeds very slowly towards its accomplishment. After some years of barrenness Rebekah bears twins, already before their birth seeming to struggle for superiority, as the heads and representatives of two hostile people. They were as opposite in their disposition as in their way of life. The red-haired Esau was a wild hunter, and acquired the fierce and

reckless character which belongs to the ruder state of society to which he reverted; Jacob retained the comparative gentleness of the more thoughtful and regular pastoral occupation. It is curious to observe the superior fitness in the habits and disposition of the younger, Jacob, to become the parent of an united and settled people. Though the Edomites, the descendants of Esau, ranked in civilisation far above the marauding Bedouins, who sprung from Ishmael; though Esau himself possessed at a later period considerable wealth in flocks and herds, yet the scattered clans of the Edomites, at perpetual war with each other and with their neighbours, living, according to the expression of the sacred writer, by the sword, retain as it were the stamp of the parental character, and seem less adapted to the severe discipline of the Mosaic institutions, or to become a nation of peaceful husbandmen. The precarious life of the hunter soon laid him at the mercy of his more prudent or rather crafty brother. After a day of unsuccessful hunting, Esau sold his right of primogeniture for a mess of herbs. The privilege of the first-born seems to have consisted in the acknowledged headship of the tribe, to which the office of priest and sacrificer was inseparably attached. Esau, therefore, thus carelessly threw away both his civil and religious inheritance, and abandoned all title to the promises made to his tribe.

Whether the parental blessing was supposed of itself to confer or to confirm the right of primogeniture, it is not quite clear; but the terms in which it was conveyed by Isaac, "Be lord over thy brethren, and let thy mother's sons bow down before thee," seem to intimate a regular investiture with the supreme authority, as head of the tribe. This blessing, couched in these emphatic words, which Isaac evidently doubted his power to retract, was intercepted, with the assistance of his mother, by the subtle and unscrupulous Jacob. These repeated injuries roused the spirit of revenge in the indignant hunter; he only waits the decease of his father that he may recover his rights by the death of his rival. But Rebecca anticipates the crime. Jacob is sent to the original birthplace of the tribe, partly to secure him from the impending danger, partly that, avoiding all connexion with the Canaanites, he may intermarry only with the descendants of his forefathers. On his way to Mesopotamia, the promise made to Abraham is renewed in that singular vision — so expressively symbolical of the universal providence of God — the flight of steps uniting earth and heaven, with the ministering angels perpetually ascending and descending. In commemoration of this vision, Jacob sets up a sort of primitive monument—a pillar of stone. The adventures of Jacob among his nomadic ancestors present a most curious and characteristic view of their simple manners and usages. His meeting with

Rachel at the well; the hospitality of Laban to his sister's son; his agreement to serve seven years* to obtain Rachel in marriage; the public ceremony of espousals in the presence of the tribe; the stratagem of Laban to substitute his elder for his younger and fairer daughter, in order to bind the enamoured stranger to seven years' longer service; the little jealousies of the sisters, not on account of the greater share in their husband's affections, but their own fertility; the substitution of their respective handmaids; the contest in cunning and subtlety between Laban and Jacob, the former endeavouring to defraud the other of his due wages, and at the same time to retain so useful a servant, under whom his flocks had so long prospered—the latter, apparently, by his superior acquaintance with the habits of the animals which he tended, and with the divine sanction, securing all the stronger and more flourishing part of the flocks for his own portion; the flight of Jacob, not as so rich a resident ought to have been dismissed, *with mirth and with songs, with tabret and with harp;* Laban's religious awe of one so manifestly under the divine protection; Rachel's purloining and concealment of her father's Teraphim; above all, their singular treaty, in which Laban at length consents to the final separation of this great family, with which he had expected to increase the power and opulence of his tribe:—all these incidents throw us back into a state of society different not merely from modern usages, but from those which prevailed among the Jews after their return from Egypt. The truth and reality of the picture is not more apparent than its appropriate locality in the regions which it describes:—it is neither Egyptian nor Palestinian, nor even Arabian, life; it breathes the free air of the wide and open plains of inland Asia, where the primitive inhabitants are spreading, without opposition or impediment, with their flocks, and herds, and camels, over unbounded and unoccupied regions.

Isaac, in the mean time, had continued to dwell as a husbandman, towards the southern border of the promised land. Early in life he had begun to cultivate the soil, which amply repaid his labours. He seems to have been superior to the native population in one most useful art, not improbably learned by his

* "I once met with a young man who had served eight years for his food only; at the end of that period he obtained in marriage the daughter of his master, for whom he would otherwise have had to pay seven or eight hundred piastres. When I saw him he had been married three years; but he bitterly complained of his father-in-law, who continued to require of him the performance of the most servile offices, without paying him anything; and that prevented him from setting up for himself and family."—*Burckhardt's Travels in Syria*, p. 297. This was in the Haouran, the district south-east of Damascus.

father in Egypt, that of sinking wells. The manner in which the native herdsmen drove him from place to place as soon as he had enriched it with that possession, so invaluable in an arid soil, indicates want of skill, or at least, of success, in providing for themselves. Perhaps it was as much by ignorant neglect as by wanton malice, that the Philistines suffered those formerly sunk by Abraham to fall into decay and become filled with earth.

Jacob had crossed the Jordan with nothing but the staff which he carried in his hand; he returned with immense wealth in cattle, flocks, asses, and camels, male and female slaves; and with the more inestimable treasure of eleven sons, born to him in Mesopotamia. But before he could venture to return to his father, he must appease the resentment of his injured brother. Upon the borders of the land of Canaan, at a place called Mahanaim (from a vision of angels seen there), he sends messengers to announce his approach as far as Seir, a district extending from the foot of the Dead Sea. There Esau was already established as the chieftain of a powerful tribe, for he sets forth to meet his brother at the head of 400 men. The peaceful company of Jacob are full of apprehension; he sends forward a splendid present of 200 she goats, 20 he goats, 200 ewes and twenty rams, 30 milch camels, with their colts, 40 kine, 10 bulls, 20 she asses and 10 foals; he likewise takes the precaution of dividing his company into two parts, in order that if one shall be attacked the other may escape. Having made these arrangements, he sends his family over a brook, called the Jabbok, which lay before him. In the night he is comforted by another symbolic vision, in which he supposes himself wrestling with a mysterious being, from whom he extorts a blessing, and is commanded from thenceforth to assume the name of Israel (the prevailing): for, having prevailed against God, so his race are to prevail against men.* Yet he does not entirely relax his caution: as he and his family advance to meet the dreaded Esau, the handmaids and their children are put foremost; then Leah with hers; last of all, as with the best chance of escape, should any treachery be intended, the favourite Rachel and her single child Joseph. But the hunter, though violent, was nevertheless frank, generous, and forgiving. While Jacob approaches with signs of reverence, perhaps of apprehension, *Esau ran to meet him, and embraced him and fell*

* An awful respect for the divine nature induces us to adopt, with some learned writers, the notion, that this contest took place in a dream, as Josephus says, with a fantasm. It should be added, that, whether real or visionary, Jacob bore an outward mark or memorial of this conflict, in the withering of the back sinew of the thigh. His descendants abstained till the time of Moses, and still abstain, from that part of every animal slain for food.

on his neck, and kissed him, and they wept. At first he refuses the offered present, but at length accepts it as a pledge of fraternal amity, and proposes that they should set forward together and unite their encampments. The cautious Jacob, still apprehensive of future misunderstandings, alleges the natural excuse, that his party, encumbered with their cattle, their wives and children, must travel more slowly than the expeditious troop of the Edomites; and immediately on his brother's departure, instead of following him to Seir, turns off towards the Jordan; encamps first at Succoth, then crosses the Jordan, and settles near Shalem. Here he purchases a field of the inhabitants, and resides in security, until a feud with the princes of the country drives him forth to seek a safer encampment. Sechem, the son of Hamor, the great chieftain of the tribes which occupied that part of Canaan, violated Dinah, the daughter of Jacob.

In all Arabian tribes, the brother is most deeply wounded by an outrage on the chastity of the females, (a part of Spanish manners, no doubt inherited from their Arabian ancestry;) on him devolves the duty of exacting vengeance for the indignity offered to the tribe or family. Simeon and Levi, without consulting their father, take up the quarrel. Sechem offers to marry the damsel; his father and his people, not averse to an union with the wealthy strangers, consent to submit to circumcision, as the condition of the marriage, and as a pledge to the solemn union of the clans. While they are disabled from resistance, by the consequences of the operation, Simeon and Levi, with their followers, fall on the city, put the inhabitants to the sword, and pillage the whole territory. The sense of this act of cruelty to his allies, and disregard to his own authority, sank deep into the heart of the peaceful Jacob. In his last vision, Simeon and Levi are reprobated as violent and blood-thirsty men, and, as if this dangerous disposition had descended upon their posterity, they are punished, or rather prevented from bringing ruin upon the whole race, by receiving a smaller and a divided portion of the promised land. Jacob retreated to Luz, where he had formerly parted from his brother Esau. Here the family was solemnly dedicated to God; all the superstitious practices which they had brought from Mesopotamia were forbidden; the little images of the tutelar deities, even the earrings, probably considered as amulets or talismans, were taken away and buried. On the other hand, the magnificent promise, repeatedly made to Abraham and Isaac, was once more renewed to Jacob. An altar was raised, and the place called Beth-el, the House of God. From Luz, Jacob removed to Ephrath or Bethlehem, the birthplace of Jesus Christ. There his favourite wife Rachel died in childbed, having given birth to his youngest son, called by the expiring mother Ben-oni, the

child of her sorrow, by the father Ben-jamin, the son of his right hand. Having raised a sepulchral pillar over her remains, he sets forth to a new settlement near the tower of Edar, the site of which is unknown. Here his domestic peace was disturbed by another crime, the violation of his concubine, Billah, by Reuben, his eldest son. At length he rejoins his father, Isaac, in the plain of Mamre, where the old man dies, and is honourably buried by his two sons. But from henceforward the two branches of Isaac's family were entirely separated. The country about Mount Seir became the permanent residence of the Edomites, who were governed first by independent sheiks or princes, afterwards were united under one monarchy. Jacob continued to dwell in Canaan, with his powerful family and ample possessions, until dissensions among his sons prepared the way for more important changes, which seemed to break for ever the connexion between the race of Abraham and the land of Canaan, but ended in establishing them as the sole possessors of the whole territory.

Here then let us pause, and, before we follow the family of Jacob into a country where the government and usages of the people were so totally different, look back on the state of society described in the Patriarchal History. Mankind appears in its infancy, gradually extending its occupancy over regions, either entirely unappropriated, or as yet so recently and thinly peopled, as to admit, without resistance, the new swarms of settlers which seem to spread from the birthplace of the human race, the plains of Central Asia. They are peaceful pastoral nomads, travelling on their camels, the ass the only other beast of burthen; the horse appears to have been unknown—fortunately, perhaps, for themselves and their neighbours—for the possession of that animal seems fatal to habits of peace. The nomads who are horsemen are almost always marauders. The power of sweeping rapidly over a wide district, and retreating as speedily, offers irresistible temptation to a people of roaming and unsettled habits. But the unenterprising shepherds, from whom the Hebrew tribe descended, move onward as their convenience or necessity require, or as richer pastures attract their notice. Wherever they settle, they sink wells, and thus render unpeopled districts habitable. It is still more curious to observe how the progress of improvement is incidentally betrayed in the summary account of the ancient record. Abraham finds no impediment to his settling wherever fertile pastures invite him to pitch his camp. It is only a place of burial in which he thinks of securing a proprietary right; Jacob, on the contrary, purchases a field to pitch his tent. When Abraham is exposed to famine, he appears to have had no means of supply, but to go down himself to Egypt. In the time of Jacob a regular

traffic in corn existed between the two countries, and caravansaries were established on the way. Trading caravans had likewise begun to traverse the Arabian deserts, with the spices and other products of the East, and with slaves, which they imported into Egypt. Among the simpler nomads of Mesopotamia, wages in money were unknown; among the richer Phœnician tribes, gold and silver were already current. It has been the opinion of some learned men that Abraham paid the money for his bargain by weight, Jacob in pieces, rudely coined or stamped. When Abraham receives the celestial strangers, with true Arabian hospitality he kills the calf with his own hands, but has nothing more generous to offer than the Scythian beverage of milk; yet the more civilised native tribes seem, by the offering of Melchizedek, to have had wine at their command. Isaac, become more wealthy, and having commenced the tillage of the soil, had acquired a taste for savoury meats, and had wine for his ordinary use. The tillage of Isaac bespeaks the richness of a virgin soil, as yet unbroken by the plough—it returned an hundred for one. These primitive societies were constituted in the most simple and inartificial manner. The parental authority, and that of the head of the tribe, was supreme and without appeal. Esau so far respects even his blind and feeble father, as to postpone the gratification of his revenge till the death of Isaac. Afterwards, the brothers who conspire against Joseph, though some of them had already dipped their hands in blood, dare not perpetrate their crime openly. When they return from Egypt to fetch Benjamin, in order to redeem one of their company, left in apparent danger of his life, they are obliged to obtain the consent of Jacob, and do not think of carrying him off by force. Reuben, indeed, leaves his own sons as hostages, under an express covenant that they are to be put to death if he does not bring Benjamin back. The father seems to have possessed the power of transferring the right of primogeniture to a younger son. This was perhaps the effect of Isaac's blessing; Jacob seems to have done the same, and disinherited the three elder sons of Leah. The desire of offspring, and the pride of becoming the ancestor of a great people, with the attendant disgrace of barrenness, however in some degree common to human nature, and not unknown in thickly peopled countries, yet as the one predominant and absorbing passion (for such it is in the patriarchal history) belongs more properly to a period when the earth still offered ample room for each tribe to extend its boundaries without encroaching on the possessions of its neighbour.

These incidents, in themselves trifling, are not without interest, both as illustrative of human manners, and as tending to show that the record from which they are drawn was itself

derived from cotemporary traditions, which it has represented with scrupulous fidelity. Even the characters of the different personages are singularly in unison with the state of society described. There is the hunter, the migratory herdsman, and the incipient husbandman. The quiet and easy Isaac adapts himself to the more fixed and sedentary occupation of tillage. Esau the hunter is reckless, daring, and improvident; Jacob the herdsman, cautious, observant, subtle, and timid. Esau excels in one great virtue of uncivilised life, bravery; Jacob in another, which is not less highly appreciated, craft. Even in Abraham we do not find that nice and lofty sense of veracity which distinguishes a state of society where the point of honour has acquired great influence. It is singular that this accurate delineation of primitive manners, and the discrimination of individual character in each successive patriarch, with all the imperfections and vices, as well of the social state as of the particular disposition, although so conclusive an evidence to the honesty of the narrative, has caused the greatest perplexity to many pious minds, and as great triumph to the adversaries of revealed religion. The object of this work is strictly historical, not theological; yet a few observations may be ventured on this point, considering its important bearing on the manner in which Jewish history ought to be written and read. Some will not read the most ancient and curious history in the world, because it is in the Bible; others read it in the Bible with a kind of pious awe, which prevents them from comprehending its real spirit. The latter look on the distinguished characters in the Mosaic annals as a kind of sacred beings, scarcely allied to human nature. Their intercourse with the Divinity invests them with a mysterious sanctity, which is expected to extend to all their actions. Hence when they find the same passions at work, the ordinary feelings and vices of human nature prevalent both among the ancestors of the chosen people, and the chosen people themselves, they are confounded and distressed. Writers unfriendly to revealed religion, starting with the same notion, that the Mosaic narrative is uniformly exemplary, not historical, have enlarged with malicious triumph on the delinquencies of the patriarchs and their descendants. Perplexity and triumph surely equally groundless! Had the avowed design of the intercourse of God with the patriarchs been their own unimpeachable perfection; had that of the Jewish polity been the establishment of a divine Utopia, advanced to premature civilisation, and overleaping at once those centuries of slow improvement, through which the rest of mankind were to pass, then it might have been difficult to give a reasonable account of the manifest failure. So far from this being the case, an ulterior purpose is evident throughout. The patriarchs and

of many colours. The envy of his brethren was still farther excited by two dreams seen by Joseph, which, in the frankness of his disposition, he took no pains to conceal. In one, the brothers were binding sheaves of corn, (a proof that they were advancing in the cultivation of the soil,) the sheaves of the brothers bent, and did homage to that of Joseph. In the other, the sun and the moon and eleven stars seemed to make obeisance to Joseph. Each of these successive visions intimated his future superiority over all the family of Israel. One day, when Joseph had set forth to the place where his brothers were accustomed to feed their flocks, they returned to their father's tent without him, bearing that very dress, on which Jacob had so often gazed with pleasure, steeped in blood. The agony of the old man cannot be described with such pathetic simplicity as in the language of the Sacred Volume,—*He refused to be comforted, and he said, I will go down into the grave with my son mourning.* But before he went down to the grave he was to behold his son under far different circumstances. His brothers, at first, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Reuben, the eldest born, a man of more mild and generous disposition, had determined on putting their hated rival to death. With this intention they had let him down into a pit, probably an old disused well. A caravan of Arabian traders happening to pass by, they acceded to the more merciful and advantageous proposition of Judah to sell him as a slave. Though these merchants were laden only with spicery, balm, and myrrh, commodities in great request in Egypt, all of them being used in embalming the dead, they were sure of a market for such a slave as Joseph, and in that degraded and miserable character he arrived in Egypt. But the Divine Providence watched, even in the land of the stranger, over the heir to the promises made to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The slave rose with a rapidity surprising, though by no means unparalleled in eastern kingdoms, to be the all-powerful vizier of the king of Egypt. He was first bought by Potiphar, a chief officer of the king, the captain of the guard, by whom he was speedily promoted to the care of the whole household. The entire confidence of his master in the prudence and integrity of the servant is described in these singular terms,—*He left all that he had in Joseph's hand, and he knew not aught he had, save the bread which he did eat.* The virtue of Joseph in other respects was equal to his integrity, but not so well rewarded. Falsely accused by the arts of his master's wife, whose criminal advances he had repelled, he was thrown into prison. The dungeon opens a way to still farther advancement. Wherever he is, he secures esteem and confidence. Like his former master, the keeper of the prison entrusts the whole of his responsible duties to the charge of Joseph. But the chief cause of his rapid rise to fortune and

dignity is his skill in the interpretation of dreams. Among his fellow-prisoners were the chief cup-bearer and chief purveyor of the king. Each of these men was perplexed by an extraordinary vision. The interpretation of Joseph was justified by the fate of both; one, as he predicted, was restored to his honours, the other suffered an ignominious death. Through the report of the former, the fame of Joseph, in a character so important among a superstitious people, reached the palace, and when the king himself was in the same manner disturbed with visions which baffled the professed diviners of the country, Joseph was summoned from the prison. The dreams of the king, according to the exposition of Joseph, under the symbolic forms of seven fat and fleshy kine followed by seven lean and withered ones, seven good ears of corn by seven parched and blasted with the east wind, prefigured seven years of unexampled plenty, to be succeeded by seven of unexampled dearth. The advice of Joseph being demanded how to provide against the impending calamity, he recommends that a fifth part of the produce during the seven abundant years shall be laid up in granaries built for the purpose. The wisdom of this measure was apparent; and who so fit to carry such plans into effect as he whose prudence had suggested them? Joseph, therefore, is at once installed in the dignity of chief minister over the whole of this great and flourishing kingdom.

The information we obtain from the Mosaic narrative, concerning the state and constitution of Egypt during this period, is both valuable in itself, and agrees strictly with all the knowledge which we acquire from other sources. Egypt had long been the great corn country of the ancient world, now in a high state of cultivation, but dependent for its fertility on the overflow of the river on whose banks it lay. Should the annual increase of the Nile be interrupted, the whole valley would remain a barren and unvegetating waste. The cause of the long period of famine is nowhere indicated, but it was by no means a local calamity, it extended to all the adjacent countries. A long and general drought, which would burn up the herbage of all the pastoral districts of Asia, might likewise diminish that accumulation of waters which, at its regular period, pours down the channel of the Nile. The waters are collected in the greatest part from the drainage of all the high levels in that region of central Africa, where the tropical rains, about the summer solstice, fall with incessant violence. But whatever might be its cause, Egypt escaped the famine which pressed so severely on other countries, only through the prudent administration of Joseph. It is necessary, however, before we describe the policy which he adopted, or the settlement of the family of Israel in this country, to give some insight into the state of the Egyptian

government and people; for without this we shall neither be able to comprehend the transactions which relate to the Israelites in Egypt, nor the degree of originality to be assigned to the Mosaic institutions. Egypt, before this period, had enjoyed many centuries of civilisation, most likely of opulence and splendour. Whether she had already reared her vast and mysterious pyramids, commenced the colossal temples of Ipsambul and Thebes, or excavated those wonderful subterraneous sepulchral palaces for her dead kings, cannot at present be decided with certainty. But of her singular constitution we have distinct indications in the Mosaic narrative. The people were divided into castes, like those of India, as they exist to the present day, and as they formerly prevailed among many other oriental nations. At the head of these castes stood that of the priesthood. From this order the king was usually selected; if one of the warriors, the next class in rank, should attain to that eminence, he was always installed and enrolled in the superior order. The priestly caste, in rank and power, stood far above the rest of the people. In each Nome or district (if indeed these divisions were of so early a date) stood a temple and a sacerdotal college. In them one third of the whole land of the country was inalienably vested. The priests were not merely the ministers of religion, they were the hereditary conservators of knowledge. They were the public astronomers, by whom all the agricultural labours of the people were regulated; the public geometricians, whose service was indispensable, since the Nile annually obliterated the landmarks of the country; in their hieroglyphical characters the public events were recorded; they were the physicians; in short, to them belonged the whole patrimony of science, which was inseparably bound up with their religion. The political powers of this hereditary aristocracy were unbounded; they engrossed apparently both the legislative and judicial functions; they were the framers, the conservators, the expounders of the laws. As interpreter of dreams, Joseph, no doubt, intruded into the province of this all-powerful caste, and the king, not improbably with a view to disarm their jealousy, married his new vizier to the daughter of the Priest of the Sun, who dwelled in On, called afterwards by the Greeks Heliopolis (the City of the Sun). Moreover, in the great political measure of Joseph, of resumption of all the lands into the hands of the crown, the sacred property of the priests was exempted from the operation of the law, and the whole class supported, during the famine, at the royal charge. The next caste in dignity was that of the warriors, called by Herodotus, Hermotybïes or Kalasyries. The lower classes of the people constituted the rest of the orders; according to Herodotus five, to Diodorus three more. The latter reckons husbandmen, artisans, and shepherds; Herodotus, shepherds,

swineherds, manufacturers and shopkeepers, interpreters, and mariners, that is, the boatmen of the Nile. The boundaries of these castes were unalterably fixed, the son held for ever the same rank, and pursued the same occupation with his father. The profession of a shepherd, probably the lowest of these castes, was held in particular discredit. "Every shepherd was an abomination to the Egyptians." Several reasons have been assigned for this remarkable fact. A German writer of great ability supposes, that when the first civilisers of Egypt, whom, from reasons, which every accession to our knowledge of ancient Egypt seems to confirm, he derives from Ethiopia, directed the attention of the people to tillage, for which the country was so admirably adapted, in order to wean the rude people from their nomadic habits, they studiously degraded the shepherds into a sort of Pariah caste. Another and a more general opinion derives this hostility to the name of shepherd from a recent and most important event in the Egyptian history. While Egypt was rapidly advancing in splendour and prosperity, a fierce and barbarous Asiatic horde burst suddenly upon her fruitful provinces, destroyed her temples, massacred her priests, and having subdued the whole of Lower Egypt, established a dynasty of six successive kings. These Hyksos, or royal shepherds, with their savage clans, afterwards expelled by the victorious Egyptians, Monsieur Champollion* thinks, with apparent reason, that he recognises on many of the ancient monuments. A people with red hair, blue eyes, and covered only with an undressed hide loosely wrapped over them, are painted, sometimes struggling in deadly warfare with the natives, more usually in attitudes of the lowest degradation which the scorn and hatred of their conquerors could invent. They lie prostrate under the footstools of the kings, in the attitude described in the book of Joshua, where the rulers actually set their feet on the necks of the captive monarchs.† The common people appear to have taken pride in having the figures of these detested enemies wrought on the soles of their sandals, that they might be thus perpetually trampled on: even the dead carried this memorial of their hatred into the grave; the same figures are painted on the lower wrappers of the mummies, accompanied with similar marks of abhorrence and contempt. It would be difficult to find a more apt illustration of the phrase in the book of Genesis, "every shepherd was an abomination unto the Egyptians." Several other incidents in the Mosaic history seem to confirm the opinion, that these invaders had been expelled, and that but recently, before the period of Joseph's administration.

The seven years of unexampled plenty passed away exactly

* Lettre à Mons. de Blacas, p. 57.

† Joshua x. 24.

as the interpreter of the royal dreams had foretold. During all this time, Joseph regularly exacted a fifth of the produce which was stored up in granaries established by the government. The famine soon began to press heavily, not merely on Egypt, but on all the adjacent countries: among the first who came to purchase corn appeared the ten sons of Jacob. It is no easy task to treat, after the Jewish historian, the transactions which took place between Joseph and his family. The relation in the book of Genesis is, perhaps, the most exquisite model of the manner in which history, without elevating its tone or departing from its plain and unadorned veracity, assumes the language and spirit of the most touching poetry. The cold and rhetorical paraphrase of Josephus, sometimes a writer of great vigour and simplicity, enforces the prudence of adhering as closely as possible to the language of the original record. The brothers are at first received with sternness and asperity, charged with being spies come to observe the undefended state of the country. This accusation, though not seriously intended, in some degree confirms the notion that the Egyptians had recently suffered, and therefore constantly apprehended, foreign invasion. They are thrown into prison for three days, and released on condition of proving the truth of their story, by bringing their younger brother Benjamin with them. Their own danger brings up before their minds the recollection of their crime. They express to one another their deep remorse for the supposed murder of their elder brother, little thinking that Joseph, who had conversed with them through an interpreter, (perhaps of the caste mentioned by Herodotus,) understood every word they said. *And Joseph turned about from them and wept.* Simeon being left as a hostage, the brothers are dismissed, but on their way they are surprised and alarmed to find their money returned. The suspicious Jacob will not at first entrust his youngest and best-beloved child to their care; but their present supply of corn being consumed, they have no alternative between starvation and their return to Egypt. Jacob reluctantly, and with many fond admonitions, commits the surviving child of Rachel to their protection. On their arrival in Egypt they are better received, the Vizier inquires anxiously about the health of their father *Is your father alive, the old man of whom ye spake, is he yet alive?* The sight of his own uterine brother, Benjamin, overpowers him with emotion. He said, *God be gracious unto thee, my son; and Joseph made haste, for his bowels did yearn upon his brother; and he sought where to weep, and he entered into his chamber and wept there.* They are feasted, (and here again we find a genuine trait of Egyptian manners,) Joseph must not eat at the same table with these shepherd strangers. Benjamin is peculiarly distinguished

by a larger portion of meat. The brothers are once more dismissed, but are now pursued and apprehended on a charge of secreting a silver cup, which had been concealed in the sack of Benjamin, and at length the great minister of the king of Egypt makes himself known as the brother whom they had sold as a slave. *Then Joseph could not refrain himself before all them that stood by him; and he cried, Cause every man to go out from me; and there stood no man with him, while Joseph made himself known unto his brethren. And he wept aloud, and the Egyptians and the house of Pharaoh heard. And Joseph said unto his brethren, Come near to me, I pray you. And they came near. And he said, I am Joseph; doth my father yet live? And his brethren could not answer him, for they were troubled at his presence. And Joseph said unto his brethren, Come near to me, I pray you. And they came near. And he said, I am Joseph, your brother, whom ye sold into Egypt. Now therefore be not grieved, nor angry with yourselves that ye sold me hither: for God did send me before you to preserve life; and he hath made me a father to Pharaoh, and lord of all his house, and a ruler throughout all the land of Egypt.* He sends them, with great store of provisions, and with an equipage of waggons to transport their father and all their family into Egypt, for five years of the famine had still to elapse. His last striking admonition is, *See that ye fall not out by the way.* When they arrive in Canaan, and tell their aged father, *Joseph is yet alive, and he is governor over all the land of Egypt, Jacob's heart fainted, for he believed them not.* Convinced at length of the surprising change of fortune, he says, *It is enough; Joseph my son is yet alive: I will go and see him before I die.*

Thus all the legitimate descendants of Abraham with their families, amounting in number to seventy, migrate into Egypt. The high credit of Joseph insures them a friendly reception, and the fertile district of Goshen, the best pasture land of Egypt, is assigned by the munificent sovereign for their residence. But if the deadly hostility borne by the native Egyptians to foreign shepherds really originated in the cause which has been indicated above, the magnanimity of Joseph in not disclaiming his connexion with a race in such low esteem, and his influence in obtaining them such hospitable reception, must not escape our notice. Their establishment in Goshen coincides in a remarkable manner with this theory. The last strong hold of the shepherd kings was the city of Abaris. Abaris must have been situated either within or closely bordering upon the district of Goshen. The expulsion of the shepherds would leave the tract unoccupied, and open for the settlement of another pastoral people. Goshen itself was likewise called Rameses, a word ingeniously explained by Jablonski, as meaning the land

of shepherds, and contained all the low, and sometimes marshy, meadows which lie on the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, and extend very considerably to the south. Here, says Maillet, the grass grows to the height of a man, and so thick that an ox may browse a whole day lying on the ground.

Joseph pursued the system of his government with consummate vigour and prudence. His measures, however calculated to raise the royal authority, seem to have been highly popular with all classes of the nation. It is difficult precisely to understand the views or the consequences of the total revolution in the tenure of property, which he effected. During the first years of the dearth, all the money of the country found its way into the royal treasury; in a short time after, all the inhabitants hastened to part with their stock; and at length were glad to purchase subsistence at the price of their lands: thus the whole territory, except that of the priests, was vested in the crown. Whether the common people had any landed property before this period; and whether that triple division of the lands, one-third to the king, for the expenses of the court and government, one-third to the priests, and the other third to the military class, existed previous to this epoch, we have no means of ascertaining. The Mosaic history seems to infer that the body of the people were the possessors of the soil. If, however, the state of property, described above from Diodorus, was anterior to this period, the financial operation of Joseph consisted in the resumption of the crown lands from the tenants, with the reletting of the whole on one plain and uniform system, and the acquisition of that of the military. In either case, the terms on which the whole was relet, with the reservation of one-fifth to the royal exchequer, seem liberal and advantageous to the cultivator, especially if we compare them with the exactions to which the peasantry in the despotic countries of the East, or the miserable Fellahs who now cultivate the banks of the Nile, are exposed. Another part of Joseph's policy is still more difficult clearly to comprehend, his removing the people into the cities. This has been supposed by some an arbitrary measure, in order to break the ties of attachment, in the former possessors, to their native farms; by others, a wise scheme, intended to civilise the rude peasantry. A passage in Belzoni's Travels may throw some light on the transaction. He describes the condition of the poor cultivators in Upper Egypt, as wretched and dangerous. Their single tenements or villages are built but just above the ordinary high-water mark, and are only protected by a few wattles. If the Nile rises beyond its usual level, dwellings, cattle, and even the inhabitants are swept away. The measure of Joseph may have been merely intended to secure the improvident peasantry against these common, but fatal accidents.

Among the fertile pastures of Goshen, enjoying undisturbed plenty and prosperity, the sons of Jacob began to increase with great, but by no means incredible, rapidity. The prolific soil of Egypt not merely increases the fertility of vegetable and animal life, but that of the human race likewise. This fact is noticed by many ancient writers, particularly Aristotle, who states that women in Egypt sometimes produce three, four, or even seven at a birth! Early marriages, polygamy, the longer duration of life, abundance and cheapness of provisions, would tend, under the divine blessing, still further to promote the population of this flourishing district. At the end of 17 years, Jacob died, aged 147. Before his death he bestowed his last blessing on Joseph, and solemnly adjured him to transfer his remains to the cemetery of the Tribe in Canaan. The history of his life terminates with a splendid poetical prophecy, describing the character of his sons, and the possessions they were to occupy in the partition of the promised land. This poem was no doubt treasured up with the most religious care among the traditions of the tribes. One curious point proves its antiquity. The most splendid destiny is awarded to Judah and the sons of Joseph, but Jacob had never forgotten the barbarity of Simeon and Levi. These two families are condemned to the same inferior and degraded lot, as divided and scattered among their brethren. Yet how different their fate! The tribe of Levi attained the highest rank among their brethren: scattered indeed they were, but in stations of the first distinction; while the feeble tribe of Simeon soon dwindled into insignificance, and became almost extinct. A later poet, certainly Moses himself, would not have united these two tribes under the same destiny. The funeral procession of Jacob was conducted with Egyptian magnificence to the sepulchre of his fathers, to the great and lasting astonishment of the native Canaanites. The protecting presence of their father being withdrawn, the brothers began again to apprehend the hostility of Joseph; but his favour still watched over the growing settlement, and he himself at length, having seen his great-grandchildren upon his knees, died at the age of 110 years. He left directions that his body should be embalmed, and put into a coffin; on the return of his kindred to Canaan, to be transported to the grave of his forefathers.

How long a period elapsed* between the migration into

* Several curious particulars of this period may be gleaned from the genealogies in the book of Chronicles. Some intercourse with the native country was kept up for a time. Certain sons of Ephraim were slain in a freebooting expedition to drive the cattle of the inhabitants of Gath.—1 Chron. vii. 21. Another became ruler of the tribe of Moab.—1 Chron. iv. 22. Some became celebrated in Egypt as potters, and manufacturers in cotton (byssus). —1 Chron. iv. 21.

Egypt under Jacob, and the Exodus, or departure, under Moses, has been a question debated from the earliest ages by Jewish, no less than Christian writers. While some assign the whole duration of 430 years to the captivity in Egypt, others include the residence of the patriarchs, 215 years, within this period. The vestiges of this controversy appear in all the earlier writings. The Hebrew and Samaritan texts, the different copies of the Greek version of the Scriptures, differ. St. Stephen, in the Acts, seems to have followed one opinion; St. Paul, in his epistle to the Galatians, the other. Josephus contradicts himself repeatedly. The great body of English divines follow the latter hypothesis; the great modern scholars of Germany generally prefer the former. The following brief statement may throw some light on this intricate subject. The Jews were firmly and religiously persuaded that their genealogies were not merely accurate but complete. As then only two names appeared between Levi and Moses, those of Kohath and Amram, and the date of life assigned to these two seemed irreconcileable with the longer period of 430 years, they adopt very generally the notion that only 215 years were passed in Egypt.* They overlooked, or left to miraculous intervention to account for a still greater difficulty, the prodigious increase in one family during one generation. In the desert, the males of the descendants of Kohath are reckoned at 8609. Kohath had four sons; from each son then, in one generation, must have sprung on the average 2150 males. On this hypothesis the alternative remains, either that some names have been lost from the genealogies between Kohath and Amram, or between Amram and Moses, a notion rather confirmed by the fact that, in the genealogy of Joshua in the book of Chronicles, he stands twelfth in descent from Joseph, while Moses is the fourth from Levi; or, as there are strong grounds for suspecting, some general error runs through the whole numbering † of the Israelites in the desert.

At what period in Egyptian history the migration under Jacob took place; and which of the Pharaohs perished in the Red Sea, may possibly come to light from the future investigation of the hieroglyphic monuments by Mons. Champollion. One point appears certain from the Mosaic history, that the patron of Joseph was one of the native sovereigns of Egypt, not, as Eusebius supposed, one of the foreign shepherd dynasty. The flourishing and peaceful state of the kingdom; the regularity of the government; the power of the priesthood, who were persecuted and oppressed by the savage shepherds; the hatred of the pastoral race and occupation; all these circumstances strongly

* On account of this uncertainty, we have omitted the dates till the time of the Exodus, when chronology first seems to offer a secure footing.

† Some observations on this subject will subsequently be offered.

indicate the orderly and uncontested authority of the native princes.

In process of time, such is the lot of the greatest of public benefactors, the services of the wise and popular Vizier were forgotten. A new king arose,* who knew not Joseph, and began to look with jealous apprehension on this race of strangers, thus occupying his most open and accessible frontier, and able to give free passage, or join in a dangerous confederacy with any foreign invader. With inhuman policy he commenced a system of oppression, intended at once to check their increase, and break the dangerous spirit of revolt. They were seized, and forced to labour at the public works in building new cities, Pithom and Raamses,† called treasure cities. Josephus employs them on the pyramids, on the great canals, and on vast dams built for the purpose of irrigation. But tyranny, short-sighted as inhuman, failed in its purpose. Even under these unfavourable circumstances, the strangers still increased. In the damp stone-quarry, in the lime-pit and brick-field, toiling beneath burthens under a parching sun, they multiplied as rapidly as among the fresh airs and under the cool tents in Goshen; and now instead of a separate tribe, inhabiting a remote province, whose loyalty was only suspected, the government found a still more numerous people, spread throughout the country, and rendered hostile by cruel oppression. Tyranny having thus wantonly made enemies, must resort to more barbarous measures to repress them. A dreadful decree is issued; the midwives, who in this land of hereditary professions, were most likely a distinct class under responsible officers, were commanded to destroy all the Hebrew children at their birth. They disobey or evade the command, and the king has now no alternative, but to take into his own hands the execution of his exterminating project, which, if carried into effect, would have cut short at once the race of Abraham. Every male child is commanded to be cast into the river, the females preserved, probably to fill in time the harems of their oppressors.

But Divine Providence had determined to raise up that man, who was to release this oppressed people, and after having seen

* The change of dynasty, and accession of the shepherd kings during this interval, is liable to as strong objections, as those above stated. The inroad of this savage people, which must have passed, in all its havoc and massacre, over the land of Goshen, would hardly have been forgotten or omitted in the Hebrew traditions. The great architectural and agricultural works bespeak the reign of the magnificent native princes, not that of rude barbarians. Mr. Faber's ingenious theory, which assigns the building of the pyramids to the shepherds, is, in our opinion, highly improbable.

† It is curious that Mons. Champollion assigns to this period, a king called Rhamses Mei-Amoun. Rhamses, however, was not an uncommon name in the Egyptian dynasties.

and intimately known the civil and religious institutions of this famous country, was deliberately to reject them, to found a polity on totally different principles, and establish a religion the most opposite to the mysterious polytheism of Egypt,—a polity and a religion which were to survive the dynasty of the Pharaohs, and the deities of their vast temples, and exercise an unbounded influence on the civil and religious history of the most remote ages. Amram, if the genealogies are complete, the second in descent from Levi, married in his own tribe. His wife bore him a son, whose birth she was so fortunate as to conceal for three months, but at the end of this period she was obliged to choose between the dreadful alternative of exposing the infant on the banks of the river, or of surrendering him to the executioners of the king's relentless edict. The manner in which the child in its cradle of rushes, lined with pitch, was laid among the flags upon the brink of the river, forcibly recalls the exposure of the Indian children on the banks of the holy Ganges. Could there be any similar custom among the Egyptians, and might the mother hope, that if any unforeseen accident should save the life of the child, it might pass for that of an Egyptian? This however was not the case. The daughter of the king, coming down to bathe in the river, perceived the ark, and, attracted by the beauty of the infant, took pity on it, and conjecturing that it belonged to one of the persecuted Hebrews, determined to preserve its life. By a simple and innocent stratagem, the mother was summoned, her own child committed to her charge, and, as it grew up, it became the adopted son of the princess, who called it Moses, from Egyptian words signifying, drawn from the water. The child received an excellent education and became trained in all the wisdom of the Egyptians. This last fact rests on Jewish traditions reported by St. Stephen, but it is highly curious to contrast the other romantic fictions of the later writers, probably the Alexandrian Jews, with this plain narrative. These fables have no appearance of ancient traditions, but all the exaggeration of Rabbinical invention. The birth of Moses was prophetically foreshown. The sacred scribe announced to the king, that a child was about to be born among the Israelites, who was to bring ruin on the power of Egypt, and unexampled glory on the Hebrew nation: he was to surpass all the human race in the greatness and duration of his fame. To cut short this fatal life, not with the design of weakening the Jewish people, this elder Herod issues out his edict for the first massacre of the Innocents. Amram, the father of Moses, is likewise favoured with a vision, foretelling the glory of his son. Thermutis, the daughter of Pharaoh (the manners having become too refined to suppose that a king's daughter would bathe in the river) is more elegantly

described as amusing herself on the banks. Seeing the basket floating on the water, she orders certain divers, ready of course at her command, to bring it to her. Enchanted by the exquisite beauty of the child, she sends for a nurse: but the infant patriot indignantly refuses the milk of an Egyptian: nurse after nurse is tried and rejected; nothing will satisfy him but the breast of his own mother. When he was three years old, he was such a prodigy of beauty, that all who passed by, would suspend their work to gaze upon him. The princess adopts him, shows him to her father, and insists on his being recognised heir to the kingdom. The king places the diadem on his head, which the child contemptuously seizes and tramples under his feet. The royal scribe in vain attempts to awaken the apprehensions of the monarch. The youth grows up in such universal esteem and favour, that when the Ethiopians invade the country, he is placed at the head of the army. The district through which he chooses to march, rather than ascend the Nile, being full of noxious reptiles, he presses a squadron of tame ibises, lets them fly at the serpents, and thus speedily clears his way. By this extraordinary stratagem, he comes unexpectedly upon the enemy, defeats and pursues them to their capital city, Meroe. Here the daughter of the king falls in love with him, and the city is surrendered on condition of his marrying the Ethiopian princess; a fiction obviously formed on the Cushite or Arabian (translated, in the LXX, Ethiopian) wife of Moses. Jealousy and hatred, the usual attendants on greatness, endanger his life; the priests urge, and the timid king assents to the death of the stranger, who with difficulty makes his escape into the desert. But, as is usual with those who embellish genuine history, the simple dignity of the Jewish patriot is lowered, rather than exalted. The true greatness of Moses consists in his generous indignation at the oppressions under which his kindred were labouring; his single-minded attachment to the poor and degraded and toil-worn slaves from whom he sprung; his deliberate rejection of all the power, wealth, and rank which awaited him if he had forsworn his race, and joined himself to the people who had adopted him. An accident discovered his impatience of the sufferings inflicted on his brethren. As he saw them labouring under their burthens, he perceived one of the Egyptian officers (such is the probable supposition of a late writer) exercising some great personal cruelty on one of the miserable slaves under his inspection. He rose up in defence of his countryman, slew the officer, and hid his body in the sand. No Egyptian had witnessed what he had done, and on the fidelity of his brethren he supposed that he might fairly calculate. The next day, when he took upon himself the office of reconciling two of the Israelites, who had accidentally quarrelled, he found that his secret

was not safe. The whole transaction certainly gives ground for the supposition, that an unformed notion of delivering his countrymen from their bondage was already brooding in the mind of Moses.* His courage in avenging their wrongs, and his anxiety to establish goodwill and unity among the people, were the surest means he could adopt to secure confidence, and consolidate their strength. If this were the case, the conduct of his countrymen, ready to betray him on every occasion in which their passions or fears were excited, instead of encouraging, was likely to crush for ever his ambitious hopes, and sadly convince him that such a design, however noble, was desperate and impracticable. At all events he had been guilty of a crime, by the Egyptian law, of the most enormous magnitude; even if his favour at the court might secure him from the worst consequences of the unpardonable guilt of bloodshed, the example of revolt and insurrection precluded all hope of indulgence.

A lonely exile, Moses flies beyond the reach of Egyptian power, to the tents of the nomadic tribes which lie on the borders of Palestine and Arabia. Here for forty years the future lawgiver of the Jews follows the humble occupation of a shepherd; allied in marriage with the hospitable race who had received him, he sees his children rising around him, and seems as entirely to have forgotten his countrymen and their oppression, as, in all probability, he was forgotten by them; so entirely did he seem alienated from his own people, that he had neglected to initiate his children into the family of Abraham, by the great national rite of circumcision. On a sudden, when eighty years old, an age which, according to the present proportion of life, may be fairly reckoned at sixty or sixty-five, when the fire of ambition is usually burnt out, and the active spirit of adventure subsided, entirely unattended, he appears again in Egypt, and either renews, or first boldly undertakes the extraordinary enterprise of delivering the people of Israel from their state of slavery, and establishing them as a regular and independent commonwealth. To effect this, he had first to obtain a perfect command over the minds of the people, now scattered through the whole land of Egypt, their courage broken by long and unintermitted slavery, habituated to Egyptian customs, and even deeply tainted with Egyptian superstitions; he had to induce them to throw off the yoke of their tyrannical masters, and follow him in search of a remote land, only known by traditions many centuries old, as the residence of their forefathers. Secondly, he had to overawe, and induce to the surrender of their whole useful slave population, not merely an ignorant and superstitious people, but the king and the priesthood of a country where science had made considerable progress,

* Compare Acts vii. 23—25.

and where the arts of an impostor would either be counteracted by similar arts, or instantly detected, and exposed to shame and ridicule.

What, then, were his natural qualifications for this prodigious undertaking—popular eloquence? By his own account, his organs of speech were imperfect, his enunciation slow and impeded; he was obliged to use the cold and ineffective method of addressing the people through his more ready and fluent brother Aaron. Had he acquired among the tribes, with whom he had resided, the adventurous spirit and military skill which might prompt or carry him through such an enterprise? The shepherds, among whom he lived, seem to have been a peaceful and unenterprising people; and, far from showing any skill as a warrior, the generalship of the troops always devolved on the younger and more warlike Joshua. His only distinguished acquirements were those which he had learned among the people with whom he was about to enter on this extraordinary contest; all the wisdom he possessed was the wisdom of the Egyptians.

The credentials which Moses produced in order to obtain authority over his own people, and the means of success on which he calculated, in his bold design of wresting these miserable Helots from their unwilling masters, were a direct commission from the God of their fathers, and a power of working preternatural wonders. His narrative was simple and imposing. The Sea of Edom, or the Red Sea, terminates in two narrow gulfs, the western running up to the modern Isthmus of Suez, the eastern extending not quite so far to the north. In the mountainous district between these two forks of the sea, stands a remarkable eminence with two peaks, higher than the neighbouring ridge, the south-eastern, which is much the loftiest, called Sinai; the north-western, Horeb. Into these solitudes Moses had driven his flocks, when suddenly he beheld a bush kindling into flame, yet remaining unconsumed. A voice was next heard, which announced the presence of the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and declared the compassion of the Almighty towards the suffering race of Israel, their approaching deliverance, their restoration to the rich and fruitful land of Canaan; designated Moses as the man who was to accomplish this great undertaking, and ended by communicating that mysterious name of the great Deity which implies, in its few pregnant monosyllables, self-existence and eternity. "I am that I am." Moses, diffident of his own capacity to conduct so great an enterprise, betrayed his reluctance. Two separate miracles, the transformation of his rod or shepherd's staff into a serpent, the immediate withering of his hand with leprosy, and its as immediate restoration; the promise of power to effect a third, the change of water into blood, inspired him with courage and

resolution to set forth on his appointed task. Such was his relation before the elders of the people; for even in their bondage this sort of government by the heads of families seems to have been retained among the descendants of Jacob. Aaron, his brother, who had gone forth by divine command, as he declared, to meet him, enters boldly into the design. The people are awed by the signs, which are displayed, and yield their passive consent. This is all that Moses requires; for while he promises deliverance, he does not insist on any active co-operation on their part; he enjoins neither courage, discipline, enterprise, nor mutual confidence; nothing which might render insurrection formidable, or indicate an organised plan of resistance.

The kings of Egypt probably held that sort of open court or divan, usual in Oriental monarchies, in which any one may appear who would claim justice or petition for favour. Moses and Aaron stand before this throne, and solicit the temporary release of all their people, that they may offer sacrifice to their God. The haughty monarch not only rejects their demand, but sternly rebukes the presumptuous interference of these self-constituted leaders. The labours of the slaves are redoubled; they are commanded not merely to finish the same portion of work in the brick-field, but to provide themselves with straw; they are treated with still greater inhumanity, and severely chastised because they cannot accomplish the impracticable orders of their taskmasters. The wretched people charge the aggravation of their miseries on Moses and Aaron, whose influence, instead of increasing, rapidly declines, and gives place to aversion and bitter reproaches. Yet the deliverers neither lose their courage, nor depart from their lofty assurance of success. The God of their fathers assumes that ineffable name, Jehovah (the Faithful and Unchangeable), which the Jews dare not pronounce. That release which they cannot obtain by the fair means of persuasion, Moses and Aaron assert that they will extort by force from the reluctant king. Again they appear in the royal presence, having announced, it should seem, their pretensions to miraculous powers; and now commenced a contest, unequal it would at first appear, between two individuals of an enslaved people, and the whole skill, knowledge, or artifice of the Egyptian priesthood, whose sacred authority was universally acknowledged; their intimate acquaintance with all the secrets of nature extensive; their reputation for magical powers firmly established with the vulgar. The names of the principal opponents of Moses, Jannes and Jambres, are reported by St. Paul from Jewish traditions; and it is curious that in Pliny and Apuleius the names of Moses and Jannes are recorded as celebrated proficients in magical arts.

The contest began in the presence of the king. Aaron cast

down his rod, which was instantaneously transformed into a serpent. The magicians performed the same feat. The dexterous tricks which the eastern and African jugglers play with serpents will easily account for this without any supernatural assistance. It might be done, either by adroitly substituting the serpent for the rod; or by causing the serpent to assume a stiff appearance like a rod or staff, which being cast down on the ground might become again pliant and animated. But Aaron's serpent swallowed up the rest—a circumstance, however extraordinary, yet not likely to work conviction upon a people familiar with such feats, which they ascribed to magic. Still, the slaves had now assumed courage, their demands were more peremptory, their wonders more general and public. The plagues of Egypt, which successively afflicted the priesthood, the king, and almost every deity honoured in their comprehensive pantheon,—which infected every element, and rose in terrific gradation, one above the other, now began. Pharaoh was standing on the brink of the sacred river, the great object of Egyptian adoration, not improbably in the performance of some ceremonial ablution, or making an offering to the native deity of the land. The leaders of the Israelites approached, and, in the name of the Lord God of the Hebrews, renewed their demand for freedom. It was rejected; and at once the holy river, with all the waters of the land, were turned to blood. The fish, many of which were objects of divine worship, perished. But the priesthood were not yet baffled. The Egyptians having dug for fresh and pure water, in some of these artificial tanks or reservoirs, the magicians contrived to effect a similar change. As their holy abhorrence of blood would probably prevent them from discharging so impure a fluid into the new reservoirs, they might, without great difficulty, produce the appearance by some secret and chemical means. The waters of the Nile, it is well known, about their period of increase, usually assume a red tinge, either from the colour of the Ethiopian soil, which is washed down, or from a number of insects of that colour. Writers, who endeavour to account for these miracles by natural means, suppose that Moses took the opportunity of this periodical change to terrify the superstitious Egyptians. Yet, that Moses should place any reliance on, or the Egyptians feel the least apprehension at, an ordinary occurrence, which took place every year, seems little less incredible than the miracle itself. For seven days the god of the river was thus rebuked before the God of the stranger; instead of the soft and delicious water, spoken of by travellers as peculiarly grateful to the taste, the fœtid stream ran with that of which the Egyptians had the greatest abhorrence. To shed, or even to behold blood, was repugnant to all their feelings and prejudices. Still the king was inflexible, and from the sacred

stream was derived the second plague. The whole land was suddenly covered with frogs. The houses, the chambers, even the places where they prepared their food, swarmed with these loathsome reptiles. It is undoubtedly possible that the corrupted waters might quicken the birth of these creatures, the spawn of which abounded in all the marshy and irrigated districts. Hence the priests would have no difficulty in bringing them forth in considerable numbers. The sudden cessation of this mischief at the prayer of Moses is by far the most extraordinary part of this transaction,—in one day all the frogs, except those in the river, were destroyed. So far the contest had been maintained without manifest advantage on either side. But the next plague reduced the antagonists of Moses to a more difficult predicament. With the priesthood the most scrupulous cleanliness was inseparable from their sanctity. These Bramins of Egypt, so fastidiously abhorrent of every kind of personal impurity that they shaved every part which might possibly harbour vermin, practised ablutions four times a-day, and wore no garments but of the finest linen, because woollen might conceal either filth or insects, heard with the greatest horror that the dirt had been changed into lice, and that this same vermin, thus called into existence, was spreading over the whole country. After a vain attempt, notwithstanding their prejudices, to imitate their opponent, they withdrew for the present from the contest. But the pride of the king was not yet broken, and the plagues followed in rapid and dreadful succession. Swarms of flies, or rather musquitoes, in unusual numbers, covered the whole land: by the intercession of Moses they were dispersed. Next, all the cattle, of every description, were smitten with a destructive murrain, all but those of the Israelites, who were exempt from this, as from the former calamity. This last blow might seem to strike not merely at the wealth, but at an important part of the religion of Egypt —their animal worship. The goat worshipped at Mendes, the ram at Thebes, the more general deity, the bull Apis, were perhaps involved in the universal destruction. Still this is by no means certain, as the plague seems to have fallen only on the animals which were in the open pastures; it is clear that the warhorses escaped. If this plague reached the deities, the next was aimed at the sacred persons of the priesthood, no less than at the meaner people. Moses took the ashes of the furnace, perhaps the brick-kiln in which the wretched slaves were labouring, cast them into the air, and where they fell, the skin broke out in boils. The magicians, in terror and bodily anguish, fled away. It is impossible to read the following passage from Plutarch without observing so remarkable a coincidence between the significant action of Moses and the Egyptian rite, as to leave little doubt that some allusion was intended.

"In the city of Eilithuia," as Manetho relates, calling them Typhonian (as sacrificed to Typhon), "they burned men alive, and, winnowing their ashes, scattered them in the air and dispersed them." The usual objects of these sacrifices were people with red hair, doubtless their old enemies the Shepherds. Had any of the Israelites suffered in these horrid furnaces, it would add singular force and justice to the punishment inflicted on the priests and people. It would thus have been from the ashes of their own victims that their skins were burning with insufferable agony, and breaking out into loathsome disease. The next plague, though in most tropical climates it would have been an ordinary occurrence, in Egypt was an event as unusual as alarming. All ancient and modern writers agree, that rain, though by no means unknown, falls but seldom in that country. It appears to be rather less uncommon now than formerly. According to Herodotus it rained once at Thebes, and the circumstance excited general apprehension. "There, at present," says Belzoni, "two or three days of moderate rain generally occur during the winter." But lower down, in the part of the valley where these events took place, it is still an uncommon, though not an unprecedented phenomenon. Hasselquist speaks of rain at Alexandria, and in other parts of the Delta: Pocock saw even hail at Faiume. Ordinarily, however, the Nile, with its periodical overflow and constant exhalations, supplies the want of the cool and refreshing shower. Now, according to the prediction of Moses, a tremendous tempest burst over the country. Thunder and hail, and fire mingled with the hail, "that ran upon the ground," rent the branches from the trees, and laid prostrate the whole harvest. From the cultivation of flax, Egypt possessed the great linen manufacture of the ancient world; on the barley the common people depended for their usual drink, the rich soil of Egypt in general being unfit for the vine. Both these crops were totally destroyed. The rye and the wheat, being later, escaped. This tempest must, therefore, have taken place at the beginning of March. By this time the inflexible obstinacy of the king began to fail; on the deliverance of the country from this dreadful visitation, he engaged to release the bondsmen. At the word of Moses the storm ceased. Still, to deprive the whole land of so valuable a body of slaves seemed too great a sacrifice to the policy, and too humiliating a concession to the pride of the monarch. To complete the desolation of the country, the corn lands were next laid waste by other means of destruction. The situation of Egypt usually secures the country from that worst enemy to the fertility of the Asiatic provinces, the locusts. As these insects fly in general from east to west, and cannot remain on the wing for any length of time, the width of the Red Sea presents a secure barrier to their invasions.

Their dreadful ravage is scarcely exaggerated by the strong images of the prophets, particularly the sublime description in Joel. Where they alight, all vegetation at once disappears; not a blade of grass, not a leaf escapes them; the soil seems as if it were burnt up by fire; they obscure the sun as with a cloud; they cover sometimes a space of nine miles, and thus they march on in their regular files till "*the land which was as the garden of Eden before them, behind them is a desolate wilderness.*" Such was the next visitation which came to glean the few remaining signs of the accustomed abundance of Egypt, spared by the tempest. A strong and regular east wind brought the fatal cloud from the Arabian shore, or, according to the Septuagint translation, a south wind from the regions of Abyssinia. The court now began to murmur at the unbending spirit of the king; on the intimation of this new calamity, he had determined to come to terms. He offered to permit all the adults to depart, but insisted on retaining the children, either as hostages for the return of the parents, or in order to perpetuate a race of slaves for the future. Now he was for an instant inclined to yield this point; but when the west wind had driven these destroying ravagers into the sea, he recalled all his concessions, and continued steadfast in his former resolutions of resistance to the utmost. At length, therefore, their great divinity, the Sun, was to be put to shame before the God of the slave and the stranger. For three whole days, as Moses stretched his hand towards heaven, a darkness, described with unexampled force as a DARKNESS THAT MIGHT BE FELT, overspread the land; not merely was the sun unable to penetrate the gloom and enlighten his favoured land, but they could distinguish nothing, and were constrained to sit in awe-struck inactivity. The king would now gladly consent to the departure of the whole race, children as well as grown-up men; yet, as all the latter plagues, the flies, the murrain, the hail, the locusts, the darkness had spared the land of Goshen, the cattle of that district, in the exhausted state of the country, was invaluable; he demands that these should be surrendered as the price of freedom. "Our cattle, also, shall go with us, not a hoof shall be left behind," replies his inexorable antagonist. Thus, then, the whole kingdom of Egypt had been laid waste by successive calamities; the cruelty of the oppressors had been dreadfully avenged; all classes had suffered in the undiscriminating desolation. Their pride had been humbled; their most sacred prejudices wounded; the Nile had been contaminated; their dwellings polluted by loathsome reptiles; their cleanly persons defiled by vermin; their pure air had swarmed with troublesome insects; their cattle had perished by a dreadful malady; their bodies broken out with a filthy disease; their early harvest had been destroyed by the hail, the later by the

locusts; an awful darkness had enveloped them for three days, but still the deliverance was to be extorted by a calamity more dreadful than all these. The Israelites will not depart poor and empty-handed; they will receive some compensation for their years of hard and cruel servitude; they levy on their awe-strück masters contributions in gold, silver, and jewels. Some, especially later writers, have supposed that they exacted these gifts by main force, and with arms in their hands. Undoubtedly, though the Israelites appear to have offered no resistance to the Egyptian horsemen and chariots which pursued them in the desert, they fight with the Amalekites, and afterwards arrive an armed people on the borders of Canaan. Josephus accounts for this, but not quite satisfactorily, by supposing that they got possession of the arms of the Egyptians, washed ashore after their destruction in the Red Sea. But the general awe and confusion are sufficient to explain the facility with which the Israelites collected these treasures. The slaves had become objects of superstitious terror; to propitiate them with gifts was natural, and their leader authorised their reception of all presents which might thus be offered. The night drew on, the last night of servitude to the people of Israel, a night of unprecedented horror to the ancient kingdom of Egypt. The Hebrews were employed in celebrating that remarkable rite, which they have observed for ages down to the present day. The passover, the memorial that God passed over them when he destroyed the first-born of all Egypt, has been kept under this significant name, and still is kept as the memorial of their deliverance from Egypt by every faithful descendant of Abraham. Each family was to sacrifice a lamb without blemish, to anoint their door-posts and the lintels of their houses with its blood, and to feast upon the remainder. The sacrifice was over, the feast concluded, when that dreadful event took place, which it would be presumptuous profanation to relate except in the words of the Hebrew annalist: "*And it came to pass, that at midnight the Lord smote all the first-born in the land of Egypt, from the first-born of Pharaoh that sat upon the throne, unto the first-born of the captive that was in the dungeon, and all the first-born of the cattle. And Pharaoh rose up in the night, he and all his servants, and all the Egyptians; and there was a great cry in Egypt, for there was not a house where there was not one dead.*" The horrors of this night may be better conceived, when we call to mind that the Egyptians were noted for the wild and frantic wailings with which they lamented their dead. Screaming women rush about with dishevelled hair, troops of people assemble in tumultuous commiseration around the house where a single corpse is laid out—and now every house and every family had its victim. Hebrew tradition has

increased the horror of the calamity, asserting that the temples were shaken, the idols overthrown, the sacred animals, chosen as the first-born, involved in the universal destruction. While every household of Egypt was occupied in its share of the general calamity, the people of Israel, probably drawn together during the suspension of all labour, caused by the former calamities, or assembled in Goshen to celebrate the new national festival; already organised by a sort of discipline among the separate tribes; with all their flocks and herds, with sufficient provisions for an immediate supply, and with the booty they had extorted from their masters, stood prepared, as one man, for the signal of departure. During the night, the permission, or rather intreaty, that they would instantly evacuate the country, arrived, yet no one stirred before the morning, perhaps apprehensive lest the slaughter should be attributed to them, or in religious fear of encountering the angel of destruction. The Egyptians became only anxious to accelerate their departure; and thus the Hebrew people set forth to seek a land of freedom, bearing with them the bones of their great ancestor, Joseph. Their numbers, not reckoning the strangers who followed them, most of whom probably fell off during the march, amounted to 600,000 adult males, which, according to the usual calculations, would give the total sum of the people at 2,500,000 or 3,000,000.* From the point of reunion, at which the several bodies had collected, Rameses, probably another name for Goshen, the borders of Canaan might have been reached, even by so great a multitude, in a few weeks. Two routes led to Canaan; one northward, near the sea, but this was occupied by the Philistines, a very warlike people, with whom the Israelites were not yet sufficiently disciplined to contest their passage. The other passed immediately round the head of the western branch of the Red Sea, coming upon part of the modern track of the caravans from Cairo to Suez. Their first march was to Succoth, originally a place of tents, and which probably afterwards grew up into a village. Josephus considers it the same with Latopolis. From Succoth they advanced to Etham, by some supposed to be a castle or small town at the extreme point of the Red Sea, by Jablonski derived with great probability from an Egyptian word signifying the termination of the sea. Here they were on the borders of the desert; should they once advance to any distance in that sandy and barren region, they were safe from pursuit; the chariots of Egypt, or even the horsemen, would scarcely follow them far on a track only suited for the camel, and where the want of water, the fountains being already consumed by the flying enemy, would effectually delay the advance of a large army. On a sudden the march of the Israelites is altered;

* The question of the numbers will be discussed in a future note.

instead of pressing rapidly onwards, keeping the sea on their right hand, and so heading the gulf, they strike to the south, with the sea on their left, and deliberately encamp at no great distance from the shore, at a place called Pi-hahiroth, explained by some, the mouth or opening into the mountains. This, however, as well as much more learned etymology, by which the site of Migdol and Baalzephon, as well as Pi-hahiroth, has been fixed, must be considered very uncertain. The king, recovered from his panic, and receiving intelligence that the Israelites had no thoughts of return, determined on pursuit: intelligence of this false movement, or at least of this unnecessary delay on the part of the Israelites, encouraged his hopes of vengeance. The great caste of the warriors, the second in dignity, were regularly quartered in certain cities on the different frontiers of the kingdom, so that a considerable force could be mustered on any emergency. With great rapidity he drew together 600 war chariots, and a multitude of others, with their full equipment of officers. In the utmost dismay the Israelites beheld the plain behind them glittering with the hostile array; before them lay the sea; on the right, impracticable passes. Resistance does not seem to have entered their thoughts; they were utterly ignorant of military discipline, perhaps unarmed, and encumbered with their families, and their flocks and herds. *Because there were no graves in Egypt*, they exclaimed, in the bitterness of their despair, *hast thou taken us away to die in the wilderness?* Their leader alone preserved his calmness and self-possession, and an unexpected incident gave temporary relief to their apprehensions. A remarkable pillar, of cloud by day, and fire by night, had preceded their march; it now suddenly shifts its position, and stations itself in the rear so as to conceal their movements from the enemy, showing the dark side to them, while the bright one gave light to the Hebrew camp. But this could not avail them long; they could hear, at still diminishing distance, the noise of the advancing chariots, and the cries of vengeance from the infuriated Egyptians. On a sudden Moses advances towards the sea, extends his rod, and a violent wind from the east begins to blow. The waters recede on both sides, a way appears; at nightfall, probably about eight o'clock, the caravan begins to defile along this awful pass. The wind continued in the same quarter all the night; but immediately they had passed over, and while the Egyptians, madly plunging after them, were in the middle of the passage, the wind as suddenly fell, the waters rushed back into their bed, the heavy chariot-wheels of the pursuers sank into the sand, broke and overthrew the chariots, and in this state of confusion the sea swept over the whole host, and overwhelmed the king and all the flower of the Egyptian army. Such is the narrative of

Moses, which writers of all ages have examined, and, according to the bias of their minds, have acknowledged or denied the miraculous agency, increased or diminished its extent. At an early period, historians (particularly in Egypt) hostile to the Jews, asserted that Moses, well acquainted with the tides of the Red Sea, took advantage of the ebb, and passed over his army, while the incautious Egyptians, attempting to follow, were surprised by the flood, and perished. Yet, after every concession, it seems quite evident that, without one particular wind, the ebb tide, even in the narrowest part of the channel, could not be kept back long enough to allow a number of people to cross in safety. We have, then, the alternative of supposing, that a man of the consummate prudence and sagacity, and the local knowledge, attributed to Moses, altered, suspended, or at least did not hasten his march, and thus deliberately involved the people, whom he had rescued at so much pains and risk, in the danger of being overtaken by the enemy, led back as slaves, or massacred, on the chance that an unusually strong wind would blow at a particular hour, for a given time, so as to keep back the flood, then die away, and allow the tide to return at the precise instant when the Egyptians were in the middle of their passage.

Different opinions, as to the place where the passage was effected, have likewise been supported with ingenuity and research. The one carries the Israelites nearly seventy miles down the western shore of the sea, to Bedea, where it is said that an inlet, now dry, ran up a defile in the mountains; that in this defile, the opening of which was the Pi-hahiroth of Moses, and which ended in this inlet of the sea, called, according to the advocates of this hypothesis, Clusma, the Israelites were caught as in what is commonly called a cul-de-sac. Here, however, the sea is nearly twelve miles broad, and the time is insufficient to allow so great a multitude to pass over, particularly if they did not, as some Jewish writers suppose, send their families and cattle round the head of the gulf. The other hypothesis rests chiefly on the authority of the Danish traveller, Niebuhr, who had investigated the question on the spot. He supposes that the passage was effected near the modern Suez, which occupies the site of an old castle, called by the Arabians al Kolsum, a name apparently derived from the Greek Klusma. Here Niebuhr himself forded the sea, which is about two miles across; but he asserts confidently that the channel must formerly have been much deeper, and that the gulf extended much farther to the north than at present. The intelligent Burckhardt adopts the views of Neibuhr. Here, besides that the sea is so much narrower, the bottom is flat and sandy; lower down it is full of sharp coral rocks, and sea-weed in such large quantities, that

the whole gulf is called by a name, *Al Souf*, which signifies the weedy sea. Still, wherever the passage was effected, the Mosaic account cannot, by any fair interpretation, be made consistent with the exclusion of preternatural agency. Not to urge the literal meaning of the waters being a wall on the right hand and on the left, as if they had stood up sheer and abrupt, and then fallen back again,—the Israelites passed through the sea, with deep water on both sides; and any ford between two bodies of water must have been passable only for a few people at one precise point of time. All comparisons, therefore, to marches like that of Alexander, cited by Josephus idly, and in his worst spirit of compromise, are entirely inapplicable. That bold general took the opportunity of the receding tide to conduct his army round the bluff headland in Pamphylia, called Climax, where, during high water, there was no beach between the cliffs and the sea. But what would this, or any other equally daring measures in the history of war, be to the generalship of Moses, who must thus have decoyed his enemy to pursue him to the banks of the sea, and so nicely calculated the time, that the lowest ebb should be exactly at the hour of his greatest danger, while the whole of the pursuing army should be so infatuated, and so ignorant of the tides, as to follow them without any apprehension of the returning flood? In this case Moses would appear as formidable a rival to the military fame of Alexander, as to the legislative wisdom of Solon or Lycurgus.

This great event was not only preserved in the annals of the Jewish people; it was likewise, as might be expected, the great subject of their national poetry. But none of their later bards surpassed, or perhaps equalled, the hymn which Moses, their bard, as well as their leader and law-giver, composed on the instant of their deliverance, and which was solemnly chaunted to the music of the timbrel. What is the Roman arch of triumph, or the pillar crowded with sculpture, compared, as a memorial, to the Hebrew song of victory, which, having survived so many ages, is still fresh and vivid as ever; and excites the same emotions of awe and piety, in every human breast susceptible of such feelings, which it did so many ages past in those of the triumphant children of Israel?

Local traditions have retained the remembrance of the same memorable catastrophe, if not with equal accuracy, with equal fidelity. The superstitious Arabs still call fountains or wells by the names of Moses and Pharaoh. The whole coast is looked on with awe. Wherever, says Niebuhr, you ask an Arab where the Egyptians were drowned, he points to the part of the shore where you are standing. There is one bay, however, where in the roaring of the waters they pretend to hear the cries and wailings of the ghosts of Pharaoh's army. If these were mere

modern notions, they would be of little value; but Diodorus Siculus states as a tradition derived by the Icthyophagi (the people who live on fish), from their remote forefathers, that once an extraordinary reflux took place, the channel of the gulf became dry, the green bottom appearing, and the whole body of water rolling away in an opposite direction. After the dry land in the deepest part had been seen, an extraordinary flood-tide came in, and restored the whole channel to its former state.

The history of the Jewish Exodus, or deliverance from Egypt, under the direction of Moses, was undoubtedly preserved in the Egyptian records, and from thence was derived the strange and disfigured story which we read in Diodorus, Strabo, Justin, and Tacitus. Unfortunately, the ancient enmity between the Egyptian and Hebrew people was kept alive by the civil, religious, and literary dissensions and jealousies under the reign of the Ptolemies in Alexandria. Josephus, in his treatise against Apion, has extracted the contradictory accounts of his ancestors, from three Egyptian historians, Manetho, Chæremon, and Lysimachus. In each of these there is the same attempt to identify or connect the Jews with the earlier shepherd kings, the objects of peculiar detestation to the Egyptian people. So much is their history interwoven, that some learned writers, doubtless Josephus himself, considered the whole account of the fierce and conquering shepherds a fable, built on the history of the Israelites. He states, though in somewhat ambiguous terms, that in another copy of Manetho the word Hyksos, usually translated shepherd-kings, was also rendered shepherd captives. Yet the Egyptian monuments seem conclusively to prove the existence of this distinct and savage race of conquerors. In other points the Egyptian accounts are equally contradictory; they confound or associate together at one time Osarsiph (Joseph) and Moses. All agree in describing the Jews as a people of lepers—a disease to which, notwithstanding the indignation of Josephus, they were in all likelihood very subject. The wise precautions of the Lawgiver against the malady prove its prevalence. Quarantine laws are only strictly enforced where there is great danger of the plague.

There are other points of Jewish history where their ignorance or misrepresentation is unquestionable. They ascribe to Moses, or even to the earlier shepherds, the foundation of Jerusalem and its temple. The testimony of the Jews, unsuspicious at least on this point, shows that they were not in possession of Jerusalem till the reign of David, and that down to that period it was nothing more than a hill-fort inhabited by the Canaanites. In short, the whole history betrays the controversialist of a much later period, working on materials so obscure and imperfect, as easily to be disfigured and distorted by national animosity.

Still these traditions are not without their value; they confirm the plain leading facts of the Mosaic narrative, the residence of the Hebrews in Egypt, their departure under the guidance of Moses, and the connexion of that departure with some signal calamity, at least for a time, fatal to the power and humiliating to the pride of Egypt.

BOOK III.

THE DESERT.

The March—Mount Sinai—Delivery of the Law—The Tabernacle—The Law.

THUS free and triumphant, the whole people of Israel set forth upon their pilgrimage towards the promised land—a land described, in the most glowing language, as flowing with milk and honey. But at present an arid and thirsty desert lay before them, long levels of sand or uneven stony ground broken by barren ridges of rugged mountains, with here and there a green spot where a few palm-trees overshadowed a spring of running water. Extraordinary as it may seem, we can almost trace their march, at least in its earlier stations; for while the face of cultivated countries and the manners of civilised nations are in a perpetual state of change, the desert and its inhabitants are alike unalterable. The same wild clans pitch their tents in the same valleys, where waters, which neither fail nor increase, give nourishment to about the same extent of vegetation. After three days' march through the wilderness of Shur, the Israelites reached the well of Marah, but here a grievous disappointment awaited them. As they rushed to slake their burning lips in the stream, they found it, unlike the soft and genial waters of the Nile, so bitter that it could not be drank. From Ajoun Mousa (the wells of Moses), near that part of the sea where Niebuhr supposes that the passage was made, the observant and accurate Burckhardt travelled in 15 hours and a quarter (a good three days' march for a whole people like the Israelites), to a well called Howara, "the water of which is so bitter, that men cannot drink it; and even camels, if not very thirsty, refuse to taste it." The spring was sweetened by the branch of a tree, which Moses, by divine direction, cast into it—whether from the natural virtue of the plant seems uncertain. A plant with this

property is indicated in the papers of Forskal, who travelled with Niebuhr as botanist, and is said to be known in the East Indies. Burckhardt suggests the berry of the Gharkad, a shrub which grows in the neighbourhood.* From hence the caravan passed on to Elim, which all travellers place in the valley of Girondel or Gharondel. Here they rested under the shade of seventy palm-trees, with twelve springs of water bubbling up around them. Nine out of the twelve wells still remain, and the palm-trees have spread out into a beautiful grove. The natives pointed out to Shaw a spot called Hummun Mousa, where the household of Moses are said to have pitched their tents. In this delightful resting-place, the nation reposed for a month; and then set forth again, not in the direction of Palestine, but towards that mysterious mountain where the Almighty had first made himself known to Moses. Their route lay at no great distance from the sea; several of the valleys, which it crossed, led down to the shore; at the end of one of these, probably that called by Burckhardt the Wady Taybe, they halted on the beach. From thence they struck into the wilderness, but by this time their provisions totally failed, and the dreadful prospect of perishing by famine, in this barren and thirsty desert, arose before their eyes. Of all human miseries, both in apprehension and reality, to die slowly of hunger, and to see others, to whom we can afford no assistance, die around us, is undoubtedly the worst. The Israelites began to look back to Egypt, where, if they suffered toil and oppression, at least they never wanted food. All was forgotten—the miracles wrought in their favour, the promises of divine protection, the authority of their leader. Murmurs of discontent spread through the camp, till at length the whole body broke out into open remonstrances. But their Almighty Protector had not abandoned them; and, in his name, without hesitation, Moses promised an immediate and plentiful supply. In the spring of the year quails, migratory birds, pass in large flocks over the Arabian peninsula; they are very heavy on the wing, and their line of flight depends much on the direction

* Since the publication of the first edition, some water from a fountain, called that of Marah, but probably not the Howara of Burckhardt, has been brought to this country, and has been analysed by a medical friend of the author. His statement is subjoined: "The water has a slightly astringent bitterish taste. Chemical examination shows that these qualities are derived from the selenite or sulphate of lime, which it holds in solution, and which is said to abound in the neighbourhood. If, therefore, any vegetable substance containing oxalic acid (of which there are several instances) were thrown into it, the lime would speedily be precipitated, and the beverage rendered agreeable and wholesome. The quantity of acid requisite for this purpose must be inconsiderable, as a pint of water, at its summer temperature in England, is scarcely capable of dissolving twenty grains of the selenite.'

of the wind. A cloud of these birds was suddenly wafted over the camp of the Israelites, and fell around them in immense numbers. Nor was this all; in the morning, exactly as Moses had foretold, the ground was covered with manna. This is now clearly ascertained, by Seetzen and Burckhardt, to be a natural production; it distils from the thorns of the tamarisk, in the month of June. It is still collected by the Arabs before sunrise, when it is coagulated, but it dissolves as soon as the sun shines upon it. "Its taste is agreeable, somewhat aromatic, and as sweet as honey. It may be kept for a year, and is only found after a wet season." It is still called by the Bedouins "mann."* The quantity now collected, for it is only found in a few valleys, is very small; the preternatural part, therefore, of the Mosaic narrative consists in the immense and continual supply, and the circumstances under which it was gathered, particularly its being preserved firm and sweet only for the Sabbath-day. The regulation, that enough, and only enough, for the consumption of the day should be collected at a time, seems a prudent precaution, enforced by the remarkable provision, that no one found that he had collected more or less than an omer, lest the more covetous or active should attempt to secure an unfair proportion, and deprive the rest of their share.

After two other resting-places, at Dophkah and Alush, the Israelites arrived at the foot of that awful mountain already sanctified by the presence of their Almighty Creator. But a new calamity, not less insupportable than famine, the want of water, called forth new discontents and murmurs. So great was the excitement, that the life of Moses was endangered. He cried unto the Lord, saying, "What shall I do unto this people, they be almost ready to stone me." By the divine command, in the presence of the assembled elders, and with the rod with which he before struck the Nile, Moses smote the rock, and water flowed forth; the place was called Massah and Meribah, from the discontents of the people. Here likewise their fortitude, as well as their faith and patience, was put to the trial. The camp was suddenly surrounded by one of the wild marauding clans, the Amalekites; or, according to Josephus, by a confederacy of all the sheiks of the desert, determined to exterminate these invaders of their territory. Moses delegates the military command to Joshua, who afterwards conducted their

* The author, by the kindness of a traveller recently returned from Egypt, has received a small quantity of manna; it was, however, though still palatable, in a liquid state from the heat of the sun. He has obtained the additional curious fact, that manna, if not boiled or baked, will not keep more than a day, but becomes putrid, and breeds maggots. It is described as a small round substance, and is brought in by the Arabs in small quantities mixed with sand.

armies to the conquest of Canaan. He himself, with his brother Aaron, and Hur, takes his station on an eminence; there, in the sight of the whole army, he raises his hands in earnest supplication to heaven. The Israelites, encouraged by their trust in divine protection, fight manfully. Still the attack is fierce, long, and obstinate. The strength of Moses fails, and the Israelites behold with alarm and trepidation his arms hanging languidly down, and their courage, too, begins to give way. His companions observing this, place him on a stone, and support his hands on each side. The valour of the people revives, and they gain a complete victory. This wanton and unprovoked aggression gave rise to a perpetual hereditary feud between the tribes; the Amalekites were devoted to eternal and implacable hostility.

The fame of these successes reached the pastoral chieftain, whose daughter Moses had married. Jethro joins the camp with Zipporah the wife, and Gershom and Eliezer the sons, of Moses. He is received with great respect, and by his prudent advice the Jewish leader proceeds to organise the body of his people under more regular and effective discipline. Hitherto the whole burden of the religious and civil affairs had rested on himself: he had been the sole leader, sole judge, and sole interpreter of the Divine Will. He withdraws into the more remote and sacred character, leaving the common and daily affairs to be administered by officers, appointed in regular subordination over the subdivisions of the whole people, into tens, fifties, hundreds, and thousands. These arrangements completed, the Israelites wind along the defiles of this elevated region, till at length they come to the foot of the loftiest peak in the whole ridge, that of Sinai. Here, after the most solemn preparations, and under the most terrific circumstances, the great lawgiver of the Jews delivered that singular constitution to his people which presupposed their possession of a rich and fertile territory in which as yet they had not occupied an acre, but had hitherto been wandering in an opposite direction, and not even approached its borders. The laws of a settled and civilised community were enacted among a wandering and homeless horde, who were traversing the wilderness, and more likely, under their existing circumstances, to sink below the pastoral life of their forefathers, than advance to the rank of an industrious agricultural community. Yet, at this time, judging solely from its internal evidence, the law must have been enacted. Who but Moses ever possessed such authority as to enforce submission to statutes so severe and uncompromising? yet as Moses, incontestably, died before the conquest of Canaan, his legislature must have taken place in the desert. To what other period can the Hebrew constitution be assigned? To that of the judges?

a time of anarchy, warfare, or servitude! To that of the kings? when the republic had undergone a total change! To any time after Jerusalem became the metropolis? when the holy city, the pride and glory of the nation, is not even alluded to in the whole law! After the building of the temple? when it is equally silent as to any settled or durable edifice! After the separation of the kingdoms? when the close bond of brotherhood had given place to implacable hostility! Under Hilkiah? under Ezra? when a great number of the statutes had become a dead letter! The law depended on a strict and equitable partition of the land. At a later period it could not have been put into practice without the forcible resumption of every individual property by the state; the difficulty, or rather impossibility, of such a measure, may be estimated by any reader, who is not entirely unacquainted with the history of the ancient republics. In other respects, the law breathes the air of the desert. Enactments intended for a people with settled habitations, and dwelling in walled cities, are mingled up with temporary regulations, only suited to the Bedouin encampment of a nomad tribe. There can be no doubt that the statute book of Moses, with all his particular enactments, still exists, and that it recites them in the same order, if it may be called order, in which they were promulgated.

First, however, must be related the circumstances under which the Hebrew constitution was enacted. The Israelites had been accustomed only to the level of the great Egyptian valley, or to the gentle slopes which skirted the pastures of Goshen; they had been travelling over the flat sands or moderate inequalities of the desert; the entrance into a wild and rugged mountainous region, the peaks of which were lost in the clouds, must in itself have excited awful and appalling emotions. How much more so, when these high and frowning precipices had been haunted by the presence of their God! Their leader departs alone to the unseen, and apparently inaccessible, summit of the mountain. He returns bearing a message from their God, which, while it asserts his universal dominion over the earth, proclaims his selection of the Israelites from all the nations, as his peculiar people; they were to be to the rest of mankind what the great caste of the Egyptian priesthood was to the other classes of that community. The most solemn purifications are enjoined; a line is drawn and fenced at the foot of the mountain, which, on pain of death, they are not to transgress. It is announced, that on the third day the presence of the Almighty will display itself. On the third day the whole people assemble in trembling expectation; the summit of the mountain appears clothed in the thickest darkness; tremendous thunders and lightnings, phenomena new to the shepherds of Goshen, whose pastures had escaped

the preternatural tempest in Egypt, burst forth, and the terrors are heightened by a wild sound, like that of a trumpet, mingling with, and prolonging, the terrific din of the tempest. The mountain seems to have shown every appearance of a volcanic eruption; blazing fires, huge columns of smoke, convulsions of the earth. Yet a most philosophical observer has decided, from the geological formation of the mountain, that it has never been subject to the agency of internal fire. The dauntless leader takes his stand in the midst of this confusion of the elements; the trumpet peals still louder, and is answered by a voice distinct and audible, but from whence it proceeded no man knew. It summons Moses to the top of the mountain; he returns, and still more earnestly enjoins the people not to break through the prescribed limits. Immediately on his descent, the mysterious voice utters those ten precepts usually called the Decalogue, a summary, or rather the first principles, of the whole law. The precautions of Moses to restrain the curiosity or presumption of the people were scarcely necessary. Their fears are too highly excited; instead of approaching the sacred summit of the mountain, they retire in terror from the place where they were assembled, and entreat that from henceforth they may receive the will of God, not directly, but through Moses, their acknowledged representative. Moses again enters into the darkness, and returns with another portion of the law. The assent of the people to these leading principles of their constitution is then demanded; religious rites are performed; twelve altars raised, one for each tribe; sacrifice is offered, the law read, and the covenant between God, the law-giver, and the whole people, solemnly ratified by sprinkling them with the blood of the sacrifice. Moses again ascends the mountain, accompanied this time by Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, who were selected for the priestly office, and by seventy elders of Israel. All these remained at a respectful distance; yet, it is said, they saw the God of Israel; it should seem, the symbolic fire which indicated his presence, beneath which was what appeared like a pavement of lapis-lazuli, or sapphire, or the deep blue of the clearest and most cloudless heaven. Delegating the charge of the people to the elders, to Aaron, and to Hur, Moses once more ascended into the cloud, which was now at times illuminated with the glory of the Lord, *like a devouring fire.* For forty days he remained on the mountain, neither appearing nor holding any communication with the people. Day after day they expected his return: the gloom and silence of the mountain remained unbroken. Had he perished? Had he abandoned the people? Aaron himself is in the same total ignorance as to the designs and the fate of his brother. Whither shall they wander in the trackless desert? Who shall guide them? Their leader and their God seem

equally to have deserted them. Still utterly at a loss to comprehend the sublime notions of the Deity, which their leader would inculcate, they sink back to the superstitions of the country which they had left. They imperiously demand, and Aaron consents to cast, an image of gold, similar to the symbolic representation of the great god of the Egyptians, under the form of an ox or calf, and they begin to celebrate this new deity with all the noise, tumult, and merriment of an Egyptian festival. When their leader descends he sees the whole people dancing in their frantic adoration around the idol. In the first access of indignation, he casts down and breaks the stone tablets, on which the law was inscribed. He seizes the image, which was most likely of small dimensions, though raised on a lofty pole, commands it to be ground or dissolved to powder, throws it into the neighbouring fountain, and forces the people to drink the water impregnated with its dust. A more signal punishment awaits this heinous breach of the covenant. The tribe of Levi espouse the cause of God; fall upon the people; slay the offenders, without regard to kindred or relationship, till 3,000 men lie dead upon the field. The national crime thus dreadfully atoned, the intercourse between the law-giver and the Deity is renewed.* Yet the offended God still threatens to withdraw his own visible presence during their approaching invasion of Canaan, that presence which he had before promised should attend on their armies, and discomfit their enemies; he disclaims them as his people, and gives them over to the tutelar protection of *his angel.*

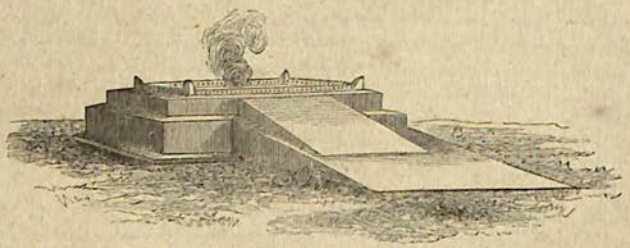
Already, before the construction of the great tabernacle, there had been a tent set apart for public purposes; where the councils of the leaders had been held; and, most probably, sacrifices performed. This tent Moses removed beyond the polluted precincts of the camp: no sooner had this been done, than the Deity appeared suddenly to return; the people, standing before their tents, beheld the cloud of glory taking up its station at the door of the tabernacle into which Moses had entered. They bowed down at once in awe-struck adoration, while their God and their leader held their secret council within the tent. Within the tent a scene took place which it is best to relate in the language of the sacred writer. Moses having obtained the promise of divine protection for the people, addressed the Almighty visitant—*I beseech thee, show me thy glory,* that is, make me acquainted with the essence of the divine nature. And God said, *I will make all my goodness pass before thee, and I will proclaim the name of the Lord before thee. And he said, Thou canst not see my face: for there shall no man see me, and live.* Mortal man cannot comprehend the divine nature; but

* Josephus, jealous of the national character, omits the whole scene.

afar off, and overshadowed by my protection, thou shalt be favoured with some farther revelation of the great Creator. On the re-ascent of Moses to the mountain, with two new tablets of stone, this promise is thus fulfilled,—*The Lord passed by before him, and proclaimed,—the Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin, and that will by no means clear (the guilty), visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the children's children unto the third and to the fourth generation.* Such were the notions of the Divinity, taught to a barbarous nation in that remote period of the world! Forty days longer the law-giver remained in secret conference with God upon the mountain. On his descent with the new tables of stone, the awe-struck people beheld his countenance so radiant and dazzling, that he was obliged to cover it with a veil; but it is not quite clear, whether or not, after that period, like several of the Oriental conquerors, he was constantly shrouded with this veil, excepting only when he went into the tabernacle to communicate with God.

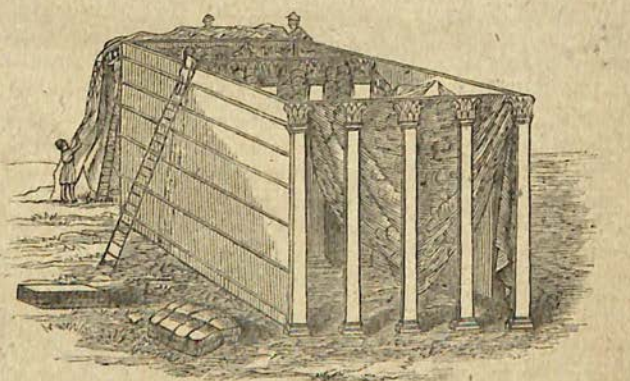
These pure and abstract notions of the Divinity were beyond the age and the people of Moses. No religious impressions would be lasting which were not addressed to the senses. With this view is commenced the sacred tabernacle or pavilion-temple, which hereafter is to occupy the central place of honour, that usually assigned to the king or chieftain of a nomadic horde. The whole nation is called upon to contribute to its construction and ornament. The riches which they brought from Egypt, and the arts which some of them had learnt now come into request. From all quarters offerings pour in; brass, silver, gold, jewels, fine linen, embroidered stuffs of all colours, valuable skins, spices, oils, and incense, in such profusion that they cannot all be brought into use. The high district immediately around Sinai, extending about thirty miles in diameter, is by no means barren, the vegetation is richer than in other parts of the desert, streams of water flow in the valleys, date and other trees abound, and groves, chiefly of the black acacia (the shittim). These latter were speedily felled, all the artificers set to work, the women were employed in weaving and spinning, and the whole camp assumed a busy appearance. The construction of the Tabernacle was entrusted to the superintendence of two skilful workmen, Bezaleel and Aholiab. The area, or open space in which the tabernacle stood, was an oblong square, 175 feet long by 87½ wide. The enclosure was made by twenty brazen pillars on the north and south sides, ten to the west, and six to the east, where the gate of entrance stood. The capitals of these pillars were of silver; the hooks and the rods, from which the curtains hung, of silver. The curtains were of fine

linen or cotton, woven in a kind of net-work; the curtain before the entrance was of richer materials, and more brilliant colours —blue, purple, and scarlet, supported by four pillars, which do not seem to have been different from the other six that formed the eastern line of the court. Within the court before the tabernacle stood a great laver of brass, for the purpose of ablution, and the altar of burnt offerings, measuring eight feet and three quarters each way, five feet and a quarter high. The altar was overlaid with brass, and had a grate of brass in the centre. It stood immediately before the gate of the tabernacle.



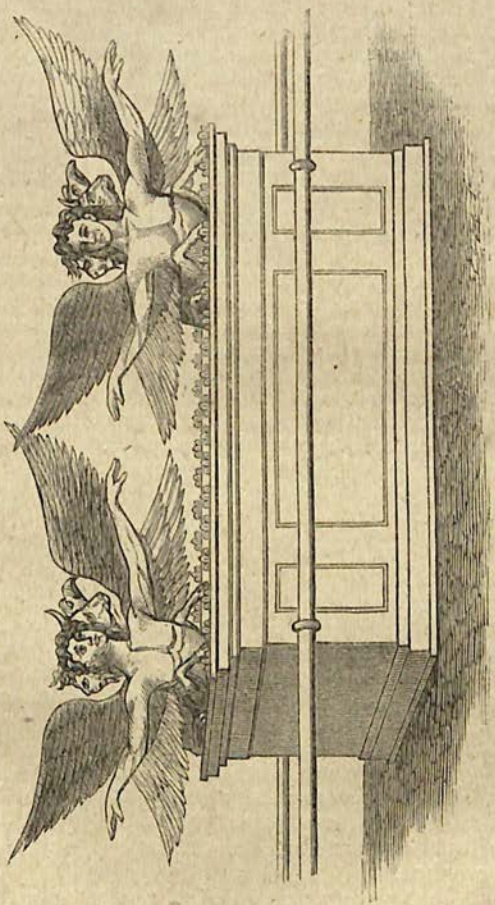
ALTAR OF SACRIFICE.

The tabernacle itself was fifty-two feet and a half long, seventeen and a half wide, and the same high. It was made with planks of shittim wood, skilfully fitted and held together by poles, which ran the whole length through golden rings. The planks were overlaid with gold. To defend it from the weather it was hung without with curtains of a kind of canvas, made of goat's hair, and over the whole was thrown an awning of skins.



THE TABERNACLE.

The interior of the tabernacle was hung with curtains of the finest linen and the richest colours, embroidered with the mysterious figures called cherubim. The tabernacle was divided into two unequal parts: the first, or holy place, thirty-five feet



THE ARK AND MERCY-SEAT.

long; in this stood the golden candlestick, the golden altar of incense, the table of show-bread The second, or Holy of Holies, seventeen feet and a half in length, was parted off by a veil of the same costly materials, and splendid colours, with the

rest of the hangings, and suspended by hooks of gold from four wooden pillars likewise overlaid with gold.

A solemn gloom, unless when the veil was partially lifted, prevailed in the Holy of Holies; in the holy place the altar was constantly fed with costly incense, and the splendid chandelier, with seven branches, wrought with knosps and flowers, illuminated the chamber, into which the daylight never entered.

Within the most sacred precinct, which was only entered by the High Priest, stood nothing but the Ark or coffer of wood, plated all over with gold, and surmounted by two of those emblematic figures, the cherubim, usually represented as angels under human forms, but more probably, like the Egyptian sphinx, animals purely imaginary and symbolic; combining different parts, and representing the noblest qualities of the man, the lion, the eagle, and the ox. They stood face to face at each extremity of the ark, and spread their golden wings so as to form a sort of canopy or throne. In the ark were deposited the two tablets of stone, on which the law was written.

The priests, who were to minister in this sumptuous pavilion temple, were likewise to have *holy garments for glory and for beauty*. Aaron and his sons were designated for this office. The high priest wore, first, a tunic of fine linen, which fitted close, and without a fold, to his person, with loose trousers of linen; over this a robe of blue, woven in one piece, without sleeves, with a hole through which the head passed, likewise fitted close round the neck with a rich border, and reached to the feet, where the lower rim was hung with pomegranates and little bells of gold, which sounded as he moved. Over this again was the ephod, made of blue, purple, and scarlet thread, twisted with threads of gold. It consisted of two pieces, one hanging behind, the other before, perhaps like a herald's tabard. From the hinder one, which hung much lower, came a rich girdle, passing under the arms, and fastened over the breast. It had two shoulder-pieces, in which were two large beryl stones, set in gold, on which the names of the twelve tribes were engraved. From these shoulder-pieces came two gold chains, which fastened the pectoral, or breast-plate; a piece of cloth of gold, a span square, in which twelve precious stones were set, in four rows, each engraved with the name of one of the tribes. Two other chains from the lower corners fastened the breast-plate to the lower part of the ephod.

In the breast-plate was placed the mysterious Urim and Thummim, the nature of which was so well known to the Jews, as to require no explanation—to us remains mere matter of conjecture. The most probable opinion seems, that the two words mean Light and Perfection, and were nothing more than the twelve bright and perfect stones set in the breast-plate,

emblematic of the union and consent of the whole nation, without which the high priest might not presume to interrogate the oracle of God. If the oracle was given by the Urim and Thummim itself, it seems not improbable, that the stones appearing bright or clouded might signify the favour or disfavour of the Almighty; but it is more likely that the oracle was delivered by a voice from the sanctuary. It is a remarkable coincidence, that the Egyptian high priest, according to Diodorus and Ælian, wore round his neck, by a golden chain, a sapphire gem, with an image representing Truth. The head-dress of the priest was a rich turban of fine linen, on the front of which appeared a golden plate, inscribed, "Holiness to the Lord."

Such were the first preparations for the religious ceremonial of the Jews. As this tall and sumptuous pavilion rose in the midst of the coarse and lowly tents of the people, their God seemed immediately to take possession of the structure raised to his honour. All the day the cloud, all the night the pillar of fire rested on the tabernacle. When the camp broke up, it rose and led the way, when the people came to their resting-place, it remained unmoved.

Thus the great Jehovah was formally and deliberately recognized by the people of Israel as their God—the sole object of their adoration. By the law, to which they gave their free and unconditional assent, he became their king, the head of their civil constitution, and the feudal lord of all their territory, of whom they were to hold their lands on certain strict, but equitable terms of vassalage. Hence the Mosaic constitution, of which we proceed to give a brief outline, was in its origin and principles entirely different from every human polity. It was a federal compact, not between the people at large and certain members or classes of the community designated as the rulers, but between the Founder of the state, the proprietor of the land which they were to inhabit, and the Hebrew nation, selected from all the rest of the world for some great ulterior purpose. The Hebrews were not a free and independent people entering into a primary contract in what manner their country was to be governed; they had neither independence nor country, but as the free gift of their sovereign. The tenure by which they held all their present and future blessings, freedom from bondage, the inheritance of the land flowing with milk and honey, the promise of unexampled fertility, was their faithful discharge of their trust, the preservation of the great religious doctrine—the worship of the one great Creator. *Hear, therefore, O Israel, and observe to do it, that it may be well with thee, and that ye may increase mightily, as the Lord God of thy fathers hath promised thee, in the land flowing with milk and honey. Hear, O Israel,* THE LORD OUR GOD IS ONE LORD. Thus the rights of the

sovereign, not merely as God, but as the head of the state, or theocracy, were anterior to the rights of the people—the well-being of the community, the ultimate end of human legislation, was subordinate and secondary to the great purpose for which the Jews existed as a separate nation. Hence any advantage to be derived from foreign commerce, or from a larger intercourse

HIGH PRIEST.

with the neighbouring tribes, wealth, or the acquisition of useful arts, could not for an instant come into competition with the danger of relapsing into polytheism. This was the great national peril, as well as the great national crime. By this they annulled their compact with their sovereign, and forfeited their title to the promised land. Yet by what legal provisions was the happiness

of any people, *sua si bona nôrint*, so bountifully secured as by the Jewish constitution? A country under a delicious climate, where the corn-fields, the pastures, the vineyards, and olive-grounds, vied with each other in fertility; perfect freedom and equality; a mild and parental government, the administration

COMMON PRIEST.

of justice by local authorities according to a written law; national festivals tending to promote national union;—had the people duly appreciated the blessings attached to the strict and permanant observance of their constitution, poets might have found their golden age in the plains of Galilee and the valleys of Judæa.

The fundamental principle of the Jewish constitution, the purity of worship, was guarded by penal statutes; and by a religious ceremonial, admirably adapted to the age and to the genius of the people, and even accommodated, as far as possible, to their previous nomadic and Egyptian habits and feelings. The penal laws were stern and severe, for idolatry was two-fold treason—against the majesty of the sovereign, and the well-being of the state. The permanence of the national blessings depended on the integrity of the national faith. Apostasy in the single city, or the individual, brought, as far as was in their power, the curse of barrenness, defeat, famine, or pestilence, on the whole land. It was repressed with the most unrelenting severity. If any city was accused of this anti-national crime, and after strict and diligent investigation was found guilty of setting up false gods for public worship, the inhabitants were to be put to the sword, no living thing, not even the cattle, spared; the whole spoil was to be collected in a heap and burned, (a wise regulation, lest an opulent community should be unjustly accused and laid waste for the purpose of plunder,) the whole city to be set on fire, razed to the ground, and the strongest anathema pronounced against any one who should attempt to rebuild it.—Deut. xiii. 13—18. To convict an individual of idolatry, the testimony of two witnesses was required; if condemned, he was publicly stoned to death—the two witnesses were to cast the first stone. Idolatry was of two kinds: 1st, image worship, or the representation of the one great Creator under the similitude or symbolic likeness of any created being. The history of all religion shows the danger of this practice. The representative symbol remains after its meaning is forgotten; and thus the most uncouth and monstrous forms, originally harmless emblems of some attribute belonging to the divinity, become the actual deities of the vulgar worship. 2nd, The substitution, or what was more usual, the association of other gods with the one great God of their fathers. The religion of the natives, in whose territory the Israelites were about to settle, appears to have been a depravation of the purer Tsabaism, or worship of the host of heaven. On this primitive form of idolatry had gradually been engrafted a system of rites, absurd, bloody, or licentious. Among the Canaanites human sacrifices were common—babes were burnt alive to Moloch. The inland tribes, the Moabites and Midianites, worshipped that obscene symbol, which originally represented the generative influence of the sun, but had now become a distinct divinity. The chastity of their women was the offering most acceptable to Baal Peor, or the Lord Peor. It was this inhuman and loathsome religion which was to be swept away from the polluted territory of Palestine by the exterminating conquest of the Jews; against the

contagion of these abominations they were to be secured by the most rigid penal statutes, and by capital punishments summary and without appeal. All approximation to these horrible usages was interdicted with equal severity. The Canaanites had no enclosed temples, their rites were performed in consecrated or open spaces on the summits of their hills, or under the shade of groves devoted to their deities. The worship of God on mountain-tops, otherwise a sublime and innocent practice, was proscribed. No grove might be planted near the altar of the Holy One of Israel, the strictest personal purity was enjoined upon the priests; the prohibition against prostituting their daughters, as well as that which forbids the woman to appear in the dress of the man, the man in that of the woman, are no doubt pointed against the same impure ceremonies. Not merely were human sacrifices expressly forbidden, but the animals which were to be sacrificed, with every particular to be observed, were strictly laid down. All the vulgar arts of priestcraft, divination, witchcraft, necromancy, were proscribed. Even a certain form of tonsure, certain particoloured dresses, and other peculiar customs of the heathen priesthoods, were specifically forbidden.

But while this line of demarcation between the worshippers of one God and the worshippers of idols was so strongly and precisely drawn, a rude and uncivilised horde were not expected to attain that pure and exalted spirituality of religion, which has never been known except among a reasoning and enlightened people. Their new religion ministered continual excitement. A splendid ceremonial dazzled their senses, perpetual sacrifices enlivened their faith, frequent commemorative festivals not merely let loose their gay and joyous spirits, but reminded them of all the surprising and marvellous events of their national history. From some of their prepossessions and habits they were estranged by degrees, not rent with unnecessary violence. The tabernacle preserved the form of the more solid and gigantic structures of Egypt; their priesthood were attired in dresses as costly, in many respects similar; their ablutions were as frequent; the exclusion of the daylight probably originated in subterranean temples hewn out of the solid rock, like those of Ipsambul and the cave temples of India; the use of incense seems to have been common in every kind of religious worship. Above all, the great universal rite of sacrifice was regulated with the utmost precision. It is unncessary to enter into all these minute particulars, still less into the remote and typical meaning of the Jewish sacrificial law. Suffice it to say, that sacrifices were either national or individual. 'Every morning and every evening the smoke from the great brazen altar of burnt-offerings ascended in the name of the whole people—on the Sabbath two

animals instead of one were slain. From particular sacrifices or offerings no one, not even the poorest, was excluded. A regular scale of oblations was made, and the altar of the common God of Israel rejected not the small measure of flour which the meanest might offer. The sacrifices were partly propitiatory, that is, voluntary acts of reverence, in order to secure the favour of God to the devout worshipper: partly eucharistic, or expressive of gratitude for the divine blessings. Of this nature were the first-fruits. The Israelite might not reap the abundant harvest, with which God blessed his fertile fields, or gather in the vintage, which empurpled the rocky hill-side, without first making an oblation of thanksgiving to the gracious Being, who had placed him in the land flowing with milk and honey. Lastly, they were piacular or expiatory; every sin either of the nation or the individual, whether a sin committed in ignorance, or from wilful guilt, had its appointed atonement; and on the performance of this condition the priest had the power of declaring the offender free from the punishment due to his crime. One day in the year, the tenth day of the seventh month, was set apart for the solemn rite of national expiation. First a bullock was to be slain, and the blood sprinkled, not only in the customary places, but within the Holy of Holies itself. Then two goats were to be chosen, lots cast upon them, the one that was assigned to the Lord was to be sacrificed, the other, on whose head the sins of the whole people were heaped by the imprecation of the high priest, was taken beyond the camp and sent into the desert to Azazel, the spirit of evil, to whom Hebrew belief assigned the waste and howling wilderness as his earthly dwelling. An awful example confirmed the unalterable authority of the sacrificial ritual. At the first great sacrifice, after the consecration of the priesthood, on the renewal of the national covenant with the Deity, fire flashed down from heaven and consumed the burnt-offerings. But Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, kindled their censers with fire obtained from some less pure and hallowed source; and, having thus acted without command, were struck dead for the offence.

The ordinary festivals of the Jewish nation were of a gayer and more cheerful character. Every seventh day was the Sabbath: labour ceased throughout the whole land, the slave and the stranger, even the beast of labour or burden, were permitted to enjoy the period of ease and recreation: while the double sanction, on which the observance of the day rested, reminded every faithful Israelite of his God, under his twofold character of Creator and Deliverer. All creation should rest, because on that day the Creator rested; Israel more particularly, because on that day they rested from their bondage in Egypt. In later times, as well as a day of grateful recollection, it

became one of public instruction in the principles of the law, and of social equality among all classes. Rich and poor, young and old, master and slave, met before the gate of the city, and indulged in innocent mirth, or in the pleasures of friendly intercourse.

The new moon of the seventh month was appointed as the Feast of Trumpets; it was in fact the beginning of the old Hebrew, and remained that of the civil, year. The new moon, or the first day of the lunar month, was not commanded by positive precept, but recognized as a festival of established usage. But if those weekly or monthly meetings contributed to the maintenance of the religion, and to the cheerfulness and kindly brotherhood among the separate communities, the three great national festivals advanced those important ends in a far higher degree. Three times a year all the tribes assembled wherever the tabernacle of God was fixed; all the males, for the legislator carefully guarded against any dangers which might arise from a promiscuous assemblage of both sexes; besides that the women were ill qualified to bear the fatigue of journeys from the remote parts of the land, and the household offices were not to be neglected. This regulation was a master-stroke of policy, to preserve the bond of union indissoluble among the twelve federal republics, which formed the early state. Its importance may be estimated from the single fact, that, on the revolt of the ten tribes, Jeroboam did not consider his throne secure so long as the whole people assembled at the capital; and appointed Dan and Bethel, where he set up his emblematic calves, as the places of religious union for his own subjects. The first and greatest of these festivals, the Passover, or rather the first full moon, the commencement of the religious year, was as it were the birthday of the nation, the day of their deliverance from Egypt, when the angel of death passed over their dwellings. The festival lasted seven days, and every ceremony recalled the awful scene of their deliverance. On the first evening they tasted the bitter herb, emblematic of the bitterness of slavery; they partook of the sacrifice, with their loins girded as ready for their flight; they eat only unleavened bread, the bread of slavery, prepared in the hurry and confusion of their departure. During the fifty days, which elapsed after the Passover, the harvest was gathered in, and the Pentecost, the national harvest home, summoned the people to commemorate the delivery of the law and the formation of the covenant, by which they became the tenants of the luxuriant soil, the abundance of which they had been storing up. The gladness was to be as general as the blessing. *Thou shalt rejoice before the Lord thy God, thou and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy man servant and thy maid servant, and the Levite that is within thy gates, and the stranger,*

and the fatherless and the widow. The third of these feasts, that of Tabernacles, took place in autumn, at the end of the vintage, in all southern climates the great time of rejoicing and merriment. If more exquisite music and more graceful dances accompanied the gathering in of the grapes on the banks of the Cephisus,—the tabret, the viol, and the harp, which sounded among the vineyards of Heshbon and Eleale, were not wanting in sweetness and gaiety; and instead of the frantic riot of satyrs and bacchanals, the rejoicing was chastened by the solemn religious recollections with which it was associated, in a manner remarkably pleasing and picturesque. The branches of trees were woven together in rude imitation of the tents in which the Israelites dwelt in the desert, and within these green bowers the whole people passed the week of festivity. Yet however admirably calculated these periodical solemnities for the maintenance of religion and national unity, they were better adapted for the inhabitants of one of the oases in the desert, or a lonely island in the midst of the ocean, than a nation environed on all sides by warlike, enterprising, and inveterate enemies. At each of these festivals, the frontiers were unguarded, the garrisons deserted, the country left entirely open to the sudden inroad of the neighbouring tribes. This was not unforeseen by the lawgiver, but how was it provided against? by an assurance of divine protection, which was to repress all the hostility and ambition of their adversaries. *I will cast out the nations before thee, and enlarge thy borders; neither shall any man desire thy land when thou shalt go up to appear before the Lord, thrice in every year.** The sabbatic year was another remarkable instance of departure from every rule of political wisdom, in reliance on divine Providence. The whole land was to lie fallow, the whole people was given up to legalised idleness. All danger of famine was to be prevented by the supernaturally abundant harvest of the sixth year; but it is even more remarkable, that serious evils did not ensue from this check on the national industry. At the end of seven periods of seven years, for that number ran through the whole of the Hebrew institutions, the jubilee was appointed.† All the estates were to revert to their original owners, all burthens and alienations ceased, and the whole land returned to the same state in which it stood at the first partition. A singular Agrarian law, which maintained the general equality, and effectually prevented the accumulation of large masses of property in one family to the danger of the national independence, and the establishment of a great landed oligarchy.

* Exod. xxxiv. 24.

† This institution, as well as the last, was, perhaps, rather of a civil than religious character.

Such was the religious constitution of the Hebrew nation. But if the lawgiver, educated in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, departed most widely from the spirit of Egyptian polytheism in the fundamental principle of his religious institutes, the political basis of his state was not less opposite to that established in the kingdom of the Pharaohs. The first, and certainly the most successful legislator of antiquity who assumed the welfare of the whole community as the end of his constitution, Moses annihilated, at once, the artificial and tyrannical distinction of castes, and established political equality as the fundamental principle of the state. The whole nation was one great caste, that of husbandmen, cultivating their own property. Even the single privileged class, that of Levi, stood on a totally different footing from the sacerdotal aristocracy of Egypt. With a wise originality, the Hebrew polity retained all that was really useful, and indeed, under the circumstances of the age and people, absolutely necessary, in a priestly order, and rejected all that might endanger the liberties of the people, through their exorbitant wealth or power. In a constitution founded on a religious basis, sacred functionaries set apart from the mass of the people were indispensable; where the state was governed by a written law, minute and multifarious in its provisions, conservators, and occasional expositors, of the law were equally requisite; a people at first engaged in ferocious warfare, afterwards engrossed by agricultural labours, without an exempt order which should devote itself to higher and more intellectual studies, would soon have degenerated into ignorance and barbarism. Besides the officiating priesthood, the Levitical class furnished the greater number of the judges, the scribes, the genealogists and registers of the tribes, the keepers of the records, the geometricians, the superintendants of weights and measures; and Michaelis thinks, from the judgment in cases of leprosy being assigned to them, the physicians. Their influence depended rather on their civil than their ecclesiastical functions. They were not, strictly speaking, religious teachers; they were bound to read the whole law, once in seven years, before the people; but, in other respects, their priestly duties consisted only in attendance in the tabernacle or the temple, in their appointed courses. There were no private religious rites in which they were called on to officiate. Circumcision was performed without their presence, marriage was a civil contract, from funerals they were interdicted. They were not mingled up with the body of the people, they dwelt in their own separate cities. Their wealth was ample, but not enormous. Instead of the portion in the conquered land, to which they had a claim, as one of the twelve tribes, a tenth of the whole produce was assigned for their maintenance, with forty-eight cities, situated

in different parts of the territory, and a small domain surrounding each. These were the possessions of the whole tribe of Levi. The officiating priesthood received other contributions, portions of the sacrifices, the redemption of the first-born, the first-fruits, and everything devoted by vow: yet most of these last were probably laid up in the public religious treasury, and defrayed the expenses of the rich and costly worship, the repair and ornament of the tabernacle, the vestments of the priests, the public sacrifices, the perpetual oil, and incense. The half-shekel poll-tax was, we conceive, only once levied by Moses, and not established as a permanent tax till after the captivity. Such were the station, the revenue, and the important duties assigned to his own tribe by the Hebrew legislator, a tribe, as one of the least numerous, most fitly chosen for these purposes. On the departure from Egypt, the first-born of each family were designated for these sacred duties; but the difficulties and inconveniences which would have attended the collecting together the representatives of every family into one class, the jealousies which might have arisen from assigning so great a distinction to primogeniture, and many other obvious objections, show that the substitution of a single tribe was, at once, a more simple and a more effective measure. The superiority of Moses, in all other respects, to the pride of family, particularly where hereditary honours were so highly appreciated, is among the most remarkable features in his character. The example of Egypt and of all the neighbouring nations would have led him to establish an hereditary monarchy in his own line, connected and supported, as it might have been, by the sacerdotal order; but though he made over the high-priesthood to the descendants of his brother Aaron, his own sons remained without distinction, and his descendants sank into insignificance. While he anticipated the probability that his republic would assume, hereafter, a monarchical form, he designated no permanent head of the state, either hereditary or elective. Joshua was appointed as military leader to achieve the conquest, and for this purpose succeeded to the supreme authority. But God was the only king, the law his only vicegerent.

Did Moses appoint a national senate? if so, what was its duration, its constitution, and its powers? No question in Jewish history is more obscure. At the delivery of the law on Mount Sinai, Moses was attended by seventy elders; during a rebellion in the wilderness (Numb. xi.) he established a great council of the same number. This latter, the Jewish writers suppose to have been a permanent body, and from thence derive their great Sanhedrin, which took so important a part in public affairs after the captivity. But this senate of seventy is not once distinctly named in the whole intervening course of Hebrew

history. Joshua twice assembled a sort of diet or parliament, consisting of elders, heads of families, judges, and officers, who seem to have represented all Israel. At other times the same sort of national council seems to have met on great emergencies. But most probably neither the constitution, nor the powers, nor the members of this assembly were strictly limited. Moses left the internal government of the tribes as he found it. Each tribe had its acknowledged aristocracy and acknowledged chieftain, and governed its own affairs as a separate republic. The chieftain was the hereditary head of the whole tribe; the aristocracy, the heads of the different families: these, with the judges, and perhaps the shoterim, the scribes or genealogists, officers of great importance in each tribe, constituted the provincial assembly. No doubt the national assembly consisted of delegates from the provincial ones; but how they were appointed, and by whom, does not appear. In short, in the early ages of the Hebrew nation, the public assemblies were more like those of our German ancestors, or a meeting of independent septs or clans, where general respect for birth, age, or wisdom, designated those who should appear, and those who should take a lead, than the senate of a regular government, in which the right to a seat and to suffrage is defined by positive law. The ratification of all great public decrees by the general voice of the people (the congregation) seems invariably to have been demanded, particularly during their encampment in the desert. This was given, as indeed it could not well be otherwise, by acclamation. Thus in the ancient Hebrew constitution we find a rude convention of estates, provincial parliaments, and popular assemblies; but that their meetings should be of rare occurrence, followed from the nature of the constitution. The state possessed no legislative power; in peace, unless on very extraordinary occasions, they had no business to transact; there was no public revenue, except that of the religious treasury; their wars, till the time of the kings, were mostly defensive. The invaded tribe summoned the nation to its assistance; no deliberation was necessary; the militia, that is, all who could bear arms, were bound to march to the defence of their brethren. Such was the law: we shall see, hereafter, that the separate tribes did not always preserve this close union in their wars; and, but for the indissoluble bond of their religion, the confederacy was in perpetual danger of falling to pieces.

The judges or prefects, appointed according to the advice of Jethro, seem to have given place to municipal administrators of the law in each of the cities. The superior education and intelligence of the Levitical order, pointed them out as best fitted for these offices, which were usually entrusted, by general consent, to their charge. Of their numbers, or mode of nomination, we

know nothing certain. They held their sittings, after the usual Oriental custom, in the gates of the cities.

The people were all free; and, excepting this acknowledged subordination to the heads of their families and of their tribes, entirely equal. Slavery, universal in the ancient world, was recognised by the Mosaic institutions; but of all the ancient lawgivers, Moses alone endeavoured to mitigate its evils. His regulations always remind the Israelites, that they themselves were formerly bond-slaves in Egypt. The free-born Hebrew might be reduced to slavery, either by his own consent, or in condemnation as an insolvent debtor, or as a thief unable to make restitution. In either case he became free at the end of seven years' service. If he refused to accept his manumission, he might remain in servitude. But to prevent any fraudulent or compulsory renunciation of this right, the ceremony of reconsigning himself to bondage was public; he appeared before the magistrate, his ear was bored, and he was thus judicially delivered back to his master; but even this servitude expired at the Jubilee, when the free-born Hebrew returned into the possession of his patrimonial estate. The law expressly abhorred the condemnation of an Israelite to perpetual servitude. As a punishment for debt, slavery, at least under its mitigated form, may be considered as merciful to the sufferer, and certainly more advantageous to the creditor and to the public, than imprisonment. The Israelite sold to a stranger might at any time be redeemed by his kindred on payment of the value of the service that remained due. He who became a slave being already married, recovered the freedom of his wife and family as well as his own; he who married a fellow-slave, left her and her children as the property of his master. The discharged slave was not to be cast forth upon society naked and destitute; he was to be decently clothed, and liberally furnished *out of the flock, and out of the floor, and out of the wine-press.*

A parent in extreme distress might sell his children; if male, of course the slave recovered his freedom at the usual time—if female, the law took her under its especial protection. By a mitigation of the original statute, in ordinary cases, she regained her freedom at the end of the seven years. But if the master took her himself, or gave her to his son, as an inferior wife, she was to receive the full conjugal rights of her station; if denied them, she recovered her freedom. If he did not marry her, she might be redeemed; but on no account was to be trafficked away into a foreign land.

After all, slavery is too harsh a term to apply to this temporary hiring, in which, though the master might inflict blows, he was amenable to justice if the slave died under his hands, or within two days, from the consequence of the beating: if maimed or

mutilated, the slave recovered his freedom. The law went further, and positively enjoined kindness and lenity: *Thou shalt not rule over him with rigour, but thou shalt fear the Lord.*

The condition of foreign slaves was less favourable; whether captives taken in war, purchased, or born in the family, their servitude was perpetual. Yet they too partook of those indulgences which, in a spirit very different from that which bestowed on the wretched slaves in Rome the mock honours of their disorderly Saturnalia, the Jewish law secured for the slave, as well as for the poor, the orphan, the widow, and the stranger. The Sabbath was to them a day of rest; on the three great festivals they partook of the banquets which were made on those occasions. All that grew spontaneously during the sabbatical year, belonged to them, in common with the poor. Besides these special provisions, injunctions perpetually occur in the Mosaic code, which enforce kindness, compassion, and charity, not merely towards the native poor, but to the stranger. Far from that jealous inhospitality and hatred of mankind, of which the later Jews were not altogether unjustly accused, the stranger, unless a Canaanite, might become naturalised, or if he resided in the land, without being incorporated with the people, he was not excluded from the protection of the law. He was invited to the public rejoicings; he was to be a witness and partaker in the bounties of the God who blessed the land.

Such were the political divisions among the Hebrew people; but over all classes alike, the supreme and impartial law exercised its vigilant superintendence. It took under its charge the morals, the health, as well as the persons and the property, of the whole people. It entered into the domestic circle, and regulated all the reciprocal duties of parent and child, husband and wife, as well as of master and servant. Among the nomad tribes, from which the Hebrews descended, the father was an arbitrary sovereign in his family, as under the Roman law, with the power of life and death. Moses, while he maintained the dignity and salutary control, limited the abuse of the parental authority. From the earliest period, the child was under the protection of the law. Abortion and infanticide were not specifically forbidden, but unknown, among the Jews. Josephus, appealing in honest pride to the practice of his countrymen, reproaches other nations with these cruelties. The father was enjoined to instruct his children in all the memorable events and sacred usages of the land. In extreme indigence, we have seen, the sale of children, as slaves, was permitted, but only in the same cases, and under the same conditions, that the parent might sell himself, to escape starvation, and for a limited period. The father had no power of disinheriting his sons; the first-born received by law two portions, the rest shared equally. On

the other hand, the Decalogue enforced obedience and respect to parents, under the strongest sanctions. To strike or to curse a parent was a capital offence. On parricide, the law, as if, like that of the Romans, it refused to contemplate its possibility, preserved a sacred silence. Though the power of life and death was not left to the caprice or passion of the parent, the incorrigible son might be denounced before the elders of the city, and, if convicted, suffered death. It is remarkable that the father and mother were to concur in the accusation, a most wise precaution, where polygamy, the fruitful source of domestic dissension and jealousy, prevailed.

The chastity of females was guarded by statutes, which, however severe and cruel according to modern notions, were wise and merciful in that state of society. Poems and Travels have familiarised us with the horrible atrocities committed by the blind jealousy of Eastern husbands. By substituting a judicial process for the wild and hurried justice of the offended party, the guilty suffered a death, probably, less inhuman; the innocent might escape. The convicted adulterer and adulteress were stoned to death. Even the incontinence of a female before marriage, if detected at the time of her nuptials, which was almost inevitable, underwent the same penalty with that of the adulteress. Where the case was not clear, the female suspected of infidelity might be summoned to a most awful ordeal. She was to be acquitted or condemned by God himself, whose actual interposition was promised by his daring lawgiver. The woman was led forth from her own dwelling into the court of the Lord's house. In that solemn place she first made an offering of execration; not entreating mercy, but imprecating the divine vengeance if she should be guilty. The priest then took some of the holy water, and mingled it with some of the holy earth: as he placed the bowl of bitter ingredients in her hand, he took off the veil in which she was accustomed to conceal herself from the eyes of man, and left her exposed to the public gaze: her hair was loosened, and the dreadful form of imprecation recited. If innocent, the water was harmless; if guilty, the Lord would make her a curse and an oath, among the people: she was to be smitten at once with a horrid disease; *her thigh was to rot, her belly to swell.* To this adjuration of the great all-seeing God, the woman was to reply, *Amen, Amen.* A solemn pause ensued, during which, the priest wrote down all the curses, and washed them out again with the water. She was then to drink the water if she dared; but what guilty woman, if she had courage to confront, would have the command of countenance, the firmness and resolution to go through all this slow, searching, and terrific process, and finally, expose herself to shame and agony, far worse than death? No doubt, cases where this

trial was undergone were rare; yet, the confidence of the legislator in the divine interference can hardly be questioned; for, had such an institution fallen into contempt by its failure in any one instance, his whole law and religion would have been shaken to its foundation.

Marriages were contracted by parents, in behalf of their children. A dowry, or purchase-money, was usually given by the bridegroom. Polygamy was permitted, rather than encouraged: the law did not directly interfere with the immemorial usage, but, by insisting on each wife or concubine receiving her full conjugal rights, prevented even the most wealthy from establishing those vast harems which are fatal to the happiness, and eventually to the population, of a country. The degrees of relationship, between which marriage was forbidden, were defined with singular minuteness. The leading principle of these enactments was to prohibit marriage between those parties among whom, by the usage of their society, early and frequent intimacy was unavoidable, and might lead to abuse.

Having thus secured the domestic happiness of his people, or, at least, moderated, as far as the times would allow, those lawless and inordinate passions which overbear the natural tenderness of domestic instinct and the attachment between the sexes —guarded the father from the disobedience of the son, the son from the capricious tyranny of the father—secured the wife from being the victim of every savage fit of jealousy, while he sternly repressed the crime of conjugal infidelity, the lawgiver proceeded, with the same care and discretion, to provide for the general health of the people. With this view he regulated their diet, enforced cleanliness, took precautions against the most prevalent diseases, and left the rest, as he safely might, to the genial climate of the country, the wholesome exercise of husbandry, and the cheerful relaxations afforded by the religion. The health of the people was a chief, if not the only object of the distinction between clean and unclean beasts, and the prohibition against eating the blood of any animal. All coarse, hard, and indigestible food is doubly dangerous in warm climates. The general feeling of mankind has ordinarily abstained from most of the animals proscribed by the Mosaic law, excepting sometimes the camel, the hare, and the swine. The flesh of the camel is vapid and heavy; the wholesomeness of the hare is questioned by Hippocrates; that of the swine in southern countries tends to produce cutaneous maladies, the disease to which the Jews were peculiarly liable; besides that the animal being usually left in the East to its own filthy habits, is not merely unwholesome, but disgusting; it is the scavenger of the towns. Of the birds, those of prey were forbidden; of fish, those without fins or scales. The prohibition of blood

(besides its acknowledged unwholesomeness, and in some instances fatal effects) perhaps pointed at the custom of some savage tribes, which, like the Abyssinians, fed upon flesh torn warm from the animal, and almost quivering with life. This disgusting practice may have been interdicted not merely as unwholesome, but as promoting that ferocity of manners which it was the first object of the lawgiver to discourage.*

Cleanliness, equally important to health with wholesome diet, was maintained by the injunction of frequent ablutions, particularly after touching a dead body, or anything which might possibly be putrid; by regulations concerning female disorders, and the intercourse between the sexes; provisions which seem minute and indelicate to modern ideas, but were doubtless intended to correct unseemly or unhealthful practices, either of the Hebrew people or of neighbouring tribes. The leprosy was the dreadful scourge which excited the greatest apprehension. The nature of this loathsome disease is sufficiently indicated by the expressive description—*a leper as white as snow.* In its worst stage the whole flesh rotted, the extremities dropt off, till at last mortification ensued, and put an end to the sufferings of the miserable outcast; for as the disease was highly infectious the unhappy victim was immediately shunned, and looked on with universal abhorrence. The strict quarantine established by Moses provided for the security of the community, not without merciful regard to the sufferer. The inspection of the infected was committed to the Levites; the symptoms of the two kinds of disorder accurately pointed out; the period of seclusion defined; while all, if really cured, were certain of readmission into the community, none were re-admitted until perfectly cured. Clothes, and even houses, which might retain the infection, were to be destroyed without scruple; though it does not seem quite clear whether the plague, which lurked in the plaster of houses, was the same leprosy which might become contagious, or a kind of mildew or worm, which might breed some other destructive malady.

Human life, in all rude and barbarous tribes, is of cheap account; blood is shed on the least provocation; open or secret assassination is a common occurrence. The Hebrew penal law enforced the highest respect for the life of man. Murder ranked with high treason, (*i.e.*, idolatry, blasphemy,) striking a father, adultery, and unnatural lust, as a capital crime: the law demanded blood for blood. But it transferred the exaction of the penalty from private revenge, and committed it to the judicial authority. To effect this, it had to struggle

* The blood of the sacrifices was especially forbidden, being sanctified as the means of atonement.

with an inveterate though barbarous usage, which still prevails among the Arabian tribes. By a point of honour, as rigorous as that of modern duelling, the nearest of kin is bound to revenge the death of his relation: he is his Goel or blood-avenger. He makes no inquiry: he allows no pause: whether the deceased has been slain on provocation, by accident, or of deliberate malice, death can only be atoned by the blood of the homicide. To mitigate the evils of an usage too firmly established to be rooted out, Moses appointed certain cities of refuge, conveniently situated. If the homicide could escape to one of these he was safe till a judicial investigation took place. If the crime was deliberate murder, he was surrendered to the Goel; if justifiable or accidental homicide, he was bound to reside within the sanctuary for a certain period: should he leave it, and expose himself to the revenge of his pursuers, he did so at his own peril, and might be put to death. Where a murder was committed, of which the perpetrator was undetected, the nearest city was commanded to make an offering of atonement. With the same jealous regard for human life, a strict police regulation enacted that the terrace on the top of every house should have a parapet. In one case inexcusable carelessness, which caused death, was capitally punished. If an ox gored a man so that he died, the beast was put to death: if the owner had been warned, he also suffered the same penalty; but in this case his life might be redeemed at a certain price. In other respects personal injury was punished by strict retaliation, "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth." The Jews however assert that, from the earliest period, these penalties were commuted for a pecuniary mulct, according to a regular scale.

While the law was thus rigorous with regard to human life, against the crime of theft it was remarkably lenient. Man-stealing, as the kidnapped person could only be sold to foreigners, inflicted political death, and was therefore a capital offence; but the ordinary punishment of theft was restitution. Here personal slavery was a direct advantage, as it empowered the law to exact the proper punishment without touching the life. No man was so poor that he could not make restitution; because the labour of a slave being of higher value than his maintenance, his person could be sold either to satisfy a creditor, or to make compensation for a theft.

The law of property may be most conveniently stated after the final settlement of the country.

In all the foregoing statutes we see the legislator constantly, yet discreetly, mitigating the savage usages of a barbarous people. There are some minor provisions to which it is difficult to assign any object, except that of softening the ferocity of manners, and promoting gentleness and humanity; kindness to

domestic animals—the prohibition to employ beasts of unequal strength, the ox and the ass, on the same labour (unless this is to be classed with those singular statutes of which we have no very satisfactory explanation, which forbade wearing garments of mixed materials, or sowing mixed seeds)—the prohibition to seethe a kid in its mother's milk (though this likewise is supposed by Spencer to be aimed at a religious usage)—or to take the young of birds and the dam together. Towards all their fellow-creatures the same kindly conduct was enjoined on the Hebrew people, both by general precept and by particular statute. The mildness of their slave-law has been often contrasted, to their advantage, with that of those ancient nations which made the loudest boast of their freedom and civilisation. The provisions for the poor were equally gentle and considerate; the gleanings of every harvest field were left to the fatherless and widow; the owner might not go over it a second time; the home of the poor man was sacred; his garment, if pledged, was to be restored at nightfall. Even towards the stranger oppression was forbidden; if indigent, he shared in all the privileges reserved for the native poor.

The general war-law, considering the age, was not deficient in lenity. War was to be declared in form. The inhabitants of a city, which made resistance, might be put to the sword, that is, the males; but only after it had been summoned to surrender. Fruit-trees were not to be destroyed during a siege. The conduct towards female captives deserves particular notice. The beautiful slave might not be hurried, as was the case during those ages falsely called heroic, in the agony of sorrow, perhaps reeking with the blood of her murdered relatives, to the bed of the conqueror. She was allowed a month for decent sorrow: if, after that, she became the wife of her master, he might not capriciously abandon her, and sell her to another; she might claim her freedom as the price of her humiliation.

To the generally humane character of the Mosaic legislation, there appears one great exception, the sanguinary and relentless conduct enjoined against the seven Canaanitish nations. Towards them mercy was a crime—extermination a duty. It is indeed probable, that this war-law, cruel as it seems, was not in the least more barbarous than that of the surrounding nations, more particularly the Canaanites themselves. In this the Hebrews were only not superior to their age. Many incidents in the Jewish history show the horrid atrocities of warfare in Palestine. The mutilation of distinguished captives, and the torture of prisoners in cold blood, were the usual consequences of victory. Adonibezek, one of the native kings, acknowledges that seventy kings, with their thumbs and toes cut off, had gathered their meat under his table. The invasion and conquest once deter-

mined, no alternative remained, but to extirpate or be extirpated. The dangers and evils to which the Hebrew tribes were subsequently exposed by the weakness or humanity which induced them to suspend their work of extermination, before it had been fully completed, clearly show the political wisdom by which those measures were dictated: cruel as they were, the war once commenced, they were inevitable. Their right to invade and take possession of Palestine depended solely on their divine commission, and their grant from the Sovereign Lord of heaven and earth; for any other right—deduced from the possession of the patriarchs, who never were owners of more than the sepulchres they purchased; and, if they had any better title, had forfeited it by the abeyance of many centuries—is untenable and preposterous. Almighty Providence determined to extirpate a race of bloody, licentious, and barbarous idolaters, and replace them by a people of milder manners and purer religion. Instead of the earthquake, the famine, or the pestilence, the ferocious valour of this yet uncivilised people was allowed free scope. The war, in which the Hebrew tribes were embarked, was stripped of none of its customary horrors and atrocities; nor was it till these savage and unrelenting passions had fulfilled their task, that the influence of their milder institutions was to soften and humanise the national character. Such was the scheme, which, if not, as we assert, really authorised by the Supreme Being, must have been created within the daring and comprehensive mind of the Hebrew legislator. He undertook to lead a people through a long and dreadful career of bloodshed and massacre. The conquest once achieved, they were to settle down into a nation of peaceful husbandmen, under a mild and equal constitution. Up to a certain point they were to be trained in the worst possible discipline for peaceful citizens; to encourage every disposition opposite to those inculcated by the general spirit of the law. Their ambition was inflamed; military habits formed; the love of restless enterprise fostered; the habit of subsisting upon plunder encouraged. The people, who were to be merciful to the meanest beast, were to mutilate the noblest animal, the horse, wherever they met it: those who were not to exercise any oppression whatever towards a stranger of another race, an Edomite, or even towards their ancient enemy—an Egyptian; on the capture of a Canaanitish city, were to put man, woman, and child to the sword. Their enemies were designated; appointed limits fixed to their conquests: beyond a certain boundary the ambitious invasion, which before was a virtue, became a crime. The whole victorious nation was suddenly to pause in its career. Thus far they were to be like hordes of Tartars, Scythians, or Huns, bursting irresistibly from their deserts, and sweeping away every vestige of human life:

at a given point their arms were to fall from their hands; the thirst of conquest subside; and a great unambitious agricultural republic—with a simple religion, an equal administration of justice, a thriving and industrious population, brotherly harmony and mutual goodwill between all ranks; domestic virtues, purity of morals, gentleness of manners—was to arise in the midst of the desolation their arms had made; and under the very roofs—in the vineyards and corn-fields—which they had obtained by merciless violence.

The sanction on which the Hebrew law was founded, is, if possible, more extraordinary. The lawgiver—educated in Egypt, where the immortality of the soul, under some form, most likely that of the metempsychosis, or transmigration of the soul, entered into the popular belief—nevertheless maintained a profound silence on that fundamental article, if not of political, at least of religious legislation—rewards and punishments in another life. He substituted temporal chastisements and temporal blessings. On the violation of the constitution, followed inevitably blighted harvests, famine, pestilence, barrenness among their women, defeat, captivity; on its maintenance, abundance, health, fruitfulness, victory, independence. How wonderfully the event verified the prediction of the inspired legislator—how invariably apostasy led to adversity—repentance and reformation to prosperity—will abundantly appear during the course of the following history.

BOOK IV.

THE INVASION.

Advance to the Holy Land—Repulse—Residence in the Desert—Second Advance—Conquests to the East of the Jordan—Death and Character of Moses.

AT length the twelve tribes broke up their encampment in the elevated region about Mount Sinai. A year and a month had elapsed since their departure from Egypt. The nation assumed the appearance of a regular army; military order and discipline were established; each tribe marched in succession under its own leaders, with its banner displayed, and took up its position in the appointed quarter of the camp. When the silver trumpets sounded, the tribe of Judah, mustering 74,600 fighting men,

defiled forward from the east side of the camp, and led the van, followed by Issachar, with 54,400, and Zebulun, 57,400. Then came a division of the tribe of Levi, the descendants of Gershom and Merari, bearing the tabernacle, which was carefully taken down, and, thus moving after the advanced guard, might be set up, ready for the reception of the ark. Then Reuben, numbering 46,500, Simeon 59,300, Gad 45,650, broke up, and advanced from the southern part of the encampment. The second division of the Levites, the family of Kohath, next took their station, bearing the sanctuary and the ark, and all the sacred vessels, with the most religious care, lest any hands but those of Aaron and his assistants should touch a single part. All the males of the house of Levi amounted only to 22,000. Ephraim 40,500, Manasseh 32,200, Benjamin 35,400, defiled, and formed the western wing of the encampment. Dan 62,700, Asher, 41,500, Naphtali 53,400, brought up the rear. The whole number of fighting men was 603,550.* This formidable army set forward singing, "*Rise up, O Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered;*" and thus—already furnished with their code of laws, irresistible both in their numbers and the promised assistance of their God —they marched onward to take possession of the fruitful land,

* Of the difficulties and discrepancies which occur in the sacred writings of the Hebrews, perhaps two-thirds are found in passages which contain numbers. Of the primitive Hebrew system of notation we are most likely ignorant; but the manner in which the numbers are denoted in the present copies of the sacred books, is remarkably liable to error and misapprehension. (See dissertation in the last edition of Calmet.) It is by no means easy to reconcile the enormous numbers, contained in the census, with the language of other passages in the Scriptures, particularly that of the seventh chapter of Deuteronomy. The nation which could arm 600,000 fighting men is described as "the fewest of all people," as inferior in numbers, it should seem, to each of the seven "greater and mightier nations" which then inhabited Canaan. And it is remarkable, that while there has been much controversy, whether the whole area of Palestine could contain the Hebrew settlers, the seven nations are "to be put out by little and little, lest the beasts of the field increase upon" the new occupants. The narrative of the campaign, in the book of Joshua, is equally inconsistent with these immense numbers; *e. g.*—the defiling of the whole army of 600,000 men, seven times in one day, round the walls of Jericho; the panic of the whole host at the repulse of 3000 men before Ai. The general impression from this book is, that it describes the invasion of nations, at once more warlike and numerous, by a smaller force, which, without reliance on divine succour, could not have achieved the conquest; rather than the irruption of an host, like that of Attila or Zengis, which might have borne down all opposition by the mere weight of numerical force. We have not, however, thought fit to depart from the numbers as they stand in the sacred writings; though, if we might suppose that a cypher has been added in the total sum, and throughout the several particulars; or if we might include men, women, and children under the 600,000, the history would gain, in our opinion, both in clearness and consistency. It may be added, that the number of the first-born (Numb. iii. 43) is quite out of proportion to that of the adult males.

which had been promised as the reward of their toils. The cloud still led the way; but their prudent leader likewise secured the assistance of Hobab, his brother-in-law, who, at the head of his clan, had been accustomed to traverse the desert, knew intimately the bearings of the country, the usual resting-places, the water-springs, and the character and habits of the wandering tribes.

Their march was not uninterrupted by adventures. At Taberah a fire broke out, which raged with great fury among the dry and combustible materials of which their tents were made. The people trembled before the manifest anger of the Lord: the destructive flames ceased at the prayer of Moses. Not long after, (at a place subsequently called Kibroth Hattaavah,) discontent and mutiny began to spread in the camp. The manna, on which they had long fed, began to pall upon the taste. With something of that feeling which reminds us of sailors who have been long at sea, they began to remember the flesh, the fish, and particularly the juicy and cooling fruits and vegetables which abounded in Egypt, a species of lotus, a favourite food among the lower orders, and the water-melon, the great luxury of southern climates. The discontents rose so high that, to strengthen the authority of the leader, a permanent council of seventy elders was appointed: the model, and, as the Jews assert, the origin, of their famous Sanhedrin. Still Moses doubted whether it might not be necessary to satisfy the mutinous spirits by slaying all the flocks and herds, which had hitherto been religiously reserved for sacrifices. By divine command he promised an immediate supply of food; but at the same time warned them of the fatal consequences which would attend the gratification of their appetites. Quails again fell in great abundance around the camp; but immediately on this change of diet, or even before, if we are to receive the account to the strict letter, a dreadful pestilence broke out. It has been suggested, that quails feed on hellebore, and other poisonous plants, and may thus become most pernicious and deadly food. The place was called Kibroth Hattaavah, the graves of the greedy after food. During the height of this mutiny, the leader received unexpected assistance from two of the seventy, Eldad and Medad, who, of their own accord, began to prophesy, to speak in the name of God, or to testify their religious zeal by some peculiar and enthusiastic language. Far from reproving with jealous indignation these intruders on his own spiritual function, the prudent leader commended their zeal, and expressed his desire that it might spread throughout the nation.

At their next stage new difficulties arose—jealousy and dissension within the family of the lawgiver. Miriam, the sister of Moses, who, from the prominent part she took in the rejoicings

on the shore of the Red Sea, seems to have been the acknowledged head of the female community, found, or supposed, herself supplanted in dignity by the Arabian (Ethiopian) wife of Moses—whether Zipporah, or a second wife, is not quite clear. Aaron espoused her quarrel; but the authority of Moses, and the impartiality of the law, were at once vindicated. The offenders were summoned before the tabernacle, and rebuked by the voice from the cloud. The mutinous Miriam was smitten with leprosy, and cast, like a common person, out of the camp, till she should have completed the legal term of purification.

At length the nation arrived on the southern frontier of the promised land, at a place called Kadesh Barnea. Their wanderings are now drawn to an end, and they are to reap the reward of all their toil and suffering, the final testimony of the divine favour. Twelve spies, one from each tribe, are sent out to make observations on the fruitfulness of the land, the character of the inhabitants, and the strength of their fortifications. Among these, the most distinguished are, Caleb, of the tribe of Judah, and Joshua, of Ephraim. During the forty days of their absence the assembled people anxiously await their return; and at length they are seen advancing towards the camp, loaded with delicious fruits, for it was now about the time of the vintage. In one respect, their report is most satisfactory: Canaan had undergone great improvement since the time when Abraham and Jacob had pastured their flocks in the open and unoccupied plains. The vine, the olive, the pomegranate, and the fig, were cultivated with great success; and the rich sample which they bear—a bunch of grapes, almost as much as two men can carry, suspended from a pole, with figs and pomegranates—confirms their cheering narrative. But, on the other hand, the intelligence, exaggerated by the fears of ten out of the twelve spies, overwhelms the whole people with terror. These treasures were guarded by fierce and warlike tribes, not likely to abandon their native plains without an obstinate and bloody contest. Their cities were strongly fortified; and above all, nearly the first enemies they would have to encounter would be men of colossal stature, the descendants of the gigantic people, celebrated in their early national traditions, people before whom they would be *as grasshoppers*. The inhabitants of Egypt are in general of small stature; and the same causes which tended to the rapid increase of the Jewish people in that country were unfavourable to their height and vigour. But, worse than this, their long slavery had debased their minds: the confidence in the divine protection gave way at once before their sense of physical inferiority, and the total deficiency of moral courage. "*Back to Egypt*," is the general cry. The brave Joshua and Caleb in vain reprove the general pusillanimity; their own lives

are in danger; and, in bitter disappointment, the great lawgiver perceives that a people accustomed to the luxuries of a relaxing climate, and inured to slavery from their birth, are not the materials from which he can construct a bold, conquering, and independent nation. But his great mind is equal even to those dispiriting circumstances; and, in all the wonderful history of the Jews, perhaps nothing is more extraordinary, or more clearly evinces his divine inspiration, and confident reliance on the God in whose name he spoke, than his conduct on this trying occasion. The decision is instantaneously formed; the plan of immediate conquest at once abandoned; the people are commanded, on the authority of God, to retreat directly from the borders of the promised land. They are neither to return to Egypt, nor assail an easier conquest; but they are condemned to wander for a definite period of forty years, in the barren and dismal regions through which they had marched. No hope is held out that their lives shall be prolonged; they are distinctly assured that not one of them shall receive those blessings, on the promise of which they had surrendered themselves to the guidance of Moses, abandoned Egypt, and traversed the wilderness. Even Moses himself, at the age of eighty, acquiesces in the discouraging apprehension, that he never shall enjoy the reward of his honourable and patriotic ambition—the pride and satisfaction of seeing his republic happily established in the land of Canaan. A desperate access of valour, or an impatient desire of beholding once, at least, the pleasant land, in vain repressed by their leader, brought the Hebrews into collision with their enemies. Those who ascended the hill, were fiercely assailed by the native warriors, and driven back to the main body with great loss. All the spies, except the faithful two, were cut off by an untimely death, a pestilence sent from God. Nothing remained, but in sullen resignation to follow their inexorable leader into that country in which they were to spend their lives and find their graves—the desert.

Yet, however signal this evidence of the authority acquired by Moses over the minds of the people, the first incident during the retreat showed a dangerous and widely-organised plan of rebellion. A formidable conspiracy was made to wrest the supreme civil power from Moses, and the priesthood from his brother. Korah, a Levite of the race of Kohath, announced himself as the competitor of the latter: Dathan, Abiram, and On, all descended from Reuben, rested their claim to pre-eminence on the primogeniture of their ancestor—the forfeiture of whose title they did not acknowledge: 250 of the chieftains engaged in the rebellion. Moses confidently appealed to God, and rested his own claim, and that of his brother, on the issue. The earth suddenly opened, and swallowed up the tents of the Reubenite

mutineers. Korah and his abettors were struck dead by fire from heaven. The people, instead of being overawed and confounded by these dreadful events, expressed their pity and indignation. The plague immediately broke out, by which 14,700 perished. Another miracle left Aaron in undisputed possession of the priestly office. Twelve rods, one for the prince of each tribe, were laid up in the tabernacle: that of Aaron alone budded, and produced the flowers and fruits of a living branch of the almond tree.

Of the Hebrew history, during the period of thirty-eight years passed in the wilderness, nothing is known, except the names of their stations.* Most of these, probably, were in the elevated district around Mount Sinai, which is about thirty miles in diameter, the most fruitful and habitable part of the peninsula. There the tribes would find water, and pasture for their flocks and cattle. Their own labours, and traffic with the caravans which crossed this region, would supply most of their wants. In short, their life was that of the Bedouins of the desert.

An opinion, advanced by Eusebius, has been recently revived —that, during this time, the great Egyptian conqueror, Sesostris, mounted the throne, and extended his victorious arms over a great part of the world. Should future discoveries in the hieroglyphical literature of Egypt throw light on this subject, it would be a remarkable fact, that the Israelites should have escaped, in the unassailable desert, the conquering and avenging power of their former masters.

At length, when the former generation had gradually sunk into the grave, and a new race had sprung up, trained to the bold and hardy habits of the wandering Arab—when the free air of the desert had invigorated their frames, and the canker of slavery had worn out of their minds—while they retained much of the arts and knowledge acquired in Egypt—the Hebrew nation suddenly appeared again at Kadesh; the same point on the southern frontier of Palestine, from which they had retreated. At this place Miriam died, and was buried with great honour. The whole camp was distressed from want of water, and was again miraculously supplied. Here, likewise, Moses himself betrayed his mistrust in the divine assistance; and the final sentence was issued, that he should not lead the nation into the possession of the promised land. Many formidable difficulties opposed their penetrating into Canaan on this frontier. The country was mountainous; the hills crowned with strong forts, which, like Jerusalem, then Jebus, long defied their arms, and were not finally subdued till the reign of David. It was not the

* Burckhardt expresses his regret, that the old Hebrew names of places in this region have almost invariably given place to more modern Arabian ones.

most fruitful or inviting district of the land; part of it was the wild region where David afterwards maintained himself with his freebooting companions, when persecuted by Saul. The gigantic clan about Hebron would be almost the first to oppose them; and the Philistines who occupied the coast, the most warlike of the tribes, might fall on their rear. They determine therefore to make a circuit; to pass round the Dead Sea, and crossing the Jordan, proceed at once into the heart of the richest and least defensible part of the land. To effect this march they must cross the deep valley which, under the name of El Ghor and El Araba, extends from the foot of the Dead Sea to the gulf of Elath. On the eastern side of this valley rises a lofty and precipitous ridge, Mount Seir, still called Djebal Shera, traversed only by a few narrow defiles; one only, called El Ghoeyr, passable by a large army. This ridge was occupied by the Edomites; and Moses sends to demand free passage through the country, under a strict promise to keep the high way (the Ghoeyr), and commit no ravage or act of hostility. While this negotiation was pending, one of the Canaanitish chieftains, Arad, made a bold and sudden attack on their outposts. He was repulsed, pursued into his own country, and some of his towns taken. But this advantage did not tempt them to alter their plan; and when the Edomites not merely refused, but appeared in great force to oppose their passage, no alternative remained, but to march southward along the valley of El Araba, and turn the ridge where it is very low, close to the branch of the Red Sea. Before they commenced this march, Aaron died, and was buried on Mount Hor. His place of burial is still pointed out by the natives, with every appearance of truth. Josephus fixes the position of Mount Hor a short distance to the west of Petra, the capital of the Nabathean Arabs. The ruins of this city were discovered by Burckhardt; and, exactly in the position pointed out by the Jewish historian, he was shown the burying-place of Aaron. Marching along the valley, due south, the Israelites arrived at a district dreadfully infested by serpents, "sent among them," in the language of the sacred volume, "as a punishment for their renewed murmurs." An adjacent region, visited by Burckhardt, is still dangerous on this account. Moses caused a serpent of brass to be made: by steadfastly gazing on this mysterious emblem, whoever had been bitten, was miraculously restored to health.

From the end of the ridge, near the gulf of Elath, their march turned northward. The Edomites, taken in flank on the open side of their country, offered no resistance, and the army advanced into the territory of the Moabites. This tribe had been weakened by an unsuccessful war against the Amorites, their northern neighbours, who had pushed their own frontier to the

river Arnon. The Israelites passed without opposition through the district of Moab, till they reached that stream, now called the Modjeb, which flows in a deep bed, with steep and barren banks. Before they violated the territory of the Amorites, they sent a peaceful message to Sihon, their king, requesting free passage on the same terms offered to the Edomites. The answer was warlike: a bloody battle took place, which decided the fate of the Amoritish kingdom; and the victorious Israelites advanced to the brook Jabbok, which divided the Amorites from the Ammonites, who lay to the eastward, and Bashan which extended along the banks of the Jordan, and the lake of Gennesareth. Og, the chieftain of the latter district, was of a gigantic stature. His iron bedstead, or the iron framework of the divan on which he used to recline, was nine feet long.* But the terror of these formidable antagonists had now passed. Og was defeated; his cities were taken, Argob, his capital, fell: and thus two decisive battles made the Israelites masters of the whole eastern bank of the Jordan, and of the lake of Gennesareth. Still the promised land remained unattempted; and the conquerors drew near the river, at no great distance above its influx into the Dead Sea, in a level district, belonging to the Moabites, nearly opposite to Jericho.

The Moabites hitherto had made no resistance; now, in the utmost apprehension, they sent to entreat succour from their more powerful neighbours, the tribes of Midian, who were scattered in different parts of northern Arabia, but lay in the greatest strength to the south-east of Moab, beyond the line on which the Israelites had advanced. Their messengers recounted the fearful numbers of the invaders in language singularly expressive to a people of herdsmen, *They shall lick up all that is round about us, as the ox licketh up the grass.* But they looked for more effective succour than the armed squadrons of Midian. The march of the Israelites had rather the appearance of a religious procession than of a warlike invasion. In the centre of the camp, instead of the sumptuous pavilion of their emir or king, arose the consecrated tent of their God. Their leader openly avowed a sacred and inspired character. Their battle-cry denounced their adversaries as the enemies of their God, who was to arise and scatter them. Would the gods of Moab and Midian, who seem to have been closely connected in their religious belief, interfere in their behalf? Could not some favourite of heaven be found who might balance the fortunes of the Hebrew chieftain, and rescue the natives from their otherwise inevitable servitude? There lived near the river Euphrates a religious man, whose reputation

* The cubit here is not the sacred cubit, one foot nine inches long, but the natural cubit.

for sanctity extended through all the tribes between that river and the Jordan. The imprecations of Balaam might arrest that tide of victory, which the prayers and sacrifices of Moses had obtained for his people; the disheartened warriors under the influence of their own prophet, would take courage to encounter again the fierce enthusiasm of the invaders; and in the strength and under the protection of their own deities, the contest might be renewed with confidence of success. But Balaam at once rejects the invitation of Balak, king of Moab, and declares that the God of the Israelites forbade him to take part against them. Again, the Moabites send a more urgent request by ambassadors of still higher rank, accompanied with gifts far more costly than they had offered, as the customary present, on the former occasion. At first Balaam refuses, alleging the same insuperable reason, the interdiction laid upon him by the powers of heaven. At length he consents to set forth, and Balak, king of Moab, receives him with the highest honour in one of his frontier cities. But the prophet came not with the lofty mien and daring language of an interpreter of the Divine Will, confident in the success of his oracular predictions. Strange prodigies, he related, had arrested him on his journey; an angel had appeared in his way; the beast on which he rode had spoken with a human voice, and whether favourable or unfavourable to the cause of Balak, he could only utter what he was commanded from on high. Balak first led him to an eminence sacred to the god of the country; here the king and the prophet built seven altars, a mystical number, sacred among many people, and on each altar offered a bullock and a ram. Balaam then retired apart to another holy and perhaps more open eminence, to await the inspiration. He cast his eyes below; he saw the countless multitudes of the Israelitish tents whitening the whole plain to an immense distance. Awe-struck, he returned to the king, and in wild oracular poetry, began to foretell the splendid fortunes of the people whom he was called upon to curse. Balak carried him to another eminence, where, as if he apprehended that the numbers of the enemy had appalled the mind of the prophet, he could only see a part of their camp. Again the sacrifice is offered, again the prophet retires, and comes back unfolding, in still more vivid strains, the irresistible might of the people whose cause God so manifestly espouses. A third time the trial is made. On the mountain which was the sanctuary of Peor, or from which, as his most sacred place, the great national god received his name, a third sacrifice is offered. But here the prophet did not, as before, retire to perform his private rites of divination. The trance fell on him at once, and he broke out in admiration of the beautiful order in which the tents of Israel were arrayed, magnified their force, and foretold their uninter-

rupted career of victory. In vain the king remonstrated. The language assumed a still higher strain and a more mysterious import; the glory of Israel, the total discomfiture of all their adversaries, was the burthen of his song. On the one side he beheld the mighty and regular army of Israel, on the other the few and scattered troops of some of the native tribes. On the latter he denounced ruin and destruction, on the former the most splendid destiny which prophetic language could unfold. The general belief of the Jews has dwelt on these mysterious words, *I shall see him, but not now, I shall behold him, but not nigh; there shall come a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre out of Israel,* as foretelling that great king and conqueror, the Messiah, who was to discomfit the enemies of the Jewish people, and establish their universal and permanent dominion.

But the perverse and venal mind of Balaam was little affected by his own predictions; he gave advice to the native princes more fatal than all his imprecations could have been. While the Israelites lay still encamped under the acacia groves in the plains near the Jordan, the festival of the Midianites approached, in which their maidens were accustomed to prostitute themselves, like the Babylonians and others of the eastern tribes, in honour of their deity. To these impure and flagitious rites, celebrated probably with voluptuous dances and effeminate music, the Israelites are invited: they fall into the snare, they join in the idolatrous sacrifices, partake of the forbidden banquets, worship the false gods, even their princes are corrupted, and the contagion reaches the camp. Zimri, a Simeonite of high rank, publicly leads to his tent the daughter of a Midianitish chieftain. In this dangerous emergency the conduct of the lawgiver is, as usual, prompt and decisive. The judges are commanded to pronounce the capital sentence enacted in the law. Phineas, the son of Eleazar, the high priest, seized with holy indignation, transfixes the Simeonite and his mistress in each other's arms. No sooner had this been done, than the pestilence ceased, which had broken out in the camp, and by which 24,000 persons had died. The tribes of Midian paid a dreadful penalty for this insidious and unprovoked attempt on the prosperity of the Israelites: 12,000 chosen warriors, 1,000 from each tribe, made a rapid descent on their country, carried fire and sword into every quarter, destroyed their towns, slew their kings, cut off all their males with the sword, not sparing those of their women who had been the cause of the war, and reserving only the young female virgins as slaves. In the general massacre fell Balaam the prophet. The booty in cattle and slaves was immense; 675,000 sheep, 72,000 beeves, 61,000 asses, 32,000 female slaves. This was divided into two equal portions, one half assigned to the combatants, the other to the rest of the people. From the

share of the combatants a five hundredth part, a fiftieth part from that of the people, was deducted for the sacred treasury committed to the care of the priests and Levites.

After this conquest some of the Israelites began to think that they had done enough. The tribes of Reuben and Gad, addicted to a pastoral life, and rich in flocks and herds, could desire no fairer possession than the luxuriant meadows of Bashan, and the sloping pastures of Gilead. They demanded their portion of the land on the east of the Jordan. The lawgiver assented to their request on the condition that their warriors, leaving their women and their flocks behind, should cross the river, and assist their brethren in the conquest of Palestine. Accordingly the whole conquered territory was assigned to Reuben, Gad, and half the tribe of Manasseh.

At length the termination of the forty years approached, the appointed period at which the Israelites were to enter into the promised land. But the triumph of the people was to be preceded by the death of the lawgiver. He was to behold, not to enter, the promised land. Once he had sinned from want of confidence in the Divine assistance; the penalty affixed to his offence was now exacted. As his end approached, he summoned the assembly of all Israel to receive his final instructions. His last thoughts were the welfare of the commonwealth, and the permanence of the constitution. Already the people had been numbered for the third time; they were found not to have increased or decreased very materially since the departure from Egypt. Moses recounted their whole eventful history since their deliverance, their toils, their dangers, their triumphs; he recapitulated and consolidated in one brief code, the book of Deuteronomy, the whole law, in some degree modified and adapted to the future circumstances of the republic. Finally he appointed a solemn ratification of the law, which although it was not to take place, nor did take place, till after the conquest, yet, is so deeply impressed with the genius and lofty character of the inspired lawgiver, that it may be better to relate it here, than at the time when it was fulfilled under the direction of Joshua.

Never did human imagination conceive a scene so imposing, so solemn, so likely to impress the whole people with deep and enduring awe, as the final ratification of their polity, commanded by the dying lawgiver. In the territory afterwards assigned to the tribe of Ephraim, a central region, stand two remarkable mountains, separated by a deep and narrow ravine, in which the ancient Sechem, the modern Naplous, stands. Here all Israel was to be assembled, six tribes on one height, six on the other. In the open day, and in a theatre, as it were, created by the God of nature for the express purpose, after a sacrifice offered

on an altar of stones, the people of Israel testified their free and deliberate acceptance of that constitution which their God had enacted. They accepted it with its inseparable conditions, maledictions the most awful, which they imprecated on their own heads, in case they should apostatise from its statutes—blessings, equally ample and perpetual, if they should adhere to its holy and salutary provisions. The type of either destiny lay before them: Mount Ebal was a barren, stony, arid, and desolate crag; Gerizim, a lovely and fertile height, with luxuriant verdure, streams of running water, and cool and shady groves.* As God had blasted Ebal, so he would smite the disobedient with barrenness, hunger, and misery; as he crowned Gerizim with beauty and fruitfulness, so he would bless the faithful Israelites with abundance, with peace, with happiness. On Mount Ebal—as the Levites read the heads of the prohibitory statutes, and denounced the curse against the idolater, the oppressor, the adulterer, the unnatural son, the incestuous, the murderer—the tribes of Reuben, Gad, Asher, Zebulun, Dan, and Naphtali, with one voice, which was echoed back from the opposite height, responded Amen, so be it. On Gerizim stood the tribes of Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Joseph, and Benjamin, as the blessings of the law were recited, to give the same unreserved assent.

Having thus appointed all the circumstances of this impressive scene, the lawgiver himself enlarged on the blessings of obedience; but with a dark and melancholy foreboding of the final destiny of his people, he laid before them still more at length the consequences of apostasy and wickedness. The sublimity of his denunciations surpasses anything in the oratory or the poetry of the whole world. Nature is exhausted in furnishing terrific images; nothing, excepting the real horrors of the Jewish history—the miseries of their sieges, the cruelty, the contempt, the oppressions, the persecutions, which, for ages, this scattered and despised and detested nation have endured—can approach the tremendous maledictions which warned them against the violation of their law. *The Lord shall smite thee with a consumption, and with a fever, and with an inflammation, and with an extreme burning, and with the sword, and with blasting, and with mildew; and they shall pursue thee until thou perish. And the heaven that is over thy head shall be brass, and the earth that is under thee iron. The Lord shall make the rain of thy land powder and dust; from heaven shall it come down upon thee till thou be destroyed . . . . . And thou shalt become an*

* Whether the sacrifice was offered on Ebal or Gerizim was a question long contested with the greatest acrimony by the Jews and Samaritans, each appealing to their own copy of the law.

astonishment, and a proverb, and a byword among all nations whither the Lord shall lead thee. A nation of fierce countenance . . . shall besiege thee in all thy gates, ... and thou shalt eat the fruit of thine own body, the flesh of thy sons and thy daughters, which the Lord thy God hath given thee, in the siege and in the straitness wherewith thine enemies shall distress thee. . . . . And among the nations shalt thou find no ease, neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest; for the Lord shall give thee there a trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and sorrow of mind; and thy life shall hang in doubt before thee, and thou shalt fear day and night, and shalt have none assurance of thy life. In the morning thou shalt say, Would God it were even! and at even thou shalt say, Would God it were morning! for the fear of thine heart wherewith thou shalt fear, and for the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see. The sequel of our history must furnish a most awful comment on these terrific denunciations.

And now closing, at length, his admonitions, his warnings, and his exhortations to repentance—having renewed the covenant with the whole nation from the highest to the lowest, *from the prince to the hewer of wood and drawer of water*—having committed the law to the custody of the Levites, and appointed the valiant Joshua as his successor—finally, having enriched the national poetry with an ode worthy of him who composed the hymn of triumph by the Red Sea—Moses ascended the loftiest eminence in the neighbourhood, in order that he might once behold, before his eyes closed for ever, the land of promise. From the top of Mount Abarim, or Nebo, the former of which names may perhaps be traced in Djebel Attarous, the highest point in the district, the lawgiver, whose eyes were not yet dimmed, and who had suffered none of the infirmities of age, might survey a large tract of country. To the right lay the mountain pastures of Gilead, the romantic district of Bashan; the windings of the Jordan might be traced along its broad and level valley, till, almost beneath his feet, it flowed into the Dead Sea. To the north, spread the luxuriant plains of Esdraelon, the more hilly, yet fruitful country of Lower Galilee. Right opposite stood the city of Jericho, embowered in its groves of palms—beyond it the mountains of Judæa, rising above each other till they reached the sea. Gazing on this magnificent prospect, beholding in prophetic anticipation his great and happy commonwealth occupying its numerous towns and blooming fields, Moses breathed his last. The place of his burial was unknown, lest, perhaps, the impious gratitude of his followers might ascribe divine honours to his name, and assemble to worship at his sepulchre.

Such was the end of the Hebrew lawgiver — a man, who, considered merely in an historical light, without any reference

to his divine inspiration, has exercised a more extensive and permanent influence over the destinies of his own nation and mankind at large, than any other individual recorded in the annals of the world. Christianity and Mahometanism alike respect, and, in different degrees, derive their origin from the Mosaic institutes. Thus, throughout Europe, with all its American descendants—the larger part of Asia, and the north of Africa—the opinions, the usages, the civil as well as religious ordinances—retain deep and indelible traces of their descent from the Hebrew polity. To his own nation, Moses was chieftain, historian, poet, lawgiver. He was more than all these—he was the author of their civil existence. Other founders of republics, and distinguished legislators, have been, like Numa, already at the head of a settled and organised community; or have been voluntarily invested with legislatorial authority, like Charondas, Lycurgus, and Solon, by a people suffering the inconveniences of anarchy. Moses had first to form his people, and bestow on them a country of their own, before he could create his commonwealth. The Hebrews would either have been absorbed in the population of Egypt, or remained a wretched Pariah caste, had Moses never lived, or never received his divine commission. In this condition he took them up, rescued them from captivity: finding them unfit for his purpose, he kept them for forty years under the severe discipline of the desert; then led them as conquerors to take permanent possession of a most fruitful region. Yet, with singular disregard to his own fame, though with great advantage to his design, Moses uniformly referred to an earlier and more remote personage the dignity of parent of his people. The Jews were children of Abraham, not of Moses; they were a distinguished nation as descendants of the patriarch, not as compatriots of the lawgiver. The virtue of pure and disinterested patriotism never shone forth more unclouded. He nobly declined the offer made to him by the Almighty, to substitute his own family for the offending race of Israel. The permanent happiness of the whole people was the one great object to which the life of Moses was devoted; so that, if we could for an instant suspect that he made use of religion for a political purpose, still that purpose would entitle him to the highest rank among the benefactors of mankind, as having been the first who attempted to regulate society by an equal written law. If God was not the sovereign of the Jewish state, the law was: the best, and only safe, vicegerent of Almighty Providence, to which the welfare of human communities can be entrusted. If the Hebrew commonwealth was not a theocracy, it was a nomocracy. On the other hand, if, as we suppose, in the Mosaic polity the civil was subordinate to the religious end, still the immediate well-being of

the community was not sacrificed to the more remote object. Independent of the temporal blessings promised to the maintenance of the law, the Hebrew commonwealth was so constituted, as to produce (all circumstances of the times, the situation and character of the people, considered) as much, or more, real happiness and independence than any existing or imaginary government of ancient times. Let Moses, as contrasted with human legislators, be judged according to his age, he will appear not merely the first who founded a commonwealth on just principles, but a lawgiver who advanced political society to as high a degree of perfection, as the state of civilisation which his people had attained, or were capable of attaining, could possibly admit. But if such be the benign, the prematurely wise, and original character of the Mosaic institutions, the faith of the Jew and the Christian in the divine commission of the great legislator is the more strongly established and confirmed.

BOOK V.

THE CONQUEST.

Joshua assumes the Command—Passage of the Jordan—Capture of Jericho—War with the Canaanites of the South—and of the North—Partition of the Land—Law of Property.

THE lawgiver had done his part; the warrior succeeded to the administration of affairs, and to the directing intercourse with divine Providence. For thirty days Israel lamented the death of Moses, and then prepared themselves to fulfil his dying instructions. The first military operation of Joshua was to send spies to gain intelligence, and to survey the strength of Jericho, the most powerful city near the place where he proposed to cross the Jordan. The spies entered the city, and took up their lodging in the house of a woman who kept a public caravansary. The king sent to apprehend them; but Rahab, the mistress of the house, struck with religious terror at the conquests of the Jews, and acknowledging the superiority of their God, concealed them, and provided them with means of escape, letting them down the city wall, on which her house stood, and directing them to fly by the opposite road to that which their pursuers had taken. She received a promise, that on the capture of the city the lives of herself and her family should be spared. She was commanded

to mark her house by a scarlet line hanging from the window. The spies brought word that the success of the Hebrew arms had struck terror into the native princes; and Joshua immediately gave orders to effect the passage of the river. The entrance into the promised land was made with suitable solemnity, not in the usual order of march. Instead of occupying its secure central position, the ark of God, borne by the Levites, advanced to the van. This was a bold and dangerous measure. Joshua had no security against a sudden movement, or a secret ambush of the enemy, which might surprise the sacred coffer, and thus annihilate the hopes, by extinguishing the religious courage of the people. The ark moved forward to the bank of the river; the whole army—for the warriors of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh, leaving their families and flocks behind, assembled in the common enterprise—followed at the distance of more than three-quarters of a mile. In the spring, the Jordan is swollen by the early rains, and by the melting of the snow on Mount Lebanon. In its ordinary channel, it is described by Pococke, as being about the breadth of the Thames at Windsor, deep and rapid; but, during its inundation, it forms a second bed, of much greater width, the boundaries of which, according to Maundrell, may be distinctly traced. It was now the season of the flood; but no sooner had the priests, bearing the ark, entered the river, than the descending waters were arrested, the channel became dry, and the whole army—while the ark remained in the centre of the river—passed in safety to the western bank. They encamped in a place named Gilgal; there they kept the fortieth passover since its first institution in Egypt. A rude monument, formed of twelve stones from the bed of the river, was set up to commemorate their wonderful passage; all who had not undergone circumcision, were initiated by that rite into the commonwealth; and here the manna, on which they had fed in the desert, entirely failed.

Palestine was at this time governed by a multitude of petty independent kings, who were appalled by this sudden invasion, not of a hostile tribe in quest of plunder, or of a neighbouring monarch, with the design of reducing the country to a tributary province; but of a whole people, advancing with the obvious and avowed intention of obtaining a permanent settlement. The extraordinary circumstances which attended the march of the Israelites did not abate their fears. But their fears neither taught them prudence nor unanimity. At first they entered into no league to resist the common enemy; each kingdom or city was left to make the best defence in its power. The storm first broke upon Jericho; a city standing at the extremity of a plain, which slopes to the Jordan, encircled on every side by an

amphitheatre of hills, which almost overhang it with their precipitous cliffs. The inhabitants of Jericho prudently awaited behind their walls the approach of the enemy. To their surprise, no attempt was made to scale the walls, or force the gates. They saw what might seem a peaceful procession going regularly round the walls of the city. The army marched first, in total silence. In the rear came the ark, escorted by seven priests, blowing seven trumpets, made of rams' horns. For six successive days this mysterious circuit took place; no voice was heard from the vast and breathless army—nothing but the shrill wailing of the trumpet. On the seventh day, this extraordinary ceremony was repeated seven times. At the close of the last round, the whole army on a sudden set up a tremendous shout, the walls of the city fell, and the defenceless people found the triumphant enemy rushing along their streets. The slaughter was promiscuous and unsparing; not merely human life, but the beasts of labour were destroyed. Rahab and her family alone escaped. The city was devoted to perpetual desolation, and a malediction imprecated upon the head of him who should attempt to rebuild it.

The capture of Jericho was of great importance; for the art of besieging towns, however rudely fortified, was yet in its infancy. The cities to the east of the Jordan had surrendered in consequence of pitched battles in the open field. Some of the hill fortresses, like Jerusalem, were not taken till the reign of David.

In their next expedition, the Israelites suffered a sudden check. Three thousand men marched against the neighbouring city of Ai, but were repulsed with loss. The discomfiture implied the abandonment of their cause by the great Giver of victory—their abandonment, guilt. The lots were cast to discover the offender. The lot of condemnation fell on the tribe of Judah. Among the families of Judah, it fell on the family of the Zarhites—of that family, on the household of Zabdi—of that household, on Achan, the son of Carmi. The criminal confessed that he had purloined from the part of the booty consecrated to God, a rich garment of Babylonian work, and some silver. He was stoned, and his remains, and all his property, burned with fire.

After this signal proof, that no crime could escape detection, the army set forth, and by a stratagem became masters of Ai. The main body approached the city, and, when the enemy, emboldened by their former success, sallied forth against them, the Israelites, pretending a sudden panic, fled on all sides. The warriors of Ai pursued; but turning back, saw, in utter amazement, their city in a blaze. Joshua had placed 5000 men in ambush, who, rising at an appointed signal, rushed on the town

and, having set it on fire, advanced to take the enemy in the rear, while Joshua, facing about, attacked them in front. The whole people was exterminated, their king hanged.

The great body of the Israelites remained encamped at Gilgal, a central position. Hither in a short time came some travel-tainted men, with mouldy provisions, their wine-skins full of rents, their shoes worn through. They described themselves as coming from a distant country, where the fame of the Jewish conquests had reached them, to tender their humble submission. The Israelites incautiously consented to a treaty; but found shortly that they had been outwitted by the inhabitants of Gibeon (a Canaanitish city) and its dependent villages, which lay at no great distance. The treaty was held sacred; the lives of the Gibeonites spared; but they were degraded into a sort of slaves to the officiating priesthood, in which humble condition we find their descendants at a late period in the history.

A league was now formed among the southern princes of the Amoritish race, five in number, headed by Adonibezek, King of Jerusalem, to revenge the defection of Gibeon, and to arrest the further progress of the invaders. They attacked the Gibeonites, who sent in all haste to demand assistance. Joshua, by a rapid night-march, fell on the Canaanites, defeated and pursued them with immense slaughter; while a tremendous hail-storm increased the panic and destruction of the flight. During this pursuit took place that memorable event, the arresting of the sun and moon in their respective courses, at the prayer of Joshua, in order that he might complete the extermination of his flying enemies. Many learned writers, whom to suspect of hostility to revealed religion would be the worst uncharitableness, have either doubted the reality, or the extent of this miracle. Some have supposed the miracle only apparent, and have imagined a preternatural refraction of the sun's rays after it had really sunk below the horizon. The words "about a whole day," during which the sun hasted not to go down, they translate, "after the day was finished." Others conceive that the whole is a highly-wrought poetical passage from the book of Jasher (which there is good reason to believe was the great collection of national lyrics), and hence abounding, according to the genius of Hebrew poetry, with the most daring apostrophes, and delighting in figures drawn from the heavenly bodies. Those who contend for the literal acceptation of the miracle, urge, as its obvious purpose, the giving a death-blow to the prevailing superstition of the country, the worship of the sun and moon. Nor can it be denied that there is something astonishingly sublime in supposing the deities of the conquered people thus arrested in their career, and forced to witness the discomfiture, and contribute to the extirpation of their worshippers.

After this victory the conquest was rapid and easy: the five kings had fled for refuge to a cave, from which they were taken and put to death; city after city fell; tribe after tribe was exterminated. Joshua returned to Gilgal, having completed the subjugation of the south as far as Gaza, with the exception of some of the strong fortresses.

The northern chieftains had looked on with impolitic indifference during the subjugation of the south; they now saw the tide of conquest roll back upon themselves; and too late began to prepare for their defence. They organised a powerful confederacy, and pitched their camp near the waters of Merom, probably the Samachonite Lake, the first into which the Jordan flows. Their strength lay in their cavalry and chariots, which, in the central plains and valleys of Palestine, could act with greater effect than in the more mountainous district of the south. Joshua suddenly fell upon them; and one battle decided the fate of the whole region. The conqueror deliberately destroyed all the chariots, and maimed the horses; thus wisely incapacitating the people from extending their conquests beyond the borders of Canaan. The war lasted, on the whole, seven years, the latter part of which was consumed in the reduction of the cities. During this period the seven nations—the Canaanites, properly so called—the Amorites, the Hittites, the Hivites, the Girgashites, the Perizzites, and the Jebusites—were entirely subdued, though not extirpated; thirty-one kings had fallen under the sword. At the end of the seven years, the Israelites grew weary of the war; they longed to enjoy the fruits of their victories. The tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh, impatiently demanded to be dismissed to their families and possessions on the east of the Jordan. Fatally for the future peace of the commonwealth, the war was suspended; the conquest remained unfinished; many of the Canaanites remained within the Jewish territory, ready on all occasions to wreak their vengeance on their conquerors; and perpetually weaning the Israelites from their own pure and spiritual faith to the barbarous or licentious rites of idolatry.

The two first objects, after the conquest, were, first, the solemn recognition of the law on Mount Ebal and Gerizim, according to the last instructions of Moses. This scene took place with all its imposing circumstances. Secondly, the survey and division of the land, with the location of the tribes.

It is almost impossible to calculate, with accuracy, the area of a country, the frontier of which is irregular on every side. Lowman has given three different estimates of the extent of territory occupied by the twelve tribes; the mean between the two extremes approaches, probably, the nearest to the truth. According to this computation, the Jewish dominion, at the time

of the Division, was 180 miles long, by 130 wide, and contained 14,976,000 acres. "This quantity of land will divide, to 600,000 men, about 21½ acres in property, with a remainder of 1,976,000 acres for the Levitical cities, the princes of tribes, the heads of families, and other public uses." Assuming this estate of 21½ acres, assigned to each household, of course a larger proportion of pasture must have been given to those tribes who subsisted on their herds and flocks, than of arable to those who lived by tillage; the portions of the latter, therefore, must be considerably reduced. On the other hand, the extraordinary fertility of the whole country must be taken into the account. No part was waste; very little was occupied by unprofitable wood; the more fertile hills were cultivated in artificial terraces, others were hung with orchards of fruit trees; the more rocky and barren districts were covered with vineyards. Even in the present day the wars and misgovernment of ages have not exhausted the natural richness of the soil. Galilee, says Malté Brun, would be a paradise were it inhabited by an industrious people, under an enlightened government. No land could be less dependent on foreign importation; it bore within itself everything that could be necessary for the subsistence and comfort of a simple agricultural people. The climate was healthy, the seasons regular: the former rains, which fell about October, after the vintage, prepared the ground for the seed; the latter, which prevailed during March and the beginning of April, made it grow rapidly. Directly the rains ceased, the grain ripened with still greater rapidity, and was gathered in before the end of May. The summer months were dry and very hot, but the nights cool and refreshed by copious dews. In September, the vintage was gathered. Grain of all kinds, wheat, barley, millet, zea, and other sorts, grew in abundance; the wheat commonly yielded thirty for one. Besides the vine and the olive, the almond, the date, figs of many kinds, the orange, the pomegranate, and many other fruit trees, flourished in the greatest luxuriance. Great quantity of honey was collected. The balm tree, which produced the opobalsamum, a great object of trade, was probably introduced from Arabia in the time of Solomon. It flourished about Jericho and in Gilead.

By giving a rapid sketch of the territory assigned to each tribe, we shall be enabled to show the political divisions, the boundaries, the more remarkable features in the general surface of the country, and the productions most abundant in each district. Commencing from the Transjordanic possessions, the Israelites' southern border was the river Arnon, which divided the land of the Hebrews from that of Moab. Here the tribe of Reuben received their allotment—the northern bank of the Arnon up to Aroer. It comprehended a large portion of the

Ghor, or valley of the Jordan. Its chief cities, Heshbon, Eleale, and Sibmah, were famous for their vines. All these towns stood inland in the more mountainous district. The ruins of many of them are still visible, and retain their ancient names, Aroer (Arayer), Heshbon (Hesbon), Eleale (El Aal), Baal Meon (Myoun), Medeba (Madeba). The whole district is called the Belka. The superiority of its pasturage over that of all southern Syria, is the cause that its possession is still fiercely contested by the Arabs. The Bedouins have a saying, "Thou canst not find a country like the Belka." The beef and mutton of this district are preferred to all others. The tribe of Gad was placed to the north of the Reubenites. It is almost impossible to trace their boundary to the south. Their land lay on both sides of the Jabbok (the modern Zerka). On the east it extended as far as Rabbath Ammon, afterwards Philadelphia. It contained all the east side of the valley of the Jordan up to the foot of the sea of Gennesareth, and the southern part of the mountain range called Gilead, the name of which, Djelaad, is still found belonging to a ridge south of the Jabbok; formerly, however, it extended to the whole range from Lebanon to the land of Reuben. Mr. Buckingham was struck with the romantic scenery of this district. Gilead was celebrated for its flocks, and for goats with remarkably fine hair, to which the tresses of the bride, in the Song of Solomon, are compared. North again of Gad was settled the half tribe of Manasseh, occupying the eastern shore of the lake of Gennesareth, the whole of Bashan, famous for its vigorous breed of cattle, and probably some part of the fertile corn-lands of the ancient Auronitis, the modern Haouran. This part of the tribe was under the command of Machir, the eldest descendant of Manasseh.

Within the borders of the promised land, the most northern point, at the foot of Lebanon, and near the fountain of the Jordan, was occupied by part of the tribe of Dan, who, finding themselves straitened in their quarters, migrated and took the town of Laish, which assumed the name of their tribe. Next came Naphtali, its possessions probably running up into the delightful valleys of the Anti-Libanus. To Asher was assigned the sea-coast, a long and narrow slip of land, from the frontiers of Sidon, all round the noble bay of Ptolemais, excepting where it was broken by part of the territory of Zebulun, to Carmel, including the mountain and part of the rich valley at its foot. But the sea-ports, Achzib (Ecdippa) and Acco, (the celebrated Ptolemais, the key of the country during the Crusades,) remained in the power of the old inhabitants. The tribe of Zebulun stretched across the land, with one extremity resting on the lake of Gennesareth, the other on the sea, in some part of the bay of Acco. Issachar, the other half of Manasseh, and Ephraim, lay

in the same manner, one below the other, extending from the Jordan to the Mediterranean. On the borders of Zebulun and Issachar, rose the Mount Tabor, standing quite alone, on the edge of the great plain of Jezreel (Esdraelon), which is described, even in the present day, as spreading out a boundless expanse of the most luxuriant grain, waving like the sea. The portion of Manasseh became more hilly. Ephraim lay below, a fertile, but uneven, and in some parts mountainous territory. On its northern extremity rose Ebal and Gerizim, and to the south the Mount of Ephraim, a district in which were several passes of great importance in the military history of the Jews. Ephraim ranked as the most numerous and powerful of the northern tribes. Southward, the sea-coast and the western part of the inland district fell to the lot of Dan. Benjamin took possession of the palm groves and fertile plain of Jericho, spread over part of the valley of the Jordan and the head of the Dead Sea, and extended westward as far as Jebus, then a fortress in the possession of the enemy, afterwards Jerusalem. The rest of the south, to the borders of Edom, excepting a district on the south-west about Gaza, assigned to Simeon, made a large and opulent domain of the great tribe of Judah, to whom the first lot had fallen. On the whole, the best pastures were on the east of Jordan, the central plains were the most productive corn lands, the hills of Judah and Benjamin had the richest vineyards and olive grounds.

The assignment of the different estates, the average of which we will assume at about twenty acres, as a farther deduction should be made at this period on account of the unconquered parts of the territory, seems to have been left to the local government of each tribe. Certain distinguished persons, as Joshua and Caleb, received grants of land larger than ordinary; perhaps the heads of the tribes enjoyed a similar privilege; but the whole land was subject to the common law of property. The great principle of this law was the inalienability of estates. Houses in walled towns might be sold in perpetuity, if unredeemed within the year; land only for a limited period. At the jubilee, every estate reverted, without repurchase, to the original proprietor. Even during this period, it might be redeemed, should the proprietor become rich enough, at the value which the estate would produce during the years unelapsed before the jubilee. This remarkable Agrarian law secured the political equality of the people, and anticipated all the mischiefs so fatal to the early republics of Greece and Italy, the appropriation of the whole territory of the state by a rich and powerful landed oligarchy, with the consequent convulsions of the community, from the deadly struggle between the patrician and plebeian orders. In the Hebrew state, the improvident individual might

reduce himself and his family to penury or servitude, but he could not perpetuate a race of slaves or paupers. Every fifty years, God, the King and Lord of the soil, as it were, resumed the whole territory, and granted it back in the same portions to the descendants of the original possessors. It is curious to observe in this earliest practical Utopia, the realisation of Machiavelli's great maxim, the constant renovation of the state according to the first principles of its constitution. The outline of this plan may have been Egyptian. The king of that country, during the administration of Joseph became proprietor of the whole land, and leased it out on a reserved rent of one-fifth, exactly the two-tenths or tithes paid by the Israelites. Thus the body of the people were an independent yeomanry, residing on their hereditary farms, the boundaries of which remained for ever of the same extent; for the removal of a neighbour's land-mark was among the crimes against which the law uttered its severest malediction; an invasion of family property, that of Naboth's vineyard, is selected as the worst crime of a most tyrannical king; and in the decline of the state, the prophets denounce, with their sternest energy, this violation of the very basis of the commonwealth. In this luxuriant soil, each man had the only capital necessary to cultivate his property to the highest degree of productiveness, the industry of himself and his sons. Hence large properties would by no means have increased the general wealth, while they might have endangered the independence of the people. The greater danger to be apprehended in so populous a country, might seem to have been the minute subdivisions of the estates, as all the sons inherited; the eldest had a double portion. Females succeeded only in default of males, and then under the restriction that they might not marry out of their own tribe. Yet this inconvenience seems never to have been practically felt, the land, though closely, was never over peopled. Periods of famine are by no means common.

The law against usury must not be omitted. It is well known how much the exactions from the poor, through the enormous rate of interest, added to the political inequalities, factions, and jealousies, which distracted Rome and Athens. The Hebrew lawgiver anticipated this evil likewise. He positively prohibited, not merely usury, but all interest whatever on money lent to a Hebrew. A loan was a charitable accommodation, due from a brother to a brother. Money might be lent with profit or advantage only to a foreigner. Even pledges, or goods taken in pawn, were under strict regulations. Nothing absolutely necessary to life was to be retained; on no account both the upper and lower stones of the hand-mill in common use. Raiment was to be restored before nightfall; the raiment of a widow was not to

be taken at all in pledge. The house was sacred, and could not be entered to seize the goods in pawn.

Each estate was held on the tenure of military service; all Israel was one standing army. Some curious exemptions were made, which show the attention of the lawgiver to the agricultural habits and domestic comfort of his people—the being just married, or having newly taken a piece of land into cultivation.

The only taxes were the two-tenths and the other religious offerings. The first tenth was assigned to the tribe of Levi, as we have before observed, for the maintenance of this learned nobility, and in return for the surrender of their right to a twelfth portion of the land. The Levites had likewise forty-eight cities, each with a domain of between eight and nine hundred acres. Thirteen of these cities were in the northern provinces of Naphtali, Issachar, Asher, and the half Manasseh beyond Jordan. Twelve in Reuben, Gad, and Zebulun. In Ephraim, half Manasseh, and Dan, ten. In Judah, Benjamin, and Simeon, thirteen.

The second tenth was called the Tithe of Feasts, or the Tithe of the Poor. For the first and second year, in the place where the nation assembled for divine worship, *in the presence of the Lord;* every third year, in the chief town of the district, public tables were opened, at which all ranks and classes feasted together at the common expense of the richer proprietors. An institution, simple and beautiful, securing the advantages of brotherhood and kindly feeling, while it avoided that too great interference with the private and domestic habits which arose out of the public tables in some of the Grecian republics. The Hebrew was reminded sufficiently often that he was member of a larger national, and a smaller municipal community, but his usual sphere was that of private life. The Greek was always a public man, the member of the family was lost in the citizen.

The only public revenue of the Hebrew commonwealth was that of the sacred treasury, the only public expenditure that of the religious worship. This was supported by a portion of the spoils taken in war; the first-fruits, which in their institution were no more than could be carried in a basket, at a later period were rated to be one part in sixty; the redemption of the first-born, and of whatever was vowed to the Lord. Almost everything of the last class might be commuted for money according to a fixed scale. The different annual festivals were well calculated to promote internal commerce: maritime or foreign trade is scarcely mentioned in the law, excepting in two obscure prophetic intimations of advantages which the tribes of Dan and Zebulun were to derive from their maritime situation. On this subject the lawgiver could have learned nothing in Egypt. The commerce of that country was confined to the inland caravan trade. The

Egyptians hated or dreaded the sea, which they considered either the dwelling of the evil principle, or the evil principle itself. At all events, the Hebrews at this period were either blind to the maritime advantages of their situation, or unable to profit by them. The ports were the last places they conquered. Sidon, if indeed within their boundary, never lost its independence; Tyre, if it existed, was a town too obscure to be named; Ecdippa and Acco remained in the power of the Canaanites; Joppa is not mentioned as a port till much later. The manufactures of the people supplied their own wants; they brought from Egypt the arts of weaving woollens and linens, stuffs made of fine goat's hair, and probably cotton; of dyeing in various colours, and bleaching, and of embroidering; of many kinds of carpenter's work; of building, some of the rules of which were regulated by law; of making earthenware vessels; of working in iron, brass, and the precious metals, both casting them and forming them with the tool; of gilding, engraving seals, and various other kinds of ornamental work, which were employed in the construction of the altars and sacred vessels of the Tabernacle.

Thus the posterity of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, were permanently established in the promised land, each man, according to the picturesque language of the country, dwelt under his own vine or his own fig-tree. No accident disturbed the peace and harmony of the state before the death of Joshua, excepting a dispute between the tribes within and those beyond the Jordan. The Trans-jordanic tribes raised a public altar to God; this was resented by the rest of the nation as a signal of defection from the national religion and national confederacy. But before they resorted to violent means, they tried an amicable remonstrance. The conference was conducted with temper and moderation; the tribes beyond the river disclaimed all intention of derogating from the dignity of the single national place of divine worship, and protested that they had raised the altar, not for the purpose of offering rival sacrifices, but only to commemorate to the latest posterity that their tribes formed a part of the great national confederacy. The explanation was considered satisfactory, and peace restored.

A short time after this event Joshua, whose military prowess and experience had directed the conquest of the country, died. He appointed no successor to the supreme authority, and the separate republics, under the control of their own chieftains, and other local officers, assumed the administration of affairs. The Utopia of the lawgiver commenced its political existence; the land of milk and honey began to yield its fruits to a simple, free, and pious race of husbandmen, a people worthy of its blessings: but one fatal act of disobedience, the desisting from the war before

their enemies were rooted out, prevented its permanence; and the land which was intended to be a scene of peace and freedom, before long became that of war and servitude.

BOOK VI.

THE JUDGES.

Authority of the Judges—Destruction of the Tribe of Benjamin—Othniel—Deborah—Gideon—Jephthah—Samson—Eli—Samuel—Nomination of Saul as King.

THE PERIOD

FROM THE EXODUS TO THE BUILDING OF THE TEMPLE.

According to Josephus and St. Paul, 591 *yrs.* 6 *m.*

The desert	40
Conquest and partition	7
To first servitude	20
Mesopotamian servitude	8
Othniel to second servitude	40
Moabite servitude	18
Ehud and Shamgar	80
Canaanitish servitude	20
Deborah and Barak	40
Midianitish servitude	7
Gideon	40
Abimelech	3
Tola	22
Jair	22
Ammonitish servitude	18
Jephthah	6
Ibzan	7
Elon	10
Abdon	8
Philistine servitude—Samson and Eli	60
Anarchy	20.6
Samuel	12
Samuel and Saul	40
David	40
Solomon	3
	591.6

According to the Vulgar Bible Chronology, 478 *yrs.* 6 *m.*

The desert	40
Conquest and partition	6.4
Mesopotamian servitude and Othniel	40
Moab and Ehud	80
Canaanites and Deborah	40
Midian and Gideon	40
To Abimelech	9.2
Abimelech—Tola—Jair	48
Jephthah	6
Ibzan—Elon—Abdon	25
Eli and Samson	40
Samuel	21
Saul	40
David	40
Solomon	3
	478.6

According to the shorter scheme, the Exodus took place about 1490 B.C.; according to the longer, about 1600 B.C.

THE period of the Judges is the heroic age of Hebrew history. It abounds in wild adventure, and desperate feats of individual valour. Personal activity, daring, and craft, were

the qualifications which raised the judges to their title and eminence. They appear in their history as gallant insurgents or guerilla leaders, rather than as grave administrators of justice, or the regular authorities of a great kingdom. The name by which they are called, Sophetim, derived from a word signifying "to judge," bears remarkable resemblance to the Suffetes of the Carthaginians. The office of the Hebrew judge was rather that of the military dictator, raised on an emergency to the command of the national forces. What his judicial functions could have been, seems very doubtful, as all ordinary cases would fall under the cognisance of the municipal judicatures. Nor do we find the judges exercising authority, or even engaged in war, beyond the boundaries of their own tribe; unless perhaps Deborah, who sat under her palm-tree judging the tribes of Israel. Yet even this convention bears the appearance rather of an organised warlike confederacy, to break the yoke of the Canaanites, than of a peaceful judicial assembly, and some of the tribes took no share in her gallant enterprise, nor, as far as appears, rendered any allegiance to her authority. In fact, the want of union among the tribes arose naturally out of their disobedience to the commands of their lawgiver, and brought with it the punishment of that disobedience, not merely in the abandonment of protecting Providence, but in the ordinary course of events. The neighbourhood of the idolatrous tribes led to apostasy, apostasy to weakness and servitude. For, as the national strength depended on the national union, and the only bond of the national union was the national religion, that bond weakened or dissolved, the tribes remained a number of scattered cantons, each entirely dependent on its own internal resources to resist foreign invasion, or the insurrection of the Canaanites.

The imperfect conquest had left formidable enemies, not only on the frontier, but in the heart of the land. The necessity of taking up those arms which they had so rashly laid down, speedily became urgent. It was no longer, however, a national war, but a war of the separate tribes against their immediate enemies. The Danites were driven into the mountains by the revolt of the Amorites; and part of the tribe was obliged to seek a settlement by force of arms on the extreme northern frontier. The town of Laish was hence called Dan. Judah and Simeon attacked Bezek, a powerful king, of Jebus or Jerusalem—defeated him with great loss—and treated him, as he had been accustomed to treat the other kings whom he had subdued, by the mutilation of his extremities. They burnt the lower part of Jerusalem; then, turning their arms southward, expelled the gigantic inhabitants of Hebron; but Gaza, Askelon, and Ekron, still defied their power; and though they starved many of the mountain fortresses to surrender, they dared not encounter the iron chariots

of the inhabitants of the southern valleys. Ephraim took the town of Bethel; but the other tribes seem to have adopted the dangerous measure of entering into terms with their enemies, and permitting them to reside in the land on the payment of tribute. Intermarriages soon followed, and led to community of religious worship. The Israelites strayed, without scruple, into the shady groves, where the voluptuous rites of the Canaanites were held; or attended at their gay and splendid festivals. By degrees they began to incorporate the two religions, and to pay indiscriminate homage to the symbolic representations of the powers of nature, particularly of the sun and moon, as well as to their own peculiar God, the Creator of the Universe.

The decline of the national faith, and the dissolution of manners, were fearfully exemplified in certain other transactions which occurred before the time of the Judges. Part of the Danites, on their way to their conquest of the northern border, took violent possession of a silver idol, the property of an individual named Micah, and set it up, with a wandering Levite for its priest, as an object of religious worship. The crime of Benjamin was of a more cruel nature, and as directly opposite to the principles of the moral law, as to the spirit of the national union. It led to a bloody civil war, and almost to the total annihilation of the guilty tribe. It is a history of bloody crime, wild justice, and still wilder mercy. A Levite returning to his home with his concubine, or inferior wife, entered, to pass the night, the city of Gibeah, in the territory of Benjamin. The dissolute inhabitants abused the wretched woman till she died. The Levite cut the body into pieces, and sent a portion to each of the tribes. The whole of Israel assembled as one man, at Mizpeh, heard with indignation the appeal to their justice, and sent to demand the surrender of the delinquents. The proud and powerful tribe refusing satisfaction, the rest declared war, and invaded their territory. Twice they were defeated with great slaughter: on the third attack, employing a common stratagem, they enticed their enemies, by a pretended flight, to leave the strong walls of Gibeah, and follow them into the plain. An ambush rose up behind, and surprised the city. Benjamin was defeated with the loss of 25,000 men—the guilty city razed—the whole land laid desolate—men, women, and children put to the sword: 600 men alone remained strongly posted on the rock of Rimmon. But even in the pride of triumph, and the stern satisfaction of just revenge, Israel could not behold the extermination of one of their tribes without the deepest sorrow and repentance. Yet they had sworn at Mizpeh never to give their daughters in marriage to the unnatural and rebellious race. How then shall the families of Benjamin be renewed, and the twelve tribes of Jacob again meet in their solemn assemblies? Strange situations lead to strange

expedients. One city, Jabesh in Gilead, had been guilty of that most heinous crime, the desertion of the common cause at a time of danger and distress. The city was devoted; all the men were slain; the women given to the survivors of Benjamin. The number not being sufficient, the rest of the Benjamites were permitted to surprise the damsels dancing at a festival without the gates of Shiloh; and by these Sabine marriages the tribe of Benjamin gradually recovered its strength and consideration.

The generation which had entered the land with Joshua, is said to have passed away before the declension of the people from the national faith led to servitude; but not entirely; for the first deliverer of the people was Othniel, the nephew and son-in-law of Caleb, whose name occurs as a brave warrior during the conquest. A powerful monarchy had now grown up in Mesopotamia; the king, Chushan-rishathaim, extended his conquests at least as far as the Jordan. The federal league between the tribes was not yet so far relaxed but that Othniel, of Judah, took up their defence. At the end of eight years the Mesopotamian was entirely defeated, and the whole land remained in peace for forty more. The eastern tribes were then assailed by a confederacy of the Ammonites, Amalekites, and Moabites, under Eglon, king of the latter tribe. Jericho, the city of palms, or its site, was also taken, perhaps from the tribe of Benjamin not having yet recovered its strength. This oppression lasted eighteen years. The deliverance was effected by a desperate enterprise of Ehud, a Benjamite.* Ehud was a man ambi-dexter, who could use his left hand as well as his right. He obtained an audience of Eglon, a remarkably fat man, struck his dagger into his body, escaped, and flying to the mountainous part of the land of Ephraim, roused that powerful tribe, and totally defeated the Moabites. Eighty years of peace were the fruit of this hazardous adventure. The only exploit recorded of the next judge, Shamgar, is the slaughter of 600 Philistines with an ox-goad, a formidable weapon, if like that described by Maundrell —a strong pike, eight feet long, and pointed with iron. By this time the Canaanites in the north had grown into a powerful people. Hazor, the capital of Jabin, their king, was on the shore of the Samachonite Lake, and his general, Sisera, was a man terrible for his valour and conduct. For twenty years he oppressed the northern tribes. Deborah, a high-born woman of the tribe of Ephraim, richly endowed at least with the poetic part of the character of a prophetess, was inspired with the noble design of freeing her brethren from the yoke. She sat in the

* It may be observed, that, although all these men were, in Hebrew phraseology, said to be raised up by the Lord, that is, inspired with the noble design, and endowed with ability to deliver their country, yet all their particular actions are nowhere attributed to divine direction.

open air, under a palm-tree, reminding us of the Velleda of ancient Germany, and organised a strong confederacy. Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasseh, as well as the northern tribes, obeyed her call. She commanded Barak to draw up the forces of Issachar, Zebulun, and Naphtali, on the summit of Mount Tabor. The vast army of the Canaanites, 900 chariots strong, covered the level plain of Esdraelon at its foot. Barak burst suddenly from the mountain—the Canaanites were broken and fled. The river Kishon, which bounded the plain, was swollen, and multitudes perished in the waters. But for the criminal inactivity of the inhabitants of Meroz, an adjacent town, who did not join in the pursuit, few would have escaped: Sisera fled, and took refuge in the tent of Jael, a woman of the Kenite tribe (the descendants of Hobab, Moses' brother-in-law). She received him hospitably; entertained him with the pastoral refreshment of milk, and left him to repose. In his sleep she drove one of the iron pegs of the tent into his head, and killed him. Deborah's hymn of triumph was worthy of the victory. The solemn religious commencement—the picturesque description of the state of the country—the mustering of the troops from all quarters—the sudden transition to the most contemptuous sarcasm against the tribes that stood aloof—the life, fire, and energy of the battle—the bitter pathos of the close—lyric poetry has nothing in any language which can surpass the boldness and animation of this striking production. But this hymn has great historic as well as poetic value. It is the only description of the relation of the tribes to each other, and of the state of society during the period of the Judges. The northern tribes—Zebulun, Issachar, Naphtali—appear in a state of insurrection against their oppressors: they receive some assistance from Ephraim, Manasseh, and Benjamin. The pastoral tribes beyond Jordan remain in unpatriotic inactivity. Dan and Asher are engaged in their maritime concerns; a curious fact, for we have no other intimation of any mercantile transactions of the Hebrews—as these expressions seem to imply—earlier than the reign of Solomon. Of Judah and Simeon there is no notice whatever, as if they had seceded from the confederacy, or were occupied by enemies of their own.

Thus sang Deborah and Barak, son of Abinoam,
In the day of victory thus they sang;
That Israel hath wrought her mighty vengeance,
That the willing people rushed to battle,
Oh, therefore, praise Jehovah!

Hear, ye kings! give ear, ye princes!
I to Jehovah, I will lift the song,
I will sound the harp to Jehovah, God of Israel!

Jehovah! when thou wentest forth from Seir!
When thou marchedst through the fields of Edom!
Quaked the earth, and poured the heavens,
Yea, the clouds poured down with water:
Before Jehovah's face the mountains melted,
That Sinai before Jehovah's face,
The God of Israel.

In the days of Shamgar, son of Anath,
In Jael's days, untrodden were the highways,
Through the winding by-path stole the traveller;
Upon the plains deserted lay the hamlets,
Even till that I, till Deborah arose,
Till I arose in Israel a mother.

They chose new gods:
War was in all their gates!
Was buckler seen, or lance,
'Mong forty thousand sons of Israel?

My soul is yours, ye chiefs of Israel!
And ye, the self-devoted of the people,
Praise ye the Lord with me!
Ye that ride upon the snow-white asses;
Ye that sit to judge on rich divans;
Ye that plod on foot the open way,
Come, meditate the song.

For the noise of plundering archers by the wells of water,
Now they meet and sing aloud Jehovah's righteous acts:
His righteous acts the hamlets sing upon the open plains,
And enter their deserted gates the people of Jehovah.

Awake, Deborah, awake!
Awake, uplift the song!
Barak, awake; and lead thy captives captive,
Thou son of Abinoam!

With him a valiant few went down against the mighty,
With me Jehovah's people went down against the strong.
First Ephraim, from the Mount of Amalek,
And after thee the bands of Benjamin!
From Machir came the rulers of the people,
From Zebulun those that bear the marshall's staff;
And Issachar's brave princes came with Deborah,
Issachar, the strength of Barak:
They burst into the valley on his footsteps.

By Reuben's fountains there was deep debating—
Why sat'st thou idle, Reuben, 'mid thy herd-stalls?
Was it to hear the lowing of thy cattle?
By Reuben's fountains there was deep debating—

And Gilead lingered on the shores of Jordan—
And Dan, why dwelled he among his ships?—
And Asser dwelled in his sea-shore havens,
And sat upon his rocks precipitous.

But Zebulun was a death-defying people,
And Naphtali from off the mountain heights.

Came the king and fought,
Fought the kings of Canaan,
By Taanach, by Megiddo's waters,
For the golden booty that they won not.

From the heavens they fought 'gainst Sisera,
In their courses fought the stars against him:
The torrent Kishon swept them down,
That ancient river Kishon.
So trample thou, my soul, upon their might.

Then stamped the clattering hoofs of prancing horses
At the flight, at the flight of the mighty.

Curse ye Meroz, saith the angel of the Lord,
Curse, a twofold curse upon her dastard sons;
For they came not to the succour of Jehovah,
To the succour of Jehovah 'gainst the mighty.

Above all women blest be Jael,
Heber the Kenite's wife,
O'er all the women blest, that dwell in tents.

Water he asked—she gave him milk,
The curded milk, in her costliest bowl.

Her left hand to the nail she set,
Her right hand to the workman's hammer—
Then Sisera she smote—she clave his head;
She bruised—she pierced his temples.
At her feet he bowed; he fell; he lay;
At her feet he bowed; he fell;
Where he bowed, there he fell dead.

From the window she looked forth, she cried,
The mother of Sisera through the lattice:
"Why is his chariot so long in coming?
Why tarry the wheels of his chariot?"
Her prudent women answered her—
Yea, she herself gave answer to herself—
"Have they not seized, not shared the spoil?
One damsel, or two damsels to each chief?
To Sisera a many-coloured robe,
A many-coloured robe, and richly broidered,
Many-coloured and broidered round the neck."

Thus perish all thine enemies, Jehovah;
And those who love thee, like the sun, shine forth
The sun in all its glory.*

* In the above translation an attempt is made to preserve something like a rythmical flow. It adheres to the original language, excepting where an occasional word is, but rarely, inserted for the sake of perspicuity.

At the end of forty years of peace new enemies appeared—the wild hordes of the desert. Midianites, Amalekites, and other nomadic tribes, swept over almost the whole land, pitched their tents, and fed their camels in the midst of the rich corn-fields of Israel. This was the most extensive and destructive servitude the nation had yet suffered. The people fled to mountain fastnesses, and hid themselves in caves. The land lay uncultivated, the cattle were destroyed, and a grievous famine ensued. The miserable Israelites called upon their God for succour, and Gideon, of the tribe of Manasseh, received the divine commission as the deliverer of his country. An angel appeared to him while he was threshing corn by stealth in an underground winepress; preternatural signs convinced him of the celestial nature of his visitant. Gideon had offered, as a present to this superior being, a kid and a small portion of flour: he laid them on a rock. The angel touched them, and fire arose from the rock and consumed them. His first exploit, after having built an altar, and, according to divine command, offered sacrifice, was to overthrow at midnight the altar of Baal in the city of Ophrah. His father Joash was commanded by the indignant citizens to bring forth his son to be punished for this offence. *Will ye plead for Baal!* said the old man: *let Baal plead for himself.* And Gideon thence was called Jerubbaal—let Baal plead. The whole host of the invaders lay encamped on the plain of Jezreel. Gideon demanded a sign from heaven; it was granted. One night, the dews which fall so copiously in those regions, fell only on a fleece which he had spread; the next night the ground was steeped with moisture—the fleece remained dry. Gideon now prepared for a vigorous attack; 22,000 men, from Manasseh, Zebulun, Naphtali, and Asher, rallied at the sound of his trumpet—but the victory was to be achieved by a much smaller band. The army was first diminished to 10,000—all, whose valour could not be relied on, being allowed to return home. These were again reduced, by a singular process, of which it is difficult to discover the meaning. They were led to the water-side: those who knelt down to drink were dismissed; those who stood up, and lifted the water to their lips with their hands, were retained. Thus 300 of the bravest were chosen for a night attack. Each of these had a trumpet, a concealed lamp, and an earthen pot. At the onset, each crashed his pot in pieces, and blew his trumpet with all his might. The wild and mingled tribes awoke, and in their panic and confusion, turned their arms upon each other. The herds, and particularly the camels, affrighted at the lights, ran wildly about, and added to the tumult. The fugitives were slain by the rest of Gideon's troops. The Ephraimites now joined the insurrection, pursued the remnant of the Midianites beyond Palestine, and slew two of

their princes, Oreb and Zeb. Their indignation against Gideon, at not being earlier summoned to the war, was soothed by the courtesy of the leader. Gideon took a dreadful revenge on the inhabitants of Succoth for having refused refreshment to his famishing warriors — he scourged their elders to death with thorns. He inflicted as dreadful a chastisement on the surviving princes of Midian, Zebah and Zalmunna, who had slain his kindred; he put them to death without mercy: and thus the war ended with the loss of 120,000 men to the Midianites. The gratitude of his compatriots induced them to make an offer of royal authority to Gideon, but his ambition was satisfied with the deliverance of his country; he returned to dwell in quiet in his native city. Yet even Gideon fell into a direct violation of the law. From the spoil of the Midianites, who, like all the inhabitants of those regions, wore enormous golden earrings, and from the splendid raiment of the kings, he made an ephod or priestly garment; and set up a worship distinct from the one sacred place in Shiloh, where the ark rested.

After the death of Gideon, his bastard son Abimelech, a daring and bloody man, determined to attain the crown which his father had rejected. He formed a conspiracy with his mother's kindred at Shechem; with a band of adventurers fell unexpectedly on Ophrah; seized his father's seventy sons, slew them all; and, in a great convention of the Shechemites and the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns, was elected king by acclamation. Of all Gideon's sons, Jotham alone, the youngest, had escaped. On the summit of Gerizim, which overlooked Shechem, he denounced the usurper, and reproved the people in the well-known parable: "The olive tree and the vine refused to assume the royal dignity, but the worthless bramble accepted at once the first offer of a tyrannous superiority over the trees of the forest." The authority of Abimelech seems to have been confined to Shechem and its neighbourhood; the other tribes neither contributed to his rise nor downfall. But the fickle Shechemites, after three years, began to be weary of their king, and attempted to throw off the yoke. The usurper was not wanting in vigour and promptitude; he took the city, razed it to the ground, and burnt the citadel, on which they seem to have relied as a place of strength. Pursuing his conquest, he was accidentally wounded by a woman, during an attack on Thebez, but disdaining to die by so ignoble a hand, he commanded his armour-bearer to pierce him with his sword.

Two undistinguished names follow in the list of Judges: Tola, of the tribe of Issachar, who, nevertheless, dwelt at Shamir, in the mountainous country of the Ephraimites; and Jair, a Gileadite, whose thirty sons were masters of thirty cities, *and rode on thirty ass colts*. A new apostasy led to a new invasion. The

Philistines attacked the southern border; and a more formidable enemy, the Ammonites, not merely subdued the tribes beyond Jordan, but crossed the river, and engaged the combined forces of Ephraim, Judah, and Benjamin.

Jephthah, a bastard son of Gilead, having been wrongfully expelled from his father's house, had taken refuge in a wild country, and become a noted captain of freebooters. His kindred, groaning under foreign oppression, began to look to their valiant, though lawless, compatriot, whose profession, however, according to their usage, was no more dishonourable than that of a pirate, in the elder days of Greece. They sent for him, and made him head of their city. Jephthah's first measure was to send an embassy to the Ammonitish king, remonstrating on his unprovoked aggression. The Ammonite demanded the formal surrender of the transjordanic provinces, as the patrimony of his own ancestors, and of those of his allies. Negotiations being fruitless, Jephthah prepared for war. But before he set forth, he made the memorable vow, that if he returned victorious, he would sacrifice as a burnt offering whatever first met him on his entrance into his native city, Mizpeh. He gained a splendid victory—but it was neither one of those animals appointed for sacrifice, nor even an unclean beast, an ass, or camel, prohibited by the law—which was destined for the burnt offering of Jephthah. At the news of her father's victory, his only daughter came dancing forth in the gladness of her heart, and with the most jocund instruments of music, to salute the deliverer of his people. The miserable father rent his clothes in agony, but the noble-spirited maiden would not hear of the evasion or disregard of the vow; she only demanded a short period to bewail upon the mountains, like the Antigone of Sophocles, her dying without hope of becoming a bride or mother in Israel, and then submitted to her fate. Many learned writers have laboured to relieve the Jewish annals, and the character of the judge, from the imputation of human sacrifice, and have supposed that Jephthah's daughter was consecrated to the service of the tabernacle, and devoted to perpetual virginity. But all these expedients are far more improbable, than that a fierce freebooter in a period of anarchy should mistake an act of cruel superstition for an act of religion; and it is certain that vows of celibacy were totally unknown among the Hebrews, and belong to a different stage of society. Another objection of Michaelis is fatal to these views. The daughter could not be consecrated to the service of the high priest, for the high priest and the ark were then at Shiloh, in the territory of Ephraim, with whom Jephthah was at deadly war. The haughty and overbearing character of this tribe resented, as usual, their not being summoned to take the lead in the Ammonitish war. They threatened to wreak their vengeance

on Jephthah and his adherents; but the Gileadite chieftain defeated them, and at the passage of the Jordan, distinguishing the Ephraimites by a peculiar pronunciation, (Shibboleth — water-streams—they sounded as Sibboleth,) put them to the sword without mercy to the number of 42,000. Jephthah enjoyed his dignity for seven years; then follow a list of undistinguished names—of their actions, or against whom they waged war, the record is silent. Ibzan of Bethlehem judged seven; Elon of Zebulun ten, Abdon, an Ephraimite, eight years.

The oppressions of the foreign powers which had hitherto overrun or subdued Palestine, had been heavy and debasing while they lasted, but once repelled, the invaders retired within their own frontiers; the Philistines on the southern borders were more dangerous and implacable enemies to the peace of Israel. They had subdued apparently the whole allotment of Simeon; this tribe was annihilated, or scattered for refuge among the rest. Gaza and Ashkelon were in the power of the conquerors, and their frontier extended to that of Dan. At this juncture, the most extraordinary of the Jewish heroes appeared; a man of prodigious physical power, which he displayed not in any vigorous and consistent plan of defence against the enemy, but in the wildest feats of personal daring. It was his amusement to plunge headlong into peril, from which he extricated himself by his individual strength. Samson never appears at the head of an army, his campaigns are conducted in his own single person. As in those of the Grecian Hercules, and the Arabian Antar, a kind of comic vein runs through the early adventures of the stout-hearted warrior, in which, love of women, of riddles, and of slaying Philistines out of mere wantonness, vie for the mastery. Yet his life began in marvel, and ended in the deepest tragedy. An angel announced to the wife of Manoah, a man of eminence, in the tribe of Dan, that her barrenness should be removed, and that she should become the mother of a wonderful child. The child was to be a Nazarite from the womb, that is, dedicated by vow to the Lord; he was, therefore, to allow his hair to grow, and to preserve the most rigid abstinence. A second time, the angel appeared to Manoah and his wife, renewed the command and the promise, and mounting with the smoke of the sacrifice they had offered, ascended into heaven. When Samson grew up, his first demand was, that he might marry a Philistine woman, whom he had seen, and fallen in love with, at Timnath. With reluctance his parents consented, for they suspected some latent design against the oppressor. As he went down to Timnath, a young lion roared at him—Samson tore him asunder with his hands. The next time he passed that way, bees had hived in the lion's carcase, and at his bridal feast he gave this riddle to the thirty youths who attended him; it

they found it out, he was to forfeit to each a sheet and a garment; if they did not, they were to pay the same to him. *Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness.* At the entreaty of his wife, he betrayed the secret to her, and she to her countrymen. *Had ye not ploughed with my heifer, ye had not found out my riddle,* replied the indignant bridegroom, and immediately set out and slew thirty Philistines, in order to make good his promise. He then returned home in anger, but in a short time, visiting his wife again, he found her married to another. To revenge himself, he caught three hundred jackals, tied them tail to tail, with a fire-brand between them, and turned them loose into the dry corn-fields of the Philistines. In return, they burnt his wife and her father to death. Samson immediately fell on them, and slew great numbers:—he then took refuge on a rock called Etam. The Philistines were assembled in a narrow pass, from some fanciful resemblance to the jaw-bone of an ass, or, more probably, from the adventure of Samson, called Lehi. So completely were the valiant tribe of Judah disheartened by the Philistine oppression, that, to appease their wrath, they determined to surrender Samson. They seized and bound him, and brought him to the pass. There *the spirit of the Lord came upon him,* he burst the bonds like flax, seized the jaw-bone of an ass that lay in the way, and with this strange weapon slew a thousand men. But, exhausted with fatigue and thirst, he began to faint, the ground was suddenly cloven, and a spring of water flowed before his feet. His next exploit was to visit a harlot in Gaza, the capital city of his enemies. They closed their gates, and waited quietly, to seize their formidable foe. At midnight, Samson arose, burst the gates, took them on his shoulders, and left them on a hill, near twenty miles distant. He then fell into the more fatal snares of Dalilah. The Philistine chieftains bribed her to obtain the secret of his prodigious strength. Twice he eluded her—the third time he betrayed himself into her power. It lay in the accomplishment of his Nazaritish vow, part of which was, never to permit his hair to be shorn. In his sleep, she deprived him of his hair and of his strength. The Philistines seized him, put out his eyes, bound him with brazen fetters, and set him to the servile task of grinding at the mill. The grave and solemn mind of Milton has seized upon the history of Samson, at this point, and arrayed the close of his life in all the grandeur of heroic patience and resignation. The insults of the Philistines did not end with the prison; savages delight in making a public exhibition of distinguished captives, and this barbarous people sent for their prisoner to contribute to their diversion in a kind of rude amphitheatre, in the area of which stood the captive;—the roof, which formed the seats, was crowded with spectators. But the

strength of Samson had now returned: the whole building was supported by two pillars, which he grasped, and leaning himself forward, dragged down the whole building, burying himself and all his enemies in one common ruin.

While Samson was thus wasting his prodigal strength, not altogether uselessly, for, without doubt, the terror of his name retarded the progress of the Philistine conquests, and inspired courage into the disheartened Israelites; still without that permanent advantage to the liberty of his countrymen which might have been expected from such preternatural powers, regulated by prudence and self-restraint; a wiser and more useful head of the state was growing up within the sacred precincts of the tabernacle. Hannah, one of the wives of Elkanah, a Levite who resided in Rama-Zophim, a city in Mount Ephraim, made a vow, that if the curse of barrenness were removed from her, she would devote her first-born to the service of God. Samuel, her son, was thus educated in the service of the high priest Eli. It was to be expected that the high priest would obtain great weight and authority in the Hebrew constitution. Wherever the ark resided, might be considered the temporary capital of the state. The present circumstances of the Hebrew history contributed to exalt still higher the sacerdotal power. The tabernacle and the ark were at Shiloh in the territory of Ephraim, from its fortunate central position the most powerful, as the least exposed to foreign invasion, of all the provinces. The northern and eastern tribes had enough to do to defend their frontiers; Judah, the great rival of Ephraim, now tamely acknowledged the dominion of the Philistines. Hence the uncontested pre-eminence of the Ephraimites led to a temporary union of a civil as well as religious supremacy in the high priest Eli. But Eli was now old and almost blind; his criminal indulgence to his sons Hophni and Phineas had brought disorder and licentiousness into the sacred ceremonies. The priests had become overbearing and tyrannical; instead of taking the portions of the sacrifices assigned by the law, they selected all the better parts for their own use; and Hophni and Phineas had introduced still worse abuses,—those which disgraced the voluptuous rites of the heathen deities. They debauched the women who assembled before the tabernacle, and the worship of Jehovah was thus in danger of becoming as impure as that of Baal Peor, or the Babylonian Mylitta. In the midst of this corruption the blameless Samuel grew up to manhood. Already in his early youth he had received divine intimations of his future greatness; the voice of God, while he slumbered within the area where the tabernacle stood, had three times called upon his name; and at length aroused him, and commanded him to communicate to the aged Eli the fate which awaited his family. The war between

the Philistines and Israelites broke out anew; whether the Israelites, encouraged by the destruction of so many of the Philistine chieftains in the fall of the temple at Gaza, had endeavoured to throw off the yoke, or whether the Philistines seized the opportunity of Samson's death to extend their dominion, does not appear. A bloody battle took place at Aphek, in the northern part of Judah, in which the Israelites were totally defeated, and in their desperation they determined to resort to those means of conquest which had proved irresistible under the direction of Joshua. They sent to Shiloh for the ark of God, and placed it in the centre of their forces. But the days were gone when the rivers dried up, and the walls of cities fell down, and the enemy fled at once before the symbol of the presence of Israel's God. The measure was unauthorised by the divine command. Yet even the victorious Philistines were not free from hereditary apprehension of the mighty God who had discomfited the Egyptians, and subjugated the whole land of the Canaanites. They exhorted each other to maintain their character for valour. The Israelites fought with desperate but unavailing resolution—the iron chariots of the Philistines triumphed. Thirty thousand Israelites perished, and the ark of God fell into the hands of the uncircumcised—the guilty sons of Eli were slain in its defence. The aged high priest sat by the wayside in dreadful anxiety for the fate of the ark. A messenger rushed in, bearing the sad intelligence; a wild cry ran through the whole city, the blind old man, now ninety-eight years of age, fell from his seat, broke his neck, and died. The wife of Phineas was seized with the pains of premature labour; the women around her endeavoured to console her with the intelligence that she had borne a male child: she paid no attention to their words, and only uttered a passionate exclamation, by which we may judge how strongly the religious reverence for the divine worship was rooted in the hearts of the Israelites. The pride and exultation of maternal tenderness, the grief for her father-in-law and her husband, were absorbed in a deeper feeling. She said, *the ark of God is taken;* and she called her child Ichabod, the glory is departed from Israel.

Nothing now remained to the race of Abraham but the prospect of hopeless and irremediable servitude. Their God had abandoned them—perhaps might appear on the side of their enemies. Not merely the glory and the independence, even the political existence of Israel seemed departed with the ark, departed for ever. With what amazement and joy must the extraordinary intelligence have been received, that, after seven months, the Philistines were sending back the ark of God, not in contempt of his power, but with signs of reverential terror. They had sent the strange deity from city to city, everywhere

their own gods had been rebuked, the statues had fallen prostrate, their harvests had been wasted by mice, their persons afflicted by a loathsome disease. They yoked two milch kine to the car, and loaded it with propitiatory offerings. Instead of lingering near their calves, the kine had set off on the direct road to Bethshemesh, within the border of the Israelites. There the Levites received it, and sacrificed the kine to the Almighty. The profane curiosity of the inhabitants of Bethshemesh was punished, seventy men were struck dead for presuming to look within the ark, which was soon after solemnly removed to the city of Kiriath-jearim.

Yet twenty years longer the Israelites groaned under the yoke of the Philistines; but Samuel was now grown to manhood, and was established not merely with the authority of a judge, but likewise of a prophet. The high priesthood had passed into the next branch of the family of Eli, and sunk into comparative insignificance before the acknowledged weight of the new leader. Samuel, having laboured with success to extirpate the idolatrous practices which had grown up among the people, summoned a general assembly at Mizpeh. The Philistines took alarm, and put their forces in motion to suppress the insurrection. The Israelites were full of terror, but too far engaged to recede; their confidence in the favour of God towards their righteous judge, induced them to risk their safety on the acceptance of his prayers. The event was a victory so complete, caused partly by a tremendous storm, that the Philistines were forced to evacuate the whole country, and to accept of equitable terms of peace.

The civil administration of Samuel was equally prosperous. He united at least all the southern tribes under his authority: he held three annual sessions of justice at Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpeh; his residence he fixed in his native city of Ramah. But his sons, who in his old age were installed in the judicial office, did not follow the example of their upright father; they were venal and corrupt. The people, therefore, having seen the superior efficacy of the monarchical government, which prevailed in the neighbouring countries, by a formal representation of their elders, demanded that their republican polity should be changed into an hereditary kingdom. It is most remarkable that Moses had anticipated this resolution; and, providing against the contingency of kingly government, had laid down regulations for the election of a sovereign and the administration of regal power. The king was not to be a foreigner, lest the independence of the country should be lost, and the Israelitish commonwealth sink into a province of some great empire. He was prohibited from maintaining any force of cavalry, lest he should attempt foreign conquest, to the neglect or danger of the internal strength and security of the kingdom. The lawgiver

either perceived that a free republic, or rather a federal government of twelve distinct republics, was an experiment in the constitution of society, or that the external relations of the commonwealth might so far change as to require a more vigorous executive. The avowed objects of the people in demanding a king were the more certain administration of justice, and the organisation of a strong and permanent military force; *that our king might judge us, and go out before us, and fight our battles.* The national militia, untrained and undisciplined, might be sufficient to repel the tumultuary invasions of the wandering tribes; but they had now to resist powerful monarchies, and the formidable league of the Philistine chieftains, who could bring into the field an overwhelming power of chariots and cavalry. The prosperity of the state under David and Solomon amply justifies the deviation from the original constitution. The conduct of Samuel on this occasion was prudent and moderate; he fairly laid before the people the dangers of an Oriental despotism, the only monarchy then known, with all the exactions and oppressions of arbitrary power; and left them to make their choice. The popular feeling was decided in favour of the change. The next object therefore was the election of the king. The nomination took place by divine instruction, but may be admired on the plainest principles of human policy. The upright and disinterested Samuel showed no favour to his own family, kindred, or tribe. It was expedient that the king should be chosen from the southern tribes, as more immediately exposed to the most dangerous and implacable enemy. A prince of Asher or Naphtali might have neglected the interests of Judah and Benjamin. An election from the great rival tribes of Ephraim or Judah might excite mutual jealousy, or dread of a domineering influence among the weaker clans. A youth of singularly tall and striking person, an eminent distinction in the East, arrived at Ramah. He was the son of a Benjamitish chieftain, and had been wandering in search of some asses, a valuable property, which his father had lost. Him Samuel was directed to nominate and receive with regal honours. Giving him the chief seat, and distinguished portion, at a feast where thirty persons were present, he proceeds privately to anoint him as the future king. But the youth was to be prepared for his high office by a course of religious instruction; and his mind imbued with deep and powerful enthusiasm for the national law and national faith. He was sent to one of those schools of the prophets, most likely instituted by Samuel, where the pupils were initiated in the circle of Hebrew education—religious knowledge, religious music, and religious poetry. Here the character of the youth was totally changed: he mingled in the sacred dances: his spirit became full of lofty and aspiring thoughts. So totally was the former levity and carelessness of

his youth cast off, that his wandering compatriots exclaimed, *Is Saul also among the prophets?* Thus qualified for the royal dignity, at a solemn assembly at Mizpeh, Saul is designated by lot, and received as king, not indeed without murmur or opposition from some few factious spirits, but by the unanimous consent of the great majority. His first measure was bold, and answerable to the public expectation, as showing that the strength and vigilance of the royal power would extend its protection to the remotest part of the commonwealth. Nahash, king of the Ammonites, had invaded the Transjordanic tribes, and now besieged the town of Jabez, in Gilead. He demanded that the inhabitants should submit to have their eyes put out; a revolting act of cruelty, which he had exacted, as a sign of subjection, from all the people he had subdued. The inhabitants sent in all haste to the king for succour. Saul instantly hewed a yoke of oxen to pieces, and sent this sign, like the fiery cross of the Highlanders, to summon all the tribes of Israel. The army mustered to the number of 330,000 men. The Ammonites were totally defeated and dispersed. The young king signalised his victory by an act of mercy; though persuaded to use his power to revenge himself on the factious persons who had opposed his elevation, he refused, and declared, that the life of no Israelite should be sacrificed at such a period of public rejoicing.

Encouraged by this prosperous commencement, Samuel assembled the people at Gilgal. Here the upright magistrate solemnly appealed to the whole assembly to bear witness to the justice and integrity of his administration; invited their scrutiny, and defied their censure: and thus, having given a public account of his charge, rebuked the people, both by his own words, and a sign from heaven, a thunder-storm at the unusual time of the wheat-harvest, for their innovation on the established constitution without direct pre-instruction from heaven, he surrendered his judicial authority, and proceeded to the formal inauguration of the king elect.

Thus ended the period of the Judges; a period, if carelessly surveyed, of alternate slavery, and bloody struggles for independence. Hence may rashly be inferred the total failure of the Mosaic polity in securing the happiness of the people. It has already been shown that the views of the legislator were not completely carried into effect, and that the miseries of the people were the natural consequences of their deviation from their original statutes. But, in fact, out of this period of about 460 years, not one-fourth was passed under foreign oppression; and many of the servitudes seem to have been local, extending only over certain tribes, not over the whole nation. Above 300 years of peaceful and uneventful happiness remain, to which history, only faithful in recording the crimes and sufferings of man,

bears the favourable testimony of her silence. If the Hebrew nation did not enjoy a high degree of intellectual civilisation, yet, as simple husbandmen, possessing perfect freedom, equal laws, the regular administration of justice — cultivating a soil which yielded bountifully, yet required but light labour—with a religion, strict as regards the morals which are essential to individual, domestic, and national peace, yet indulgent in every kind of social and festive enjoyment—the descendants of Abraham had reached a higher state of virtue and happiness than any other nation of the period. An uniform simplicity of manners pervaded the whole people; they were all shepherds or husbandmen. Gideon was summoned to deliver his country from the threshing-floor: Saul, even after he was elected king, was found driving his herd: David was educated in the sheep-fold. But the habits of the people are nowhere described with such apparent fidelity and lively interest as in the rural tale of Ruth and her kinsman—a history which unites all the sweetness of the best pastoral poetry, with the truth and simplicity of real life. Now, however, we must turn to the rise, the greatness, and the fall of the Hebrew monarchy.

BOOK VII.

THE MONARCHY.

Reign of Saul—David—Death of Saul—Union of the whole Kingdom under David—His Conquests—Occupation of Jerusalem—His Crime—Expulsion—Restoration—Death—Solomon—The Building of the Temple—Magnificence and Commerce of Solomon.

SOME time must have elapsed between the nomination of Saul, and his active and regular administration of the kingly office: he was a youth when nominated, his son, Jonathan, now appears grown up, a gallant and daring warrior. The monarch's first care was to form a regular and disciplined army; for the Philistines were mustering the most numerous and overpowering host they had ever brought into the field. Jonathan began the war, by attacking a garrison at Geba, before the preparations were completed. The Philistines broke into the country, and, with 3000 chariots and 6000 horse, swept the whole region. The panic-stricken Israelites fled on all sides; the few troops which obeyed the trumpet of Saul met at Gilgal. Here Saul, in direct violation of the Hebrew constitution, and against the express

command of Samuel, took upon himself the priestly function, and offered sacrifice. The union of these two offices in one person would either have given an overweening weight to the kingly authority, or the religious primacy, instead of maintaining its independent dignity, would have sunk into a subordinate branch of the royal office. Samuel, who, if he offered sacrifice, probably assumed that right as belonging to the prophetic function, denounced, as the penalty of Saul's offence, that the kingdom should not be hereditary in his line, but pass into that of a man more obedient to the divine institutions. In the mean time the Philistines overran the territory; part turned southward to the valley near the Dead Sea, part to the mountainous country of Ephraim, part towards the Jordan as far as Ophrah. They seized all the arms, and carried away all the smiths in the country, forcing the inhabitants to go to their towns to get all their larger implements of husbandry ground. Saul occupied the strong fortress of Gibeah, with 600 ill-armed men. From this critical situation he was delivered by an adventurous exploit of Jonathan. This daring youth, unknown to his father, and accompanied only by his armour-bearer, scaled a rock, which was an outpost of the enemy, slew twenty men, and threw such confusion into the camp, that the army, most likely formed of different tribes, fell upon each other. Saul, perceiving this from the height of Gibeah, rushed down, and increased the tumult. The Philistines fled on all sides: the Israelites sallied forth from their hiding-places in the woods and rocks, and slew them without mercy. The blow would have been more fatal, but for an impolitic vow of Saul, who had adjured the people not to taste food till the close of the day. Many evils ensued from this rash oath. The weary soldiers could not pursue their advantage: when they came to eat, they seized the spoil, and, in direct violation of the law, devoured the meat while the blood was still in it. Saul hastened to prevent this crime, and commanded a large stone to be rolled forward, on which the cattle might be slain, and the blood flow off. Worse than all, Jonathan was found to have violated the vow, of which he was ignorant, by tasting a little wild honey. Saul was about to sacrifice his noble and victorious son for this breach of discipline, and the Hebrew annals might have anticipated the glory or the crime of the Roman Torquatus, but the people, with more humane feeling, interfered, and forbade the execution.

Saul continued to wage a successful war with the enemies on all quarters: the most harassing and unconquerable were the wild tribes of the desert, called the Amalekites. These fierce marauders constantly hovered on the borders, swelled the Philistine armies, or followed in the rear, like Tartar hordes, pillaging and massacring; and, as the Israelites had no cavalry,

retreated without loss to the security of their deserts. It was a cruel but inevitable policy to carry a war of extermination into their country. There was an old feud of blood between the nations, since their first attack on the Israelites near Sinai. The war-law of nations, and necessity, as well as the divine command, justified this measure. Even the flocks and herds were to be involved in the general destruction, lest the scattered fugitives (for the tribe was not so entirely annihilated but that it appeared again in force during David's residence at Ziklag) should re-assemble, and form a new settlement on the Israelitish frontier. In the conduct of this expedition Saul again transgressed the divine commandment: he reserved the best part of the spoil, under the pretext of offering it in sacrifice, and spared the life of the king. There seems to be an obvious policy in this command to destroy all plunder, lest the Israelites should have been tempted to make marauding excursions upon their neighbours, and by degrees be trained up as an ambitious and conquering people. This danger the lawgiver clearly foresaw, if they should fall under a monarchy. Agag, the king of the Amalekites, to whom the Jews owed long arrears of vengeance for his cruelties to their countrymen, was hewn in pieces before the altar by the command of Samuel—a fearful example to the merciless chieftains of the wild tribes: *As thy sword hath made women childless, so shall thy mother be childless among women.* But his repeated acts of disobedience had destroyed all hope of finding in Saul a religious and constitutional king, punctual in his conformity to the law of the land and to the divine commandment. Another fatal objection to his sovereignty, and that of his race, began to display itself: he was seized with the worst malady to which mankind is subject; and as the paroxysms of his insanity became more frequent and violent, the brave though intractable warrior sank into a moody and jealous tyrant.

The early history of David is involved in considerable difficulty. The events are here related in what appeared the most easy and natural order. Samuel, by the divine command, went down to Bethlehem to sacrifice, and there selected and anointed as king the youngest of the eight sons of Jesse; a beautiful youth, then employed in his father's pastures, where he had already signalised his bravery by combating and slaying two wild beasts, a lion and a bear. A short time after, in the course of the Philistine war, the whole army of the Israelites was defied by a gigantic champion, Goliah of Gath, who was almost cased in brazen armour. Notwithstanding a splendid reward offered by Saul, no warrior dared to confront this terrible foe. Suddenly a youth, of modesty and piety equal to his beauty and valour, appeared; accepted the combat, slew the insulting Philistine with a stone from his sling, and returned in triumph, with the head of the

enemy, to the camp. This bold achievement endeared David to the kindred spirit of Jonathan, the son of Saul, and proved the commencement of a romantic friendship, one of the most beautiful incidents in the Jewish annals. But in their triumphant songs the maidens of Israel had raised the fame of David above that of Saul: deep and rankling jealousy sank into the distempered mind of the monarch. For several years the increasing malady preyed upon his spirit, till it was thought that the power of music (in modern times, and among nations less susceptible of deep emotions from sound, employed not without success in cases of derangement) might soothe him to composure. David, who may have passed the intermediate time in a prophetic school, had attained that exquisite skill in music and poetry which appears in the energy and tenderness of his psalms. He was summoned to attend upon the king. At first the wayward spirit of Saul is allayed: but the paroxysms return: twice he attempts the life of David; but his trembling hand cannot direct the spear with fatal force. In his lucid interval he promotes David to a military command, in which the future king acquires universal popularity. A short time after, Saul promises him his daughter in marriage, on the invidious condition that he should bring the foreskins of a hundred Philistines. David and his troop slays two hundred; and receives not Merab, the daughter of Saul who had been promised to him at first, but Michal, who loved him tenderly, as his reward. In a conference with the Philistine chieftains, he acquired great reputation, even among the enemy, for his wisdom in counsel. The jealousy of Saul again broke out; but was allayed by the friendly interference of Jonathan. New triumphs of David excited new hostility; and hardly saved by a stratagem of his wife, who placed an image in his bed, he fled to Samuel, at Ramah. Officers were dispatched to seize him: they found him employed among the sacred choir, who, with Samuel at their head, were chaunting some of their solemn religious hymns. The messengers were seized with the same enthusiasm, and mingled their voices with those of the prophets. Three times the awe of the inspired prophets thus prevented the officers of Saul from executing his commands. At length Saul himself set forth with the same hostile design; but his melancholy spirit was not proof against the sacred contagion; the early and gentle associations of his youth arose within him; he too cast off his royal habits, and took his former place in the devotional assembly.

After this reconciliation, David was rescued from new danger, by the generous intervention of Jonathan. This noble youth not merely sacrificed his hopes of a kingly succession to his friend, the designated heir of the throne; but, confronting the worst paroxysm of his father's frenzy, had nearly lost his life. The

lance aimed at him missed its blow. David was made acquainted with the failure of his friend's interference, by a concerted signal; and after taking a long farewell of Jonathan, he made his escape to Nob, a sacerdotal city in the tribe of Benjamin. Here he pretended a secret mission from the king; deceived by his plausible story, in order to hasten him on his way, the priest bestowed on him a part of the bread offering, which it was profanation in any but those of Levitical race to touch; and the more valuable present of Goliah's sword, which had been laid up as a trophy. David then fled to Gath; but mistrusting the hospitality of the Philistine king, he feigned idiotcy, and escaped to a wild cave, that of Adullam, where he became the captain of an independent troop of adventurers, composed of the discontented and distressed from all quarters. He was joined by some marauders, warriors of remarkable bravery, from the tribe of Gad, who crossed the Jordan, and placed themselves under his banner. The devoted attachment of these men to their chieftain was shown in a gallant exploit performed by three of them, who broke through the Philistine army to procure water for David, which he had earnestly wished to have from his native fountain in Bethlehem. But David would not taste water purchased at such a risk as the lives of three brave men—*he poured it out to the Lord.* This gallant troop undertook no enterprise against their native country, but they fell on the Philistine army, who were besieging some valuable corn magazines at Keilah, and defeated them with great slaughter.

Saul, in the mean time, had wreaked dreadful vengeance on the priesthood. From the information of Doeg, an Edomite, he had been apprised of the service rendered to David at Nob by Abimelech. His jealous nature construed this into a general conspiracy of the whole order. He commanded their indiscriminate slaughter; his awe-struck followers refused to imbrue their hands in holy blood; and Saul was forced to employ the less scrupulous arm of an alien, the sanguinary Doeg. Eighty-five of the sacred order were slain, Abiathar, the son of Abimelech, fled to David. After this atrocity, Saul set out in pursuit of David, and had almost surprised him at Keilah. The fugitive, having entrusted his family to the generous protection of the king of Moab, fled from cave to rock, from desert to fastness, perpetually making hair-breadth escapes, yet disdaining to avail himself of any advantage, or to commit any violence against the person of his royal enemy, who was twice within his power. Once the king retired to sleep in a cave at Engedi, the inner part of which was the lurking-place of David. He cut off the skirt of his robe, and then making himself known, expressed his repentance for having so far ventured to desecrate the royal person. The better spirit of Saul revived, and a temporary

accommodation took place. A second time David, by the negligence of his guard, surprised the king, sleeping as before, in his tent; he repressed the murderous intentions of his companion, Abishai; but to show what he might have done, carried away a spear and a cruse of water that stood by his bed-side. He then, from the top of a hill, reproved Abner, Saul's general, for keeping so negligent a watch over the sacred person of the monarch. The magnanimity of David was equalled by the generous fidelity of Jonathan, who, regardless of his own advancement, the great object of his father's jealousy, expressed his anxious desire that David might succeed to the throne of Israel, and he himself fill the subordinate place of *his vizier*. But the resentment of Saul is implacable: he gives to another David's wife, Michal: and David himself, like Themistocles or Coriolanus, takes refuge in the capital of his country's enemy; but with no design either of hostility to his native land, or even of revenge against the ungrateful king. Achish assigns him the town of Ziklag for his residence, where he dwells with his two wives, Ahinoam and Abigail, the widow of the churlish Nabal, from whom, during his freebooting life, he had demanded a supply of provisions, in return for the protection which his troops had afforded to the pastures of the Israelites. Abigail had arrested his wrath from her parsimonious husband, who refused the succour required, by propitiatory gifts; and Nabal, dying of drunkenness and terror, David took her as his wife. Thus an involuntary exile, David found himself in great difficulty to avoid embarking in hostilities against his native land. For some time he deceived the Philistine king by making inroads on the wild tribes of the desert, while he pretended that his troops had been employed in ravaging Judea. His embarrassment increased when the king of the Philistines seized the favourable opportunity to renew the war; and he was formally summoned to range his forces under the banner of his new liege lord. He appeared at the rendezvous; but he was fortunately relieved from this difficult position by the jealous mistrust of the Philistine chieftains. Dismissed from the invading army, he found on his return to Ziklag that his old enemies, the Amalekites, had made a sudden descent on his residence, burnt the city, and carried off all the women and children. David pursues, overtakes, falls on them by night, slaughters them without mercy, and having rescued the captives, returns laden with booty.

The end of the unhappy Saul drew near. Ill supported by his subjects, many of whom, even in the remotest districts, seem to have maintained a friendly correspondence with David, he determined to risk his crown and kingdom on a great battle with the Philistines. Still, however, haunted with that insatiable desire of searching into the secrets of futurity, inseparable from

uncivilised man, he knew not to what quarter to turn. The priests, who had escaped the massacre, outraged by his cruelty, had forsaken him; the Urim and Thummim was with Abiathar, he knew not where. The prophets stood aloof; no dreams visited his couch; he had persecuted even the unlawful diviners. He hears at length of a female necromancer, a woman with the spirit of Ob: strangely similar in sound to the Obeah women in the West Indies.

To the cave-dwelling of this woman, in Endor, the monarch proceeds in disguise. The woman at first alleges her fears of the severity with which the laws against necromancy were then executed. Saul promises her impunity. He commands her to raise the spirit of Samuel. At this daring demand of raising a man of such dignity and importance, the woman first recognises, or pretends to recognise, her royal visitant. "Whom seest thou?" says the king; "Mighty ones ascending from the earth." —"Of what form?" "An old man covered with a mantle."— Saul in terror bows his head to the earth; and, it should seem, not daring to look up, receives from the voice of the spectre the awful intimation of his defeat and death. On the reality of this apparition we presume not to decide: the figure, if figure there were, was not seen by Saul; and, excepting the event of the approaching battle, the spirit said nothing which the living prophet had not said before repeatedly and publicly. But the fact is curious, as showing the popular belief of the Jews in departed spirits to have been the same with that of most other nations.

The prophecy, like others, may have contributed to its own accomplishment. In the bloody battle of Gilboa, the Israelites were totally defeated; Jonathan and the other sons of Saul were slain; and the desperate monarch, determined not to outlive his fall, commanded his armour-bearer to pierce him with his sword. The faithful servant refused to obey. His master then fell on his own sword, but the wound not being mortal, he called on a youth, an Amalekite, to drive the weapon home. The faithful armour-bearer slew himself on his master's corpse. The bodies of Saul and Jonathan were taken by the Philistines, treated with great indignity, and that of Saul hung on the walls of the city of Beth-Shan, afterwards Scythopolis. It was soon after rescued by a daring incursion made by the inhabitants of Jabesh, a city beyond Jordan, who, remembering how Saul had rescued their city from the cruelty of the Ammonites at the commencement of his reign, displayed that rarest of virtues, gratitude to a fallen monarch; and adorned the annals of their country with one of its most noble incidents.

The news of the battle of Gilboa soon reached David. The young Amalekite took possession of the bracelet and ornaments

of Saul, and carried them with all possible speed to his designated successor; but David ordered him to execution for thus assisting in the death and plundering the person of the king. He expressed the deepest sorrow, not merely for the defeat of Israel and the death of his dear friend Jonathan, but also for that of the gallant monarch, whose early valour demanded unmixed admiration, whose malady might extenuate much of his later aberrations. During David's wild and adventurous life, his poetic faculty had been constantly kept alive. Many of his most affecting elegies receive a deeper interest when read in connexion with his personal history; but none is more touching than that which he composed on the death of Saul and Jonathan —*lovely and pleasant in their lives, in their death not divided.*

David did not waste the time in lamentations; he suddenly appeared at Hebron, was welcomed by the tribe of Judah, and immediately raised, by the common acclamation, to the vacant throne. Abner, the most powerful of the military leaders in the army of Saul, and his near relative, appealed to the jealousy of the northern tribes against Judah, and set up Ishbosheth, Saul's only surviving son, as king. Ishbosheth was totally unfit for the high situation; and after Abner had supported the contest for more than two years by his personal weight and activity, on some disgust he fell off to David. But unfortunately in a battle which had taken place at Gibeon, he had slain Asahel, the brother of Joab, David's most powerful follower. Joab in revenge assassinated him with his own hand. David was deeply grieved, and, as well to show his regret, as to remove all suspicion of participation in the crime, Abner received an honourable burial, and the king appeared as chief mourner. The loss of Abner was fatal to the party of Ishbosheth, and as the falling never want enemies, he was put to death by some of his own followers. Rechab and Baanah, the murderers, instead of meeting with a welcome reception and reward from David, were executed for their crime.

The power and character of David, now thirty years old, triumphed over all the jealousies of the tribes. The whole nation received him as their king; their united forces ranged themselves under his banner; their most valiant captains took pride in obeying his commands. The Philistines, who, from the terror of his name, seem immediately to have withdrawn within their own frontier, were defeated in all quarters. Yet the exterminating character of the former wars with this people may be estimated from the number of troops contributed from the several tribes, if indeed the numbers are correct. Judah musters only 6,000 men, Ephraim, 20,800, Zebulun, 50,000; the powerful tribes beyond Jordan, 120,000 men.

After residing seven years and a half at Hebron, David

determined to found a capital city, which should thenceforth be the seat of the government and the religion. Josephus asserts that the foundation of Jerusalem and the building of the temple, were expressly enjoined by Moses, and that he even anticipated the nature of the hill, on which the latter was to stand, and the size of its stones. But, except in one obscure prophetic passage, there is no allusion to Jerusalem in the writings of the lawgiver. The German writer, Herder, has drawn an ingenious inference from a verse in the same last prophecy of Moses, where the passage is found, in which Jerusalem is supposed to be designated. It is said of Zebulun, *they shall call the people into the mountain, there they shall offer sacrifices of righteousness.* This mountain he supposes to be Tabor, on the borders of Issachar and Zebulun, which stands alone at the edge of a vast plain, with a fine level space on its top, admirably calculated for the site of a city; while the sides are richly clothed with wood, and capable of a high degree of cultivation. Herder dwells with great eloquence on the commanding majesty and the strength of a situation which is seen on all sides from an immense distance, and overlooked by no neighbouring eminence. It is an obvious objection to this hypothesis that Tabor fell early, in the days of Joshua, into the power of the Israelites, but no attempt was made either to found a city, or to transfer thither the tabernacle and ark of God.

But Jerusalem was destined to become the seat of the Hebrew government, and the scene of more extraordinary events, more strange and awful vicissitudes, than any city in the universe, not excepting Rome. There stood on the borders of Judah and Benjamin a strong fortress, which had remained in the possession of the native inhabitants, the Jebusites, since the conquest of Canaan. The natural strength and long security of the citadel tempted the Jebusites to treat a summons to surrender with insolent defiance. David, however, took both the town and the citadel, which stood on Mount Sion, and there established his royal residence. The situation of Jerusalem is remarkably imposing; it stands on several eminences of unequal heights, some parts of which slope gradually, on others the sides are abrupt and precipitous. All around, excepting to the north, run deep ravines or valleys, like entrenchments formed by nature, beyond which arise mountains of greater height, which encircle and seem to protect the city. It is open only to the north, as if the way had been levelled, for the multitudes from the rest of the tribes to arrive at the holy city, without difficulty or obstacle. The hill of Sion, on which David's city stood, rose to the south, it was divided by a deep and narrow ravine from the other hills, over which the city gradually spread.

The next great step of David was the re-establishment of the

national religion with suitable dignity and magnificence. Had David acted solely from political motives, this measure had been the wisest he could adopt. The solemn assembling of the tribes would not only cement the political union of the monarchy, but also increase the opulence of his capital, and promote the internal commerce of the country: while it brought the heads of the tribes, and indeed the whole people, under the cognisance and personal knowledge of the sovereign, it fixed the residence of the more eminent among the priesthood in the metropolis.

The ark, after the restoration by the Philistines, had probably remained at Kirjath Jearim; from thence it was moved with the greatest state, attended by David at the head of 30,000 men. It was placed on a car; Uzzah, who presumed to touch it, was struck dead. Wherever it moved, it was escorted with instruments of music and hymns, which recalled all the former wonders of the Jewish history, the triumphs of God over his enemies. That noble ode, the 68th Psalm, *Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered*, is generally supposed to have been written on this occasion. The ark remained for three months in the house of Obed-Edom, while preparations were making for its solemn reception within the city. When the pavilion was ready, David made a feast for the whole people, and himself having cast off his royal robes, and put on a simple linen tunic, joined the procession, which was conducted with that dramatic union of music, singing, and dancing, common to the festal worship of all southern nations. On this second removal the 105th and 106th Psalms were sung. Michal alone, the daughter of Saul, the wife of David's youth, whom on his accession he had taken back, entered not into the general enthusiasm; she rebuked her husband for thus derogating from the royal dignity, of which she seems to have entertained truly Oriental notions. David, offended by her presumption and irreligion, from that time abstained from her bed.

David had already built a royal palace, with the assistance of Hiram, king of Tyre, of whom he received cedar timber from Lebanon, and experienced artisans. This was the commencement of that amity between the Tyrians and the Hebrews so mutually advantageous to the two nations, the one agricultural, and the other commercial. The religious king, in pursuance of the wise policy which led him to found a capital, and reinstate the religion in its former splendour, determined to build a permanent temple. The tabernacle might be suitable to the God of the wandering Israelites, but a more solid and durable edifice seemed accordant to the Deity of a settled people. *See now*, says the king to the prophet Nathan, *I dwell in an house of cedar, but the ark of God dwelleth within curtains.* The prophet at first highly approved of this pious design; but shortly after,

the divine commandment was proclaimed that David was to desist from the great national enterprise, and leave the glory of it to his son, who was to inherit his throne. The reason of the prohibition is most remarkable, entirely in unison with the spirit of the Mosaic institutions, which aimed at forming a peaceful, not a warlike or conquering people. *Thou hast shed blood abundantly, and hast made great wars; thou shalt not build a house unto my name, because thou hast shed much blood upon the earth in my sight.* From whence could so sublime a precept descend, amidst a people situated as the Jews then were, unless from the great Father of Love and Mercy?

The sanguinary career of David's victorious arms was not yet terminated. On every side he extended his frontier to the furthest limits of the promised land, and secured the whole country by the subjection or unrelenting extermination of its restless enemies. He defeated the Philistines, and took Gath and a great part of their dominion. He conquered and established garrisons in the whole territory of Edom: Hadad, the last of the royal race, fled to Egypt. He treated the Moabites with still greater severity, putting to the sword a great part of the population. He overthrew the Syrians of Zobah, (supposed by Michaelis to be the kingdom of Nisibis, bordering on Armenia, which was famous for its breed of horses;) Zobah lay between the Transjordanic tribes and the Euphrates: they were routed with a loss of 1,000 chariots, 700 horsemen, and 20,000 foot. Faithful to the law, he mutilated all the horses, except a certain number reserved for state and splendour. The Syrians of Damascus marched to the defence of their kindred, but retreated, having suffered the loss of 22,000 men. The kingdom of Hamath entered into a strict alliance with the conqueror. Thus the Euphrates became the eastern boundary of the Hebrew kingdom; the northern was secured by the occupation of the fortresses in the kingdom of Damascus, and by the friendly state of Tyre; the southern by the ruin of the Philistines and the military possession of Edom.

In the height of his power, David did not forget his generous friend, Jonathan. One of his sons, Mephibosheth, a lame youth, still survived. He was sent for, kindly received, and assigned a maintenance at the royal table. David soon after restored to him the personal estate of Saul, which was entrusted to the management of his adherent, Ziba. The estate must have been considerable, much larger than the patrimonial inheritance of Saul; perhaps, increased by confiscation during his possession of royal authority. A new war broke out, shortly after, against the Ammonites, who had entered into a defensive alliance with several of the Syrian princes. The war originated in this manner. On the accession of Hanun, the son of Nahash, to the

throne, David, who had been on friendly terms with the father, sent an embassy of congratulation. The Ammonites, suspecting the ambassadors to be spies, treated them with the greatest contumely; shaved their beards, the worst insult that can be inflicted in the East, cut their garments short, and dismissed them. The forces of David marched immediately into the country, commanded by Joab and Abishai, who totally defeated the Ammonites and their allies. Another formidable army of Syrians making its appearance, David took arms in person, and discomfited them with the loss of 700 chariots.

So far unexampled splendour and prosperity had marked the reign of David; the remainder was as gloomy as disastrous. His own crime was the turning point of his fortunes. Walking on the terrace roof of his palace, he looked down on the bath of a neighbouring harem, in which he saw a beautiful woman, Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah, a man of Canaanitish descent, but one of his bravest soldiers. He became enamoured of her, and sent for her to his palace. To cover the consequences of his crime, her husband was summoned from the army, then occupied with the siege of Rabbah, the capital of the Ammonites. But Uriah, either from secret suspicion, or mere accident, avoided the snare; the brave warrior refused to enjoy the comforts and luxuries of his home, while his companions in arms were sleeping in the open air. Foiled in his purpose, David plunged headlong down the precipitous declivity of guilt: he sent secret orders that Uriah should be exposed on a post of danger, where his death was inevitable. He did not perpetrate this double crime without remonstrance. The prophet Nathan addressed to him the beautiful and affecting apologue of the rich man, who, while possessed of abundant flocks, took by force the one ewe lamb of the poor man to feast a stranger. The bitterness of the king's repentance may be estimated by his own sad and pathetic expressions in the poems, particularly the 51st Psalm, composed on this humiliating subject. But henceforth the hand of God was against him. The Ammonitish war, indeed, was brought to a favourable termination; Joab, after wasting the whole country, pressed the siege of Rabbah. David joined the army, and took the city; where he wreaked the most dreadful vengeance on the inhospitable people. All, those at least who were found in arms, were put *under saws, and under harrows of iron; and under axes of iron, and made to pass through the brick kiln.* The long hostilities of the nations around Palestine were not likely to mitigate the ferocity of the usages of war; and the Ammonites seem to have been the most savage people of the whole region, and were for this reason, as well as on account of their conduct to the ambassadors, whose persons are sacred among the fiercest tribes, selected as fearful examples to the enemies of Israel. But

now the life of David began to darken; a curse, fatal as that which the old Grecian tragedy delights to paint, hung over his house. Incest, fratricide, rebellion of the son against the father, civil war, the expulsion of the king from his capital—such are the crimes and calamities which blacken the annals of his later years. The child, of which Bathsheba was pregnant, died; but its loss was replaced by the birth of the famous Solomon. Worse evils followed. Amnon, the eldest born son of David, committed an incestuous rape on Tamar, the sister of Absalom. Absalom (for in many Eastern nations, as has before been observed, the honour of the brother is wounded more deeply even than that of the parent, by the violation of an unmarried female) washed out the stain in the blood of his brother. The murderer fled, but, by the intervention of Joab, David's faithful captain, he was permitted to return; and at length, by a singular artifice, admitted to his father's presence. A woman of Tekoah was directed to appear in mourning apparel before the king. Of her two sons, one had slain the other in an accidental quarrel, the family sought to put the survivor to death, and leave her alone in her childless house. The analogy of her situation with his own, struck the mind of David; though he detected the artifice, in evil hour he recalled his offending and exiled son to Jerusalem; but still refused him permission to appear in his court. Before long, the daring youth set fire to a field of barley belonging to Joab, declaring that he had rather appear before his father as a criminal, than be excluded from his presence. An interview followed, in which the parental feeling of David triumphed over his justice and his prudence. Absalom was a youth of exquisite beauty, remarkable for his luxuriant hair; his manners were highly popular, and by consummate address, and artful impeachment of his father's negligence in the administration of justice, he gradually won the hearts of the whole people. He was aided by Ahitophel, a man of the most profound subtlety, and acute political foresight. Having thus prepared the way, he suddenly fled to Hebron, raised the standard of revolt, and, in a short time, the conspiracy grew so formidable, that David was obliged to fly from his capital.* He went forth from the eastern gate, crossed the brook Kidron, and ascended the Mount of Olives, from whence he looked back upon the city which he had founded, or ornamented, the abode, for many years, of all his power, his glory, and his happiness. He was leaving it in his old age, perhaps, for ever, a miserable fugitive, driven forth by a people, whose independence as a nation he had established, and by an unnatural son, whose life had been his gift. He did not attempt to disguise his sorrow: with his head covered, and his feet bare, he began his melancholy pilgrimage, amid the tears and lamentations of the people, who could not witness

without commiseration this sad example of the uncertainty of human greatness. Yet the greatness of David did not depend upon his royal state; it was within his lofty soul, and inseparable from his commanding character. Neither his piety, nor his generosity, nor his prudence, deserted him. The faithful priests, Zadok and Abiathar, followed him with the ark; he sent them back, unwilling that the sacred treasures of God should be exposed to the perils and ignominy of his flight. He remonstrated with Ittai, a stranger, on the imprudence of adhering to his falling fortunes. At the same time, he left Hushai, a man of great address, to counterwork the intrigues of the crafty Ahitophel. He had more trials to endure; as he passed Bahurim, a man named Shimei loaded him with the bitterest and most contemptuous execrations. David endured his reproaches with the humblest resignation, as punishments from the Almighty, nor would he permit his followers to attempt the chastisement of the offender. Absalom, in the mean time, entered Jerusalem without resistance. It is a singular usage in the East, that he who assumes the crown of a deceased or dethroned monarch, becomes master of his harem. Absalom, by Ahitophel's advice, took public possession of that of David. Ahitophel urged the immediate pursuit of the fugitive monarch, but Hushai having insinuated himself into Absalom's counsels, insisted on the danger of driving so brave a warrior to desperation. *They be mighty men, and they be chafed in their minds like a bear robbed of her whelps.* He advised, as a more prudent course, the assembling an army from the whole nation. The counsel of Hushai prevailed; and during the time thus gained, David escaped beyond the Jordan, where he was hospitably received, particularly by the wealthy Barzillai. The crafty politician, Ahitophel, saw at once the failure of his scheme, and to anticipate the vengeance of his enemies, destroyed himself. The event justified his sagacity. A powerful army assembled round David, and the termination of the contest depended on a decisive battle to be fought beyond the Jordan. Amasa commanded the troops of Absalom, Joab those of David. Before the conflict began, the fond father gave the strictest charge, that the life of his rebellious son should be respected. The battle took place on ground encumbered with wood; and Absalom, riding at full speed, got entangled in the boughs of an oak. Thus, suspended by his beautiful hair, the relentless Joab found him, and transfixed his body with three darts. David awaited the issue of the conflict in the city of Mahanaim. The messengers came rapidly one after the other to announce the victory. The king only answered with the question, *Is the young man Absalom safe?* His conduct, when the fatal tidings at last arrived, can be described in no other language but that of the sacred historian. *The king was much*

moved, and went up to the chamber over the gate and wept, and as he wept, thus he said, O my son, Absalom! my son, my son, Absalom! would God I had died for thee, O Absalom, my son, my son! This ill-timed, though natural grief, roused the indignation of the hardy Joab, and David was constrained to repress it. On the death of Absalom the nation returned to its allegiance, the king, with humane policy, published a general amnesty, from which not even the insulting Shimei was excepted. Among the faithful adherents of David, the aged Barzillai declined all reward; his advanced age was incapable of any gratification from honour or pleasure; his son, Chimham, was advanced to the highest dignity. Ziba, the faithless steward of Mephibosheth, endeavoured to implicate his master in the conspiracy, in order to secure the confiscated estate. He succeeded at first, but Mephibosheth exculpating himself, proved that he deeply mourned the expulsion of David, and had only been prevented following his fortunes by his infirmity and the craft of Ziba. The decree was revoked.

But at this period, the seeds of fatal jealousy between the northern tribes and that of Judah were sown. The northern tribes were exasperated, because the men of Judah took upon themselves to reinstate the king without their assent and concurrence. An adventurer, named Sheba, put himself at the head of a revolt. Amasa, the general of Absalom, suspected of traitorous dealings with the insurgents, was barbarously dispatched by Joab; and Sheba shut up in the city of Abel, where he was put to death by his own party, and his head thrown over the wall. These two rebellions were followed, (if the order of events be observed by the sacred historian,) or long preceded, (if we are to judge from probability,) by a famine, attributed to some obscure crime of Saul and his bloody family, in slaying the Gibeonites, the attendants on the priesthood. Seven descendants of Saul were put to death: but the barbarity of the transaction is relieved by the tender fidelity of Rizpah, one of Saul's concubines, who watched for months the remains of her unhappy children, lest the vultures or wild beasts should destroy them. David afterwards gave honourable burial to their bones, as well as to those of Saul and Jonathan. The civil wars, perhaps the three years' famine, had so enfeebled the strength of the kingdom, that the restless Philistines began to renew hostilities. Four gigantic champions, one of whom had put the life of David in peril, having been slain by his valiant chieftains, the war terminated.

David, now reinstated in all his strength and splendour, determined to take a census of his vast dominions, which extended from Lebanon to the frontiers of Egypt, from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean. The numbers differ, but the lowest gives

800,000 men fit to bear arms in Israel, 500,000 in Judah. Benjamin and Levi were not reckoned. Whether in direct violation of the law, David began to contemplate schemes of foreign conquest, and to aspire to the fame of a Sesostris; or whether the census exhibited the relative strength of Judah, so weak at the commencement of David's reign, as become formidable to the rest of the tribes; this measure was reprobated by the nation in general, as contrary to the divine command, and as impolitic, even by the unscrupulous Joab. It called down the anger of Providence. The king was commanded to choose between seven years' famine, three months of unsuccessful war and defeat, or three days' pestilence. David, with wise humility, left the judgment in the hand of God. The pestilence broke out, 70,000 lives were lost; the malady spread to Jerusalem, but the king was commanded to build an alter on Mount Moriah, the site of the future temple, then occupied by the threshing-floor of Araunah, one of the old Jebusite race. Araunah offered to make a gift of the place, and all the utensils, to be burnt for sacrifice; but David insisted on paying the full price of the ground. There the altar was built, and the plague immediately ceased.

The remaining years of David were spent in making the most costly preparations for the building of the temple, and in securing the succession to his son Solomon, to whom this great trust was to be bequeathed. As his time drew near, those evils began to display themselves which are inseparable from Oriental monarchies, where polygamy prevails; and where among children, from many wives, of different ranks, no certain rule of succession is established. Factions began to divide the army, the royal household, and even the priesthood. Adonijah, the brother of Absalom, supported by the turbulent Joab, and by Abiathar, the priest, assembled a large body of adherents, at a festival. When this intelligence was communicated to David, without the slightest delay he commanded Nathan the prophet, and Zadok the priest, with Benaiah, one of his most valiant captains, to take Solomon down to Gihon, to anoint and proclaim him. The young king re-entered the city amid the loudest acclamations; the party of Adonijah, who were still at their feast, dispersed and fled. Adonijah took refuge at the altar: his life was spared. David, after this success, assembled first the great body of leading men in the state, and afterwards, perhaps, a more extensive and popular convention of the people, before whom he designated Solomon as his successor, commended to the zeal and piety of the people the building of the temple, and received their contributions towards the great national work.

As his death approached, he strictly enjoined his son to adhere to the Mosaic laws and to the divine constitution. He

recommended him to watch, with a jealous eye, the bold and restless Joab; a man who, however brave and faithful, was dangerous from his restless ambition, and from the savage unscrupulousness with which he shed the blood of his enemies. Abner and Amasa had both fallen by his hand, without warrant or authority from the king. Solomon, *according to his wisdom*, on the first appearance of treasonable intention, was to put him to death without mercy. Shimei was in the same manner to be cut off, if he should betray the least mark of disaffection. But to the sons of Barzillai, the Gileadite, the successor of David was to show the utmost gratitude and kindness.

Thus having provided for the security of the succession, the maintenance of the law, and the lasting dignity of the national religion, David breathed his last, having reigned forty years over the flourishing and powerful monarchy of which he may be considered the founder. He had succeeded to a kingdom distracted with civil dissension, environed on every side by powerful and victorious enemies, without a capital, almost without an army, without any bond of union between the tribes. He left a compact and united state, stretching from the frontier of Egypt to the foot of Lebanon, from the Euphrates to the sea. He had crushed the power of the Philistines, subdued or curbed all the adjacent kingdoms: he had formed a lasting and important alliance with the great city of Tyre. He had organised an immense disposable force: every month 24,000 men, furnished in rotation by the tribes, appeared in arms, and were trained as the standing militia of the country. At the head of his army were officers of consummate experience, and, what was more highly esteemed in the warfare of the time, extraordinary personal activity, strength, and valour. His heroes remind us of those of Arthur or Charlemagne, excepting that the armour of the feudal chieftains constituted their superiority; here, main strength of body and dauntless fortitude of mind. The Hebrew nation owed the long peace of the son's reign to the bravery and wisdom of the father. If the rapidity with which a kingdom rises to unexampled prosperity, and the permanence, as far as human wisdom can provide, of that prosperity, be a fair criterion of the abilities and character of a sovereign, few kings in history can compete with David. His personal character has been often discussed; but both by his enemies, and even by some of his learned defenders, with an ignorance of, or inattention to, his age and country, in writers of such acuteness as Bayle, not less melancholy than surprising. Both parties have been content to take the expression of the *man after God's own heart*, in a strict and literal sense. Both have judged, by modern, European, and Christian notions, the chieftain of an Eastern and comparatively barbarous people. If David in his exile became a freebooter,

he assumed a profession, like the pirate in ancient Greece, by no means dishonourable. If he employed craft, or even falsehood, in some of his enterprises, chivalrous or conscientious attachment to truth was probably not one of the virtues of his day. He had his harem, like other Eastern kings. He waged war, and revenged himself on his foreign enemies with merciless cruelty, like other warriors of his age and country. His one great crime violated the immutable and universal laws of morality, and therefore admits of no excuse. On the other hand, his consummate personal bravery and military talent—his generosity to his enemies—his fidelity to his friends—his knowledge of, and steadfast attention to, the true interests of his country — his exalted piety and gratitude towards his God, justify the zealous and fervent attachment of the Jewish people to the memory of their great monarch.

The three most eminent men in the Hebrew annals, Moses, David, and Solomon, were three of their most distinguished poets. The hymns of David excel no less in sublimity and tenderness of expression than in loftiness and purity of religious sentiment. In comparison with them, the sacred poetry of all other nations sinks into mediocrity. They have embodied so exquisitely the universal language of religious emotion, that (a few fierce and vindictive passages excepted, natural in the warrior-poet of a sterner age) they have entered, with unquestioned propriety, into the ritual of the holier and more perfect religion of Christ. The songs which cheered the solitude of the desert-caves of Engedi, or resounded from the voice of the Hebrew people as they wound along the glens or the hill-sides of Judæa, have been repeated for ages in almost every part of the habitable world, in the remotest islands of the ocean, among the forests of America or the sands of Africa. How many human hearts have they softened, purified, exalted!—of how many wretched beings have they been the secret consolation!—on how many communities have they drawn down the blessings of Divine Providence, by bringing the affections into unison with their deep devotional fervour!

SOLOMON succeeded to the Hebrew kingdom at the age of twenty. He was environed by designing, bold, and dangerous enemies. The pretensions of Adonijah still commanded a powerful party: Abiathar swayed the priesthood; Joab the army. The singular connexion in public opinion between the title to the crown, and the possession of the deceased monarch's harem, has been already noticed. Adonijah, in making request for Abishag, a youthful concubine taken by David in his old age, was considered as insidiously renewing his claims to the sovereignty. Solomon saw at once the wisdom of his father's dying admonition: he seized the opportunity of crushing all future

opposition, and all danger of a civil war. He caused Adonijah to be put to death; suspended Abiathar from his office, and banished him from Jerusalem: and though Joab fled to the altar, he commanded him to be slain, for the two murders of which he had been guilty, those of Abner and Amasa. Shimei, another dangerous character, was commanded to reside in Jerusalem, on pain of death if he should quit the city. Three years afterwards he was detected in a suspicious journey to Gath, on the Philistine border; and having violated the compact, he suffered the penalty.

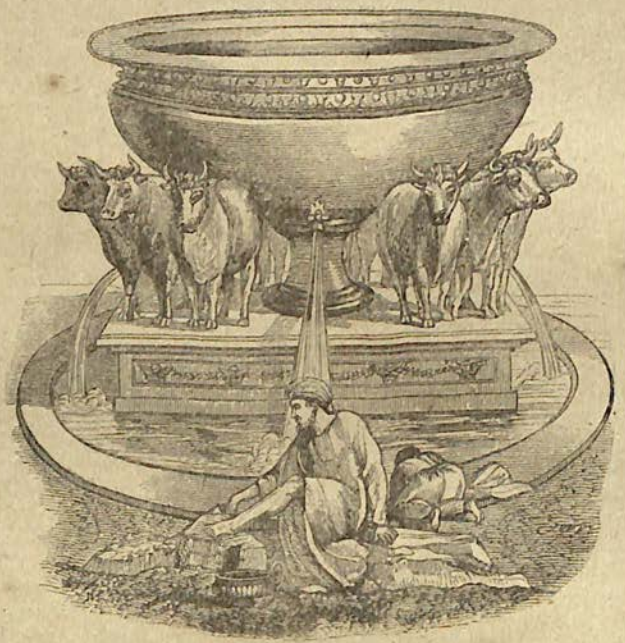
Thus secured by the policy of his father from internal enemies, by the terror of his victories from foreign invasion, Solomon commenced his peaceful reign, during which Judah and Israel dwelt safely, *every man under his vine and under his fig-tree, from Dan to Beersheba.* His justice was proverbial. Among his first acts after his succession, it is related that after a costly sacrifice at Gibeon, the place where the tabernacle remained, God had appeared to him in a dream, and offered him whatever gift he chose: the wise king requested an understanding heart to judge the people. God not merely assented to his prayer, but added the gift of honour and riches. His judicial wisdom was displayed in the memorable history of the two women, who contested the right to a child. Solomon, in the wild spirit of Oriental justice, commanded the infant to be divided before their faces: the heart of the real mother was struck with terror and abhorrence; while the false one consented to the horrible partition; and by this appeal to nature the cause was instantaneously decided.

The internal government of his extensive dominions next demanded the attention of Solomon. Besides the local and municipal governors, he divided the kingdom into twelve districts: over each of these he appointed a purveyor, for the collection of the royal tribute, which was received in kind; and thus the growing capital and the immense establishments of Solomon were abundantly furnished with provisions. Each purveyor supplied the court for a month. The daily consumption of his household was 300 bushels of finer flour, 600 of a coarser sort; 10 fatted, 20 other oxen; 100 sheep; besides poultry, and various kinds of venison. Provender was furnished for 40,000 horses, and a great number of dromedaries. Yet the population of the country did not, at first at least, feel these burthens: *Judah and Israel were many, as the sand which is by the sea in multitude, eating and drinking, and making merry.*

The foreign treaties of Solomon were as wisely directed to secure the profound peace of his dominions. He entered into a matrimonial alliance with the royal family of Egypt, whose daughter he received with great magnificence; and he renewed the important alliance with the king of Tyre. The friendship of

this monarch was of the highest value in contributing to the great royal and national work, the building of the temple. The cedar timber could only be obtained from the forests of Lebanon: the Sidonian artisans, celebrated in the Homeric poems, were the most skilful workmen in every kind of manufacture, particularly in the precious metals. Solomon entered into a regular treaty, by which he bound himself to supply the Tyrians with large quantities of corn; receiving in return their timber, which was floated down to Joppa, and a large body of artificers. The timber was cut by his own subjects, of whom he raised a body of 30,000; 10,000 employed at a time, and relieving each other every month; so that to one month of labour, they had two of rest. He raised two other corps, one of 70,000 porters of burthens, the other of 80,000 hewers of stone, who were employed in the quarries among the mountains. All these labours were thrown, not on the Israelites, but on the strangers, who, chiefly of Canaanitish descent, had been permitted to inhabit the country. These preparations, in addition to those of King David, being completed, the work began. The eminence of Moriah, the Mount of Vision, *i. e.* the height seen afar from the adjacent country, which tradition pointed out as the spot where Abraham had offered his son—(where recently the plague had been stayed, by the altar built in the threshing-floor of Ornan or Araunah, the Jebusite,) rose on the east side of the city. Its rugged top was levelled with immense labour; its sides, which to the east and south were precipitous, were faced with a wall of stone, built up perpendicular from the bottom of the valley, so as to appear to those who looked down of most terrific height; a work of prodigious skill and labour, as the immense stones were strongly mortised together and wedged into the rock. Around the whole area or esplanade, an irregular quadrangle, was a solid wall of considerable height and strength; within this was an open court, into which the Gentiles were, either from the first, or subsequently, admitted. A second wall encompassed another quadrangle, called the court of the Israelites. Along this wall, on the inside, ran a portico or cloister, over which were chambers for different sacred purposes. Within this again, another, probably lower, wall, separated the court of the priests from that of the Israelites. To each court the ascent was by steps, so that the platform of the inner court was on a higher level than that of the outer. The temple itself was rather a monument of the wealth than the architectural skill and science of the people. It was a wonder of the world, from the splendour of its materials more than the grace, boldness, or majesty of its height and dimensions. It had neither the colossal magnitude of the Egyptian, the simple dignity and perfect proportional harmony of the Grecian, nor perhaps the fantastic grace and

lightness of modern Oriental architecture. Some writers, calling to their assistance the visionary temple of Ezekiel, have erected a most superb edifice; to which there is this fatal objection, that if the dimensions of the prophet are taken as they stand in the text the area of the temple and its courts would not only have covered the whole of Mount Moriah, but almost all Jerusalem. In fact our accounts of the temple of Solomon are altogether unsatisfactory. The details, as they now stand in the books of



THE BRAZEN SEA.

Kings and Chronicles, the only safe authorities, are unscientific, and, what is worse, contradictory. Josephus has evidently blended together the three temples, and attributed to the earlier all the subsequent additions and alterations. The temple, on the whole, was an enlargement of the tabernacle, built of more costly and durable materials. Like its model it retained the ground plan and disposition of the Egyptian, or rather of almost all the sacred edifices of antiquity: even its measurements are singularly in unison with some of the most ancient temples in Upper Egypt. It consisted of a propylæon, a temple, and a

sanctuary; called respectively the porch, the Holy Place, and the Holy of Holies. Yet in some respects, if the measurements are correct, the temple must rather have resembled the form of a simple Gothic church. In the front to the east stood the porch, a tall tower, rising to the height of 210 feet. Either within, or, like the Egyptian obelisks, before the porch, stood two pillars of brass; by one account 27, by another above 60 feet high; the latter statement probably including their capitals and bases. These were called Jachin and Boaz (Durability and

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wall of the temple being thicker at the bottom, left a rest to support the beams of these chambers, which were not let into the wall. These aisles, the chambers of which were appropriated as vestiaries, treasuries, and for other sacred purposes, seem to have reached about halfway up the main wall of what we may call the nave and choir: the windows into the latter were probably above them; these were narrow, but widened inwards.

If the dimensions of the temple appear by no means imposing, it must be remembered that but a small part of the religious ceremonies took place within the walls. The Holy of Holies was entered only once a year, and that by the High Priest alone. It was the secret and unapproachable shrine of the Divinity. The Holy Place, the body of the temple, admitted only the officiating priests. The open courts, called in popular language the temple, or rather the inner quadrangle, was in fact the great place of divine worship. Here, under the open air, were celebrated the great public and national rites, the processions, the offerings, the sacrifices: h[illegible]e great tank for ablution, and the high a[illegible] But the costliness of the materials, [illegible] details, amply compensated for [illegible] building. It was such a sacred [illegible]xpected to find in El Dorado. [illegible]ithin with cedar, which [illegible]rs; the ceiling was of [illegible]hed with the utmost [illegible] walls, the ceiling, [illegible]d with gold. The [illegible] supposed to be [illegible] the cherubim, [illegible]h their wings [illegible]. The sump- [illegible]lours, which [illegible]s suspended [illegible]owers, the [illegible]ing, were [illegible]mple and [illegible]he same [illegible]basons, [illegible]f solid [illegible]reatest [illegible]nded [illegible]rned [illegible]here [illegible]l on [illegible]ter. [illegible]ose [illegible]the

rims of which were richly ornamented with a border, on which were wrought figures of lions, oxen, and cherubim. The bases below were formed of four wheels, like those of a chariot. All the works in brass were cast in a place near the Jordan, where the soil was of a stiff clay suited to the purpose.

For seven years and a half the fabric arose in silence. All the timbers, the stones, even of the most enormous size, measuring between seventeen and eighteen feet, were hewn and fitted, so as to be put together without the sound of any tool whatever; as it has been expressed, with great poetical beauty,

Like some tall palm the noiseless fabric grew.

At the end of this period, the temple and its courts being completed, the solemn dedication took place, with the greatest magnificence which the king and the nation could display. All the chieftains of the different tribes, and all of every order who could be brought together, assembled. David had already organised the priesthood and the Levites; assigned to the 38,000 of the latter tribe, each his particular office: 24,000 were appointed for the common duties, 6000 as officers, 4000 as guards and porters, 4000 as singers and musicians. On this great occasion, the dedication of the temple, all the tribe of Levi, without regard to their courses, the whole priestly order of every class, attended. Around the great brazen altar, which rose in the court of the priests before the door of the temple, stood—in front the sacrificers, all around the whole choir, arrayed in white linen. 120 of these were trumpeters, the rest had cymbals, harps, and psalteries. Solomon himself took his place on an elevated scaffold, or raised throne of brass. The whole assembled nation crowded the spacious courts beyond. The ceremony began with the preparation of burnt offerings, so numerous that they could not be counted. At an appointed signal commenced the more important part of the scene, the removal of the ark, the installation of the God of Israel in his new and appropriate dwelling, to the sound of all the voices and all the instruments, chaunting some of those spendid odes, the 47th, 97th, 98th, and 107th psalms. The ark advanced, borne by the Levites, to the open portals of the temple. It can scarcely be doubted that the 24th psalm, even if composed before, was adopted and used on this occasion. The singers, as it drew near the gate, broke out in these words—*Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, that the King of Glory may come in.* It was answered from the other part of the choir—*Who is the King of Glory?*—the whole choir responded—*The Lord of Hosts, he is the King of Glory.* When the procession arrived at the Holy Place, the gates flew open; when it reached the Holy of

Holies, the veil was drawn back. The ark took its place under the extended wings of the cherubim, which might seem to fold over, and receive it under their protection. At that instant all the trumpeters and singers were at once *to make one sound to be heard in praising and thanking the Lord; and when they lifted up their voice, with the trumpets, and cymbals, and instruments of music, and praised the Lord, saying, for he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever, the house was filled with a cloud, even the house of the Lord, so that the priests could not stand to minister by reason of the cloud; for the glory of the Lord had filled the house of God.* Thus the Divinity took possession of his sacred edifice. The king then rose upon the brazen scaffold, knelt down, and spreading his hands towards heaven, uttered the prayer of consecration. The prayer was of unexampled sublimity: while it implored the perpetual presence of the Almighty, as the tutelar deity and sovereign of the Israelites, it recognised his spiritual and illimitable nature. *But will God in very deed dwell with men on the earth? behold, heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain thee, how much less this house which I have built.* It then recapitulated the principles of the Hebrew theocracy, the dependence of the national prosperity and happiness on the national conformity to the civil and religious law. As the king concluded in these emphatic terms—*Now, therefore, arise, O Lord God, into thy resting place, thou and the ark of thy strength: let thy priests, O Lord God, be clothed with salvation, and thy saints rejoice in goodness. O Lord God, turn not away the face of thine anointed: remember the mercies of David thy servant*—the cloud which had rested over the Holy of Holies grew brighter and more dazzling; fire broke out and consumed all the sacrifices: the priests stood without, awe-struck by the insupportable splendour: the whole people fell on their faces, and worshipped, and praised the Lord, *for he is good, for his mercy is for ever.* Which was the greater, the external magnificence, or the moral sublimity of the scene? Was it the temple, situated on its commanding eminence, with all its courts, the dazzling splendour of its materials, the innumerable multitudes, the priesthood in their gorgeous attire, the king with all the insignia of royalty, on his throne of burnished brass, the music, the radiant cloud filling the temple, the sudden fire flashing upon the altar, the whole nation upon their knees? Was it not rather the religious grandeur of the hymns and of the prayer: the exalted and rational views of the Divine Nature, the union of a whole people in the adoration of the one Great, Incomprehensible, Almighty, Everlasting Creator!

This extraordinary festival, which took place at the time of that of Tabernacles, lasted for two weeks, twice the usual time: during this period 22,000 oxen and 120,000 sheep were sacrificed,

every individual probably contributing to this great propitiatory rite; and the whole people feasting on those parts of the sacrifices which were not set apart for holy uses.

Though the chief magnificence of Solomon was lavished on the temple of God, yet the sumptuous palaces, which he erected for his own residence, display an opulence and profusion, which may vie with the older monarchs of Egypt or Assyria. The great palace stood in Jerusalem; it occupied thirteen years in building. A causeway bridged the deep ravine, and leading directly to the temple, united the part either of Acra or Sion, on which the palace stood, with Mount Moriah. In this palace was a vast hall for public business, from its cedar pillars, called the House of the Forest of Lebanon. It was 175 feet long, half that measurement in width, above fifty feet high; four rows of cedar columns supported a roof made of beams of the same wood; there were three rows of windows on each side facing each other. Besides this great hall, there were two others, called porches, of smaller dimensions, in one of which the throne of justice was placed. The harem, or women's apartments, joined to these buildings; with other piles of vast extent for different purposes, particularly, if we may credit Josephus, a great banqueting hall. The same author informs us, that the whole was surrounded with spacious and luxuriant gardens, and adds a less credible fact, ornamented with sculptures and paintings. Another palace was built in a romantic part of the country for his wife, the daughter of the king of Egypt: in the luxurious gardens of which we may lay the scene of that poetical epithalamium, or collection of idyls, the Song of Solomon.

The descriptions in the Greek writers of the Persian courts in Susa and Ecbatana; the tales of the early travellers in the East about the kings of Samarcand or Cathay; and even the imagination of the Oriental romancers and poets, have scarcely conceived a more splendid pageant that Solomon, seated on his throne of ivory, receiving the homage of distant princes who came to admire his magnificence, and put to the test his noted wisdom. This throne was of pure ivory, covered with gold; six steps led up to the seat, and on each side of the steps stood twelve lions. All the vessels of his palace were of pure gold, silver was thought too mean: his armoury was furnished with gold; 200 targets and 300 shields of beaten gold were suspended in the house of Lebanon. Josephus mentions a body of archers who escorted him from the city to his country palace, clad in dresses of Tyrian purple, and their hair powdered with gold dust. But enormous as this wealth appears, the statement of his expenditure on the temple, and of his annual revenue, so passes all credibility, that any attempt at forming a calculation on the uncertain data we possess, may at once be abandoned as a hopeless task. No

better proof can be given of the uncertainty of our authorities, of our imperfect knowledge of the Hebrew weights of money, and, above all, of our total ignorance of the relative value which the precious metals bore to the commodities of life, than the estimate, made by Dr. Prideaux, of the treasures left by David, amounting to 800 millions, nearly the capital of our national debt.

Our inquiry into the sources of the vast wealth which Solomon undoubtedly possessed, may lead to more satisfactory, though still imperfect results. The treasures of David were accumulated rather by conquest than by traffic. Some of the nations he subdued, particularly the Edomites, were wealthy. All the tribes seem to have worn a great deal of gold and silver in their ornaments and their armour; their idols were often of gold, and the treasuries of their temples perhaps contained considerable wealth. But during the reign of Solomon almost the whole commerce of the world passed into his territories. The treaty with Tyre was of the utmost importance: nor is there any instance in which two neighbouring nations so clearly saw, and so steadily pursued, without jealousy or mistrust, their mutual and inseparable interests. On one occasion only, when Solomon presented to Hiram twenty inland cities which he had conquered, Hiram expressed great dissatisfaction, and called the territory by the opprobrious name of Cabul. The Tyrian had perhaps cast a wistful eye on the noble bay and harbour of Acco, or Ptolemais, which the prudent Hebrew either would not, or could not—since it was part of the promised land—dissever from his dominions. So strict was the confederacy, that Tyre may be considered the port of Palestine, Palestine the granary of Tyre. Tyre furnished the ship-builders and mariners; the fruitful plains of Palestine victualled the fleets, and supplied the manufacturers and merchants of the Phœnician league with all the necessaries of life.

This league comprehended Tyre, Aradus, Sidon, perhaps Tripolis, Byblus, and Berytus; the narrow slip of territory which belonged to these states was barren, rocky, and unproductive. The first branch of commerce into which this enterprising people either admitted the Jews as regular partners, or at least permitted them to share its advantages, was the traffic of the Mediterranean. To every part of that sea the Phœnicians had pursued their discoveries; they had planted colonies, and worked the mines. This was the trade to Tarshish, so celebrated, that ships of Tarshish seemed to have become the common name for large merchant vessels. Tarshish was probably a name as indefinite as the West Indies in early European navigation; properly speaking, it was the south of Spain, then rich in mines of gold and silver, the Peru of Tyrian adventure. Whether or

not as early as the days of Solomon,—without doubt in the more flourishing period of Phœnicia, before the city on the mainland was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, and insular Tyre became the emporium—the Phœnician navies extended their voyages beyond the Pillars of Hercules, where they founded Cadiz. Northward they sailed along the coast of France to the British isles; southward along the African shore; where the boundaries of their navigation are quite uncertain, yet probably extended to the Gold Coast. The second branch of commerce was the inland trade with Egypt. This was carried on entirely by the Jews. Egypt supplied horses in vast numbers, and linen yarn. The valleys of the Nile produced flax in abundance; and the yarn, according to the description of the prudent housewife in the Proverbs, was spun and woven by the females in Palestine. The third and more important branch, was the maritime trade by the Red Sea. The conquests of David had already made the Jews masters of the eastern branch of this gulf. Solomon built or improved the towns and ports of Elath and Ezion-geber. Hence a fleet, manned by Tyrians, sailed for Ophir, their East Indies, as Tarshish was their West. They coasted along the eastern shore of Africa, in some part of which the real Ophir was probably situated. When the Egyptians under Necho, after the declension of the Israelitish kingdom, took possession of this branch of commerce, there seems little reason to doubt the plain and consistent account of Herodotus, that the Tyrians sailed round the continent of Africa. The whole maritime traffic with eastern Asia, the southern shores of the Arabian peninsula, the coasts of the Persian Gulf, and without doubt some parts of India, entered, in the same manner, the Red Sea, and was brought to Elath and Ezion-geber. Yet even this line of commerce was scarcely more valuable than the inland trade of the Arabian peninsula. This was carried on by the caravans of the native tribes, who transported on camels the spices, incense, gold, precious stones, valuable woods, particularly the almug, thought to be the sandal, and all the other highly prized productions of that country; perhaps also the foreign commodities which were transported across the Persian Gulf, or which were landed, by less adventurous traders from the east, in the Arabian ports on that sea. Both these lines of commerce flowed directly into the dominions of Solomon. Those goods which passed on to Tyre were, not improbably, shipped at Joppa. Two of the towns which Solomon built, Gezer and Lower Beth-horon, were nearly on the line from the Red Sea to that haven. This traffic was afterwards recovered by the Edomites, under the protection, or sharing its advantages with the Egyptians; still, however, the Tyrians were most likely both the merchants who fitted out the enterprises, and the mariners who manned the

ships. The goods intended for Tyre were then, most probably, shipped at Rhinocorura. Under the Romans the Nabathean Arabs carried on the same traffic, of which their great city, Petra, was the inland emporium; at least that by the caravans, for the Ptolemies had diverted great part of the Red Sea trade to their new port of Berenice. A fifth line of commerce was that of inland Asia which crossed from Assyria and Babylonia to Tyre. In order to secure and participate in this branch of traffic, Solomon subdued part of the Syrian tribes, and built two cities, as stations, between the Euphrates and the coast. These were Tadmor and Baalath, one the celebrated Palmyra, the other Baal-bec. After the desolating conquests of Assyria, and the total ruin of old Tyre, this line of trade probably found its way to Sardis, and contributed to the splendour of Crœsus and his Lydian kingdom. It was from these various sources of wealth that the precious metals and all other valuable commodities were in such abundance—that, in the figurative language of the sacred historian, *silver was in Jerusalem as stones, and cedar-trees as sycamores.*

Solomon was not less celebrated for his wisdom than his magnificence. The visits of the neighbouring princes, particularly that of the queen of Sheba, (a part of Arabia Felix,) were to admire the one as much as the other. Hebrew tradition, perhaps the superstitious wonder of his own age, ascribed to Solomon the highest skill in magical arts, and even unbounded dominion over all the invisible world. Tadmor, in the wilderness, was said to have been built by his enchantments. More sober history recognises in Solomon the great poet, naturalist, and moral philosopher of his time. His poetry, consisting of 1005 songs, except his epithalamium, and perhaps some of the Psalms, has entirely perished. His natural history of plants and animals has suffered the same fate. But the greater part of the Book of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes (perhaps more properly reckoned as a poem) have preserved the conclusions of his moral wisdom.

The latter book, or poem, derives new interest, when considered as coming from the most voluptuous, magnificent, and instructed of monarchs, who sums up the estimate of human life in the melancholy sentence—*Vanity of vanities! vanity of vanities!* It is a sad commentary on the termination of the splendid life and reign of the great Hebrew sovereign. For even had not this desponding confession been extorted by the satiety of passion, and the weariness of a spirit, over-excited by all the gratifications this world can bestow—had no higher wisdom suggested this humiliating conclusion—the state of his own powerful kingdom, during his declining years, might have furnished a melancholy lesson on the instability of human grandeur. Solomon, in his old age, was about to bequeath to his heir an

insecure throne, a discontented people, formidable enemies on the frontiers, and perhaps a contested succession. He could not even take refuge in the sanctuary of conscious innocence, and assume the dignity of suffering unmerited degradation; for he had set at defiance every principle of the Hebrew constitution. He had formed a connexion with Egypt—he had multiplied a great force of cavalry—he had accumulated gold and silver—he had married many foreign wives. His seraglio was on as vast a scale as the rest of his expenditure—he had seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines. The influence of these women, not merely led him to permit an idolatrous worship within his dominions; but even Solomon had been so infatuated, as to consecrate to the obscene and barbarous deities of the neighbouring nations, a part of one of the hills which overlooked Jerusalem; a spot almost fronting the splendid temple, which he himself had built to the one Almighty God of the universe. Hence clouds on all sides gathered about his declining day. Hadad, one of the blood-royal of the Edomite princes, began to organise a revolt in that province, on which so much of the Jewish commerce depended. An adventurer, Rezon, seized on Damascus, and set up an independent sovereignty, thus interrupting the communication from Tadmor. A domestic enemy, still more dangerous, appeared in the person of Jeroboam, a man of great valour, supported by the prophet Ahijah, who foretold his future rule over the ten tribes. Though forced to fly, Jeroboam found an asylum with Shishak, or Sesac, the Sesonchosis of Manetho, who was raising the kingdom of Egypt to its former alarming grandeur; and, notwithstanding his alliance with Solomon, made no scruple against harbouring his rebellious subject. Above all, the people were oppressed and dissatisfied; either because the enormous revenues of the kingdom were more than absorbed by the vast expenditure of the sovereign; or because the more productive branches of commerce were interrupted by the rebellions of the Edomites and Damascenes. At this period, likewise, Solomon departed from the national, though iniquitous policy of his earlier reign, during which he had laid all the burthens of labour and taxation on the strangers, and exempted the Israelites from every claim, but that of military service. The language held to Rehoboam, on his accession, shows that the people had suffered deeply from the arbitrary exactions of the king, who, with the state and splendour, had assumed the despotism of an Oriental monarch. Hence the decline of the Jewish kingdom, supported rather by the fame of its sovereign, than by its inherent strength, was as rapid as its rise. Solomon died after a reign of forty years, and with him expired the glory and the power of the Jewish empire.

BOOK VIII.

KINGDOMS OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL.

Accession of Rehoboam—Jeroboam—Separation of the Two Kingdoms—Asa—House of Omri—Building of Samaria—Ahab—The Prophets—Elijah—Elisha—Jehoshaphat—Hostilities with Syria—House of Jehu—Athaliah—Uzziah—Hazael—Jeroboam the Second—Ahaz—Fall of Samaria—Captivity of the Ten Tribes—Hezekiah—Manasseh—Josiah—Assyrian Conquests—First—Final Capture of Jerusalem.

Kings of Judah.	YRS.			Kings of Israel.	YRS.
Rehoboam ...	reigned 17	...	B.C. 979 =	Jeroboam	reigned 22
Abijah	3	...	B.C. 962		
Asa	41	...	B.C. 959		
			B.C. 957 ...	Nadab	2
			B.C. 955 ...	Baasha	23
			B.C. 932 ...	Elah	2
			B.C. 930 ...	Zimri, Omri ...	11
			B.C. 919 ...	Ahab	22
Jehoshaphat ...	25	...	B.C. 918		
			B.C. 897 ...	Ahaziah	2
			B.C. 895 ...	Jehoram	12
Jehoram	8	...	B.C. 893		
Ahaziah	1	...	B.C. 885		
Athaliah	6	...	B.C. 884 ...	Jehu	28
Jehoash	40	...	B.C. 878		
			B.C. 855 ...	Jehoahaz	14
			B.C. 841 ...	Jehoash	16
Amaziah	29	...	B.C. 838		
			B.C. 825 ...	Jeroboam 2nd ...	42
Uzziah or Azariah ...	52	...	B.C. 809		
			B.C. 781 ...	Interregnum ...	11
			B.C. 770 ...	Zachariah and Shallum	1
			B.C. 769 ...	Menahem	10
			B.C. 759 ...	Pekahiah	2
			B.C. 758 ...	Pekah	20
Jotham	16	...	B.C. 757		
Ahaz	16	...	B.C. 741		
			B.C. 737 ...	2nd Interregnum ...	9
			B.C. 728 ...	Hoshea	9
Hezekiah	29	..	B.C. 726		
			B.C. 719 ...	Samaria taken.	
Manasseh	55	...	B.C. 697		
Amon	2	..	B.C. 642		
Josiah	31	...	B.C. 640		
Jehoahaz ... 3 months	—	}	B.C. 609		
Jehoiachim	11	}			
Jehoiachin or Coniah, 3 months	—	}	B.C. 598		
Zedekiah	11	}			
Jerusalem		...	B.C. 587		

REHOBOAM, the son of Solomon, was received as king by the whole nation. But his title, though recognised at Jerusalem, seemed insecure without the formal adhesion of the other tribes.

An assembly, therefore, was summoned at Shechem; but instead of adopting the wise and conciliatory language recommended by the older counsellors of Solomon, Rehoboam followed the advice of the young and violent; and when the assembly, headed by the popular Jeroboam, who made his appearance from Egypt, demanded an alleviation of the public burthens, the rash and inconsiderate king, not merely refused compliance, but in the true character of Eastern monarchy, threatened them with still heavier exactions. "*My father made your yoke heavy, and I will add to your yoke; my father chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions.*" "*To your tents, O Israel,*" was the instantaneous cry; the ten tribes unanimously renounced their allegiance, raised Jeroboam to the throne, forced the son of Solomon to fly to his native kingdom of Judah, and stoned Adoram the collector of his tribute. Thus, the national union was for ever dissolved, and the Hebrew kingdom never recovered this fatal blow.

Rehoboam had recourse to arms, and raised an host of 180,000 men. But the authority of the prophet Shemaiah prevented the civil war, and Rehoboam was obliged to content himself with fortifying and securing his own dominions. In the mean time, the politic and unscrupulous Jeroboam pursued every measure which could make the breach irreparable, and thus secure his throne. As long as Jerusalem was the place of the national worship, it might again become the centre of the national union. The Levitical class, who constantly went up to the temple in their courses, and the religion itself, were bonds which must be dissolved; a separate kingdom must have a separate priesthood, and a separate place and establishment for sacred purposes. To this end, Jeroboam caused two golden calves to be made, and consecrated some ignoble persons, not of the Levitical tribe, as the priesthood. These calves were set up, the one in the central position of Bethel, the other in the remote city of Dan. They were not, strictly speaking, idols, but were speciously contrived as symbolic representations, probably, preserving some resemblance to the cherubim, of which the ox was one of the four constituent parts. Still, they were set up in no less flagrant violation of the law, than if they had been the deities of Egypt, to which they bore a great likeness. This heinous deviation from the Mosaic polity was not carried into effect without remonstrance on the part of the prophets. As Jeroboam stood by the altar to burn incense, one of the seers made his appearance, denounced a curse, and foretold the disasters that would inevitably ensue. The king attempting to seize him, his hand was suddenly withered, but restored at the prayer of the prophet. The prophet himself, not strictly complying with the divine command, was destroyed on his return

home by a lion, an awful example to all those who should exercise that function, so important in the later period of the Jewish kingdom. But Jeroboam was not satisfied with thus securing his throne against the influence of the national religion. It may be assumed, that, not without his suggestion or connivance, his patron, Shishak,* king of Egypt, made a descent on the kingdom of Judah, now weakened by the corrupt morals of the people. Rehoboam offered no effectual resistance to the invader: the treasures of the temple and palace of Solomon were plundered; the golden shields carried away, and replaced by others made of the baser metal, brass.

After a reign of seventeen years Rehoboam was succeeded on the throne of Judah by Abijah, his son, (B.C. 962,) who immediately raised a great force to subdue the kingdom of Israel. The armies of Abijah and Jeroboam met in Mount Ephraim. Jeroboam had on his side both numbers (800,000 men to 400,000) and military skill, which enabled him to surround the forces of Judah. But Abijah had the religious feelings of the people. The presence of the priesthood and the sound of the sacred trumpets inspirited Judah, as much as they disheartened Israel. Jeroboam was totally defeated with the loss of 500,000 men; the disaster preyed on his mind, and he never after recovered his power or enterprise.

After a short reign of three years Abijah died, and was succeeded by his son Asa, (B. C. 959,) a prudent and religious prince. He pursued the wiser policy of establishing the national religion in all its splendour and influence, encouraging those who came up to the feasts from the neighbouring kingdom, and checking idolatry, which he punished even in the person of Maachah, the queen-mother, whom he degraded and banished. Asa strengthened his army and fortified his cities, and thus was enabled to repel a most formidable invasion headed by Zerah the Ethiopian, some suppose an Arabian, or more probably, either Osorchon, the king of Egypt, or his general, at the head of a million of men, and 300,000 chariots.

But while, from the sacred reverence in which the lineage of David and Solomon were held, the throne of Judah passed quietly from son to son, the race of Jeroboam, having no hereditary greatness in their favour, was speedily cut off from the succession, and adventurer after adventurer contested the kingdom of Israel. During the illness of his elder son, Abijah,

* M. Champollion has found at Karnack a sculpture, with the name of Shishonk, (Shishak,) represented dragging the chiefs of thirty nations before his gods. Among these is the figure of one with the Jewish character of form and countenance, and the inscription Joudaha Melek, king of the Jews: the names of the other Egyptian kings mentioned in the Hebrew Annals, Zerah the Ethiopian, Tirhakah, and So, have likewise been made out.

Jeroboam had sent his wife, in disguise, to consult the prophet Ahijah upon his fate. The prophet not only predicted the death of this promising youth on the immediate return of his mother to the capital city of Tirzah, but also the total extermination of his race. At the death of Jeroboam the fatal prophecy immediately came to pass. Nadab, his son and successor (B. C. 957), was dethroned and put to death, and his whole lineage put to the sword by Baasha (B. C. 955), who filled the throne for twenty-four years. Baasha endeavoured to counteract the prudent policy of Asa, by building a city (Ramah) on the frontier, to intercept those who deserted to the older kingdom and to the purer religion of Jerusalem. In the war that ensued, the King of Judah carried off the materials collected for building the city. Asa adopted a more unprecedented measure, a league with a foreign potentate, the king of Syria, against his Israelitish brethren; a league which he purchased by a considerable present, taken from the treasures of the temple. The zeal of the prophets took fire, and Hanani, in the name of God, remonstrated against the unnatural alliance. The house of Baasha, after his death, suffered the same fate with that of Jeroboam; his son, Elah, was overthrown by Zimri, Zimri in his turn by Omri; who, finally prevailing over another antagonist, Tibni, transferred the royal residence from Tirzah, a beautiful city, where Zimri had set fire to the royal palace, and burnt himself and all the treasures in the flames, to Samaria, so long the hated rival of Jerusalem.

The apostasy of the ten tribes, and the wickedness of their kings, did not reach their height till the accession of Ahab, the son of Omri (B. C. 919); this prince married Jezebel, the fierce and cruel daughter of the king of Sidon. Under her influence the Sidonian worship of Baal, the Sun, was introduced; his temples were openly built and consecrated; and this fierce and persecuting idolatry threatened to exterminate the ancient religion. The prophets were put to death; 100 escaped by lying concealed in a cave; yet these intrepid defenders of the God of their fathers still arose to remonstrate against these fatal innovations; till at length Elijah, the greatest of the whole race, took up the contest, and defied and triumphed over the cruelty, both of the king and his blood-thirsty consort.

At this period the prophets act their most prominent and important part in Jewish history, particularly in that of Israel, where the Levites having been expelled, and the priesthood degraded, they remained the only defenders of the law and religion of the land. Prophecy, it has been observed before, in its more extensive meaning, comprehended the whole course of religious education; and as the Levitical class were the sole authorised conservators and interpreters of the law, the prophets

were usually of that tribe, or at least persons educated under their care. Now, however, they assume a higher character, and appear as a separate and influential class in the state. They are no longer the musicians, poets, and historians of the country, but men full of a high and solemn enthusiasm, the moral and religious teachers of the people. The most eminent are described as directly, and sometimes suddenly, designated for their office by divine inspiration, endowed with the power of working miracles, and of foretelling future events. But, setting aside their divine commission, the prophets were the great constitutional patriots of the Jewish state; the champions of virtue, liberty, justice, and the strict observance of the civil and religious law, against the iniquities of the kings and of the people. In no instance do they fall beneath, often they rise above, the lofty and humane morals of the Mosaic Institutes. They are always on the side of the oppressed; they boldly rebuke, but never factiously insult, their kings; they defend, but never flatter, the passions of the people. In no instance does one of the acknowledged seers, like the turbulent demagogues of the Grecian or Roman republics, abuse his popular influence for his own personal aggrandisement or authority. Sometimes the Hebrew prophets ventured beyond the borders of their own land, and were universally received with honour and with awe; for, in fact, most of the Eastern nations treat with reverence all pretensions to divine afflatus; so as to respect even madness or idiotcy, as possibly partaking of that mysterious influence. Hence, the appearance of Elisha at Damascus, or even of Jonah at Nineveh, is by no means improbable. Nevertheless the exercise of the prophetic function was attended with the greatest danger, particularly in their native country. The Mosaic law, while it promised an uninterrupted line of prophets, provided by the enactment of the severest penalties, and by the establishment of a searching test, against the unwarranted assumption of the holy office. If the prophet's admonitions were not in accordance with the law, or if the event answered not to his predictions, he was to be put to death. Hence though false prophets might escape by dexterously flattering the powerful, the bold and honest discharge of the office demanded the highest zeal and intrepidity. Of all the prophets, none united such distinguished qualifications, or was so highly gifted, as Elijah, who appeared at this disastrous juncture, when the abrogation of the ancient religion, and the formal establishment of the Sidonian worship, were subtly and deliberately attempted. At his first appearance before Ahab, Elijah denounced, as imminent and immediate, one of those penalties, with which, according to the first principles of the Mosaic law, the land was threatened on the desertion of the national worship, a long and distressing drought of many

years. Having delivered his message, he concealed himself near a brook which ran into the Jordan; there he was fed, as some translate the word, by ravens, as others, by travelling merchants, or Arabians. At length the brook dried up, and Elijah fled into Sarepte, a town within the dominions of his Sidonian enemies. Here he was entertained by a charitable widow, whose services were rewarded by the miraculous repletion of her cruse of oil, and the restoration of her son to life. Still the drought continued; the fruitful plains and the luxuriant valleys of Ephraim and Zebulun lay parched and crumbling with heat; the fountains, the wells, the rivers, were all dried up; there was not herbage enough to feed the royal horses and cattle. At this juncture, Elijah suddenly appeared before the king, having previously sent him a message by the reluctant Obadiah. He demanded to put the truth of the two religions to the test of a public and splendid miracle. The scene took place on the summit of that lofty mountain, Carmel, which, on one side, commands a view of the boundless ocean, on the other, of the richest valleys of the promised land. The priests of Baal, the Sun, assembled to the number of 450; Elijah stood alone. All the people awaited the issue in anxious expectation. Whichever sacrifice was kindled by fire from heaven, was to decide the cause. The priests of Baal having selected their victim, placed it on the altar. As their god began to arise above the Eastern horizon, they hailed his appearance with the smoke of their incense, and the loud sounds of their orisons. They continued their supplications till he reached the height of his noonday splendour; then with frantic cries, wild dances, cutting their flesh with knives and lancets, they summoned their god to reveal his power. All above was mute and still, the altar cold and unkindled. Elijah began to taunt them. *Cry aloud (he said), for he is a god, either he is talking, or he is pursuing, or he is on a journey, or peradventure he sleepeth, and must be awaked.* Still as the orb began to descend, they continued to chaunt their hymns, till at length it sank into the waves of the sea. Elijah then raised an altar of twelve stones, filled the trench around it with water, placed the victim upon it, and uttered a brief and simple prayer to the God of his fathers. Instantaneously the fire flashed down, and consumed both the sacrifice and the altar, and licked up the water in the trench. The people at once recognised the hand of God; the law was put in force against the idolatrous priests, they were taken down and put to death on the banks of the Kishon. Immediately the curse was removed from the land: Elijah saw a small cloud, the usual forerunner of rain, arise as from the sea, and the whole country was refreshed by abundant showers. Elijah entered Jezreel with Ahab, but was soon obliged to fly from the vengeance of the queen; he passed first to

Beersheba, the southern extremity of Judah, then into the desert to Horeb, the scene of the delivery of the law. Here he received a divine commission to anoint a new king of Syria, Hazael; a new king of Israel, Jehu; a new prophet in his own place, Elisha. The circumstances of the divine communication are remarkable, as apparently designed to impress the mind with notions of the greatness and goodness, rather than of the terror and wrath of God. God appears neither in the earthquake nor the fire, but in the still small voice behind: *Behold, the Lord passed by, and a great and strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks before the Lord, the Lord was not in the wind; and after the wind an earthquake, the Lord was not in the earthquake; and after the earthquake a fire, the Lord was not in the fire; and after the fire, a still small voice.*

In the mean time the affairs of Israel, after the restoration of the ancient religion, had prospered. A great confederacy of the Syrian kings, headed by Benhadad, a name common to the kings of Damascus, after an insolent command to unconditional surrender, besieged Samaria. As the Syrian troops were negligently feasting in their camp, certain of the youth of high rank fell upon them, and discomfited them with great slaughter. The Syrians consoled themselves by the notion, that the God of Israel was the God of the Hills: on the plain their superior numbers and immense force in chariots would regain their superiority. A second total defeat destroyed their confidence, though the Israelites were described as two little flocks of kids in comparison with their vast army. The fugitives took refuge in Aphek, and great numbers were crushed by the falling of the walls of that city. Benhadad and his leaders had no other course but to surrender. Ahab received them honourably, spared their lives, on condition that all the conquests of the Syrians should be restored, and that the Israelites should have a quarter in the city of Damascus assigned for their residence. This unusual lenity, and the neglect to secure the inviolability of the Holy Land by the exemplary punishment of foreign invaders, roused the indignation of the prophets, one of whom appeared wounded, and with ashes on his head, and rebuked the king for this, according to the existing notions, most criminal weakness. The providential success of Ahab's arms neither reconciled him to the worship of the true God, nor taught him reverence for the institutes of his country. The law of property was still in full force; but a piece of land, occupied by a vineyard, lying conveniently near that of the king, he desired to purchase it. Naboth, the owner, refused to alienate the inheritance of his family. By the advice of his crafty queen, Ahab caused the unhappy man to be accused of blasphemy. Through the subornation of witnesses, and the corruption of the municipal court of judicature, he procured his

condemnation: Naboth was stoned to death. The crime was no sooner committed than the king was startled with the sudden re-appearance of Elijah. He denounced divine vengeance, and proclaimed aloud that the dogs should lick the blood of Ahab as they had licked the blood of Naboth; that a fate as terrible awaited his queen, Jezebel, near the walls of Jezreel; and that his whole family should perish by a violent death.

All this time the kingdom of Judah had enjoyed an interval of peace and prosperity. After a reign of forty-one years, Asa was succeeded (B. C. 918) by his son Jehoshaphat. The new king pursued the prudent and religious course of his father, fortified his kingdom, maintained a powerful army, established public teachers of the law, and organised the courts of judicature in all the cities of Judah. The kingdom was in a high state of prosperity; the Philistines and the Arab tribes paid tribute to the king of Jerusalem. By this time the bitter animosities, which arose out of the separation of the kingdoms, had subsided. Jehoshaphat entered into an alliance with the king of Israel; and, in an evil hour, he married his son Jehoram to the cruel and ambitious daughter of Ahab, Athaliah, who introduced the crimes and calamities of the Israelitish dynasty into the royal house of Judah. Ahab had determined to wrest the important town of Ramoth, in Gilead, from the power of the Syrians, and summoned his ally, Jehoshaphat, to his assistance. But before the expedition set forth, the prophets were to be consulted. Ahab had, however, taken a sure way of ridding himself of their importunate admonitions, by raising a prophetic fraternity in his own interests. The honest Micaiah, who alone foretold calamity and ruin, was insulted, and thrown into prison; and Ahab, persuaded by his own prophets, who were filled with lying spirits, went boldly out to the war. In the onset the troops of Syria avoided the king of Judah, and centred their whole attack against the person of the king of Israel. Ahab, shot through by a random arrow, was brought to Samaria, his armour and chariot were washed in the pool of Samaria, where, according to the prediction of Elijah, the dogs licked his blood.

Jehoshaphat, on his return to his own kingdom, was threatened by a formidable confederacy of Ammonites, Moabites, and other predatory tribes, who appeared among the rich gardens of Engedi, west of the Dead Sea. But while the army of Judah remained motionless, engaged in their religious rites, and joining in their hymns of battle, some misunderstanding or dissension broke out among the troops of the enemy; the different tribes fell upon each other, and Judah had only to share the rich booty of the abandoned camp.

The alliance between the two Hebrew kingdoms lasted during the short and uneventful reign of Ahaziah (B. C. 891), the son and

successor of Ahab. This prince, having met with an accident which endangered his life, sent to consult Baalzebub, the god of Ekron, whom perhaps the Philistines endowed with some of the powers of healing, attributed by the Greeks to Apollo. Elijah was commanded to rebuke this idolatrous disparagement of the God of Israel; twice, a troop of fifty men sent to seize him were struck with lightning; the third time he came boldly down from the hill on which he stood, and foretold the king's death, which almost immediately took place. Jehoram, his brother, ascended the throne. His first measure was the organisation of a confederacy between the kings of Israel, Judah, and Edom, to chastise the revolted king of Moab, who had refused his accustomed tribute of 100,000 sheep and 100,000 lambs. Their united forces marched round the foot of the Dead Sea, but found themselves bewildered in an arid desert without water. By the advice of Elisha, who had now assumed the prophetic office, they dug deep trenches along the plain, down which the waters from the mountainous district of Edom flowed rapidly and abundantly. The Moabites, in the morning, mistaking the waters, reddened by the rising sun, for pools of blood, supposed that the common fate of confederate armies had taken place, that they had quarrelled, and mutually slaughtered each other. They sallied down to plunder the camp, but meeting with unexpected resistance, were defeated on all sides; the king in his despair, after having in vain attempted to break through the hostile forces, and having seen his whole country cruelly devastated, offered his eldest son as a sacrifice to his gods. Yet he seems to have been saved from total ruin by some dissension among the allies, which led to the withdrawing of their forces.

On the death of Jehoshaphat, his son Jehoram succeeded, and thus we have a prince of the same name on each of the thrones, increasing the difficulty of relating the parallel history of the two kingdoms with perspicuity. In the first measure of Jehoram, king of Judah, the fatal consequences of the connexion with the sanguinary house of Ahab began to appear; all his brethren were put to death without remorse. The reign which began in blood, proceeded in idolatry and defeat, till the fearful doom, denounced in a letter sent by the prophet Elisha, was entirely fulfilled. The kingdom suffered a fatal blow in the revolt of Edom, and the loss of their remaining sea-port on the Red Sea. Jehoshaphat had continued this commerce in conjunction with Ahaziah, king of Israel: he had fitted out a large fleet at Ezion-geber, which was wrecked on a ledge of rocks near that incommodious harbour. He then transferred his marine to Elath, and fitted out another expedition on his own account with better success. But Elath now also fell into the hands of the rebellious Edomites, and all commerce was entirely cut off. Nor was this

the end of Jehoram's calamities; the Philistines and Arabians invaded the country, surprised his palace, captured his seraglio, and slew all his sons but one. Jehoram himself died of a painful and loathsome disease, so little honoured, that he was not buried in the sepulchre of the kings; Ahaziah his son succeeded.

We now return to the kingdom of Israel, where we find the king, Jehoram, engaged in a new war with his inveterate enemy, the Syrian king of Damascus. The hopes of the country rested on the prophet Elisha. Elijah had been rapt to heaven in a car of fire, but had bequeathed his mantle, his office, and a double portion of his spirit, to his successor. This took place beyond the Jordan. Elisha, in possession of the miraculous mantle, divided the waters, and passed over; he was received and recognised by the prophetic school at Jericho, though originally an uneducated husbandman. The early period of his prophetic office is described as a succession of miracles; he purified the waters of Jericho, to which was attributed the singular property of causing women to miscarry; he laid his curse on forty-two youths in Bethel, who had mocked his bald head; they were devoured by bears: he multiplied a widow's vessel of oil, and restored to life the child of an opulent woman in the town of Shunam: he destroyed the poisonous qualities of a mess of herbs, and fed 100 men with twenty loaves. He had contributed to gain the victory over the Moabites. His fame spread into Syria. Naaman, one of the great military leaders of that kingdom, was a leper. Elisha cured him by commanding him to wash in the Jordan; but to avoid the least suspicion of venality, he not merely refused all remuneration, but his servant, Gehazi, was punished by the same disease, for fraudulently obtaining gifts, in his name, from the grateful stranger. As the Syrians pressed the war with greater vigour, their king, Benhadad, found all his measures anticipated; and attributed his want of success to the presence of Elisha. He sent an army to surprise him in the city of Dothan, at no great distance from Samaria. The troops were all smitten with blindness, conducted to Samaria, but released by the merciful intervention of the prophet.

But the city of Samaria was now environed on all sides, and endured the first of those dreadful sieges, by which the two capitals of the Jewish kingdoms appear, through some awful fatality, to have been distinguished beyond all the other cities of the world. The most loathsome food, an ass's head, and the dung of pigeons, were sold at enormous prices. Two women had made an agreement to kill their children for food, and one of them called upon the king to enforce her reluctant co-partner to fulfil her share in this horrible compact. The king rent his clothes, and was discovered to have sackcloth next his skin.

Jehoram, for some reason which does not appear, determined to wreak his vengeance on Elisha: when on a sudden the prophet announces the speedy discomfiture of the Syrian army, and unexampled abundance and cheapness of provisions. First, some lepers, desperate from their wretched condition, sally forth; they find the camp totally deserted. Wild noises of arms and chariots had been heard on all sides. The Syrians, supposing that the Egyptians, or some other powerful allies, had marched to the relief of Samaria, had been seized with a sudden panic, and dispersed. The greatest plenty, and an immense booty, rewarded the Samaritans for their dreadful sufferings. One of their officers, who had presumed to doubt the truth of Elisha's prophecies, according to his prediction, saw, but did not partake of, the abundance; he was trampled to death in the press at the gate.

The prophetic fame of Elisha was now at its height: he entered the metropolis of the Syrians, where the king lay dangerously ill (as Josephus says) of a deep melancholy, occasioned by his defeat. He was met by Hazael, an eminent officer of the court, with a sumptuous present, borne on forty camels. *Will the king recover?* demands the Syrian. The prophet returns an enigmatical, yet significant answer, that the disease is not mortal, but that the monarch's end is approaching. With these words he burst into tears, for he knew that Hazael entertained designs against his master's life; and that the bold and unprincipled usurper would be a more formidable enemy to his native country, than had yet sat upon the throne of Syria. The fatal prediction is accomplished in every point. Hazael smothers his master with a wet cloth; seizes the throne; and his first measure is a bloody battle at Ramoth, against the combined forces of both the Jewish kingdoms, under Jehoram king of Israel, and Ahaziah, who had just succeeded his father, Jehoram of Judah. In this calamitous field Jehoram was wounded, and retreated to Jezreel, where Ahaziah came to meet him. But the dynasty of the sanguinary Ahab was drawing to a close. Elisha commanded a young prophet to anoint Jehu, a valiant officer, as king of Israel. The army at Ramoth revolted, and espoused the cause of Jehu: he advanced rapidly in his chariot on Jezreel, for he was noted for his furious driving.

Jehoram and Ahaziah went forth from the city against Jehu: they met in the fatal vineyard of Naboth. Jehoram attempted to parley; but he was reproached with his own crimes and with the idolatries of his mother Jezebel. The king shrieked aloud, *There is treachery, O Ahaziah*, and fled. The bow of Jehu was strung; and the arrow pierced the unfortunate monarch through the heart. His body was taken up, and cast into the vineyard

of Naboth. Ahaziah fled with no better fortune. He received a mortal wound, and died at Megiddo; his body was carried to Jerusalem. Jehu entered Jezreel in triumph. As he passed through the gate, the haughty Jezebel, *who had painted her face and tired her head*, looked forth from a window, and reproached him with the murder of the kings: *Had Zimri peace, who slew his master?* Jehu lifted up his head, and exclaimed, *Who is on my side, who?* Some of the perfidious eunuchs of the queen immediately appeared. *Throw her down*, was the stern command of Jehu. They obeyed: her blood fell upon the wall, and the horses trampled over her body; and when at length the unrelenting conqueror consented to permit her body to be buried, because, *though a cursed woman, she was a king's daughter*, nothing but the miserable remains of her corpse were found, the skull, the feet, and the palms of the hands; for *the dogs* (according to the words of Elijah) *had eaten the flesh of Jezebel in the portion of Jezreel.* Thus, by the death of Jehoram and Ahaziah, both the thrones of Judah and Israel were vacant. Jehu hastened to secure the latter. There were seventy sons of Ahab in Samaria. Jehu sent to command the elders of the city, which was strongly fortified and well provided with arms, to set the best of Ahab's sons upon the throne. The elders apprehended that they might perform a more acceptable service: they made known their ready subservience to the views of the usurper. An indiscriminate slaughter of the seventy sons, of the friends and kindred of Ahab, took place: the heads were sent, in the modern Turkish fashion, to Jehu, at Jezreel. The subtle usurper ordered them to be placed by the gate; and addressed the assembled people, obliquely exculpating himself from the guilt of the massacre: *Behold, I conspired against my master, and slew him; but who slew all these?* He proceeded to attribute their death to the inscrutable decrees of the Almighty, who had determined on the extirpation of the whole guilty house of Ahab. The crafty Jehu continued his successful, though bloody career. The house of Ahaziah met with no better fate than that of Ahab: Jehu put to death forty-two of them, whom he encountered on his way to Samaria. Obviously with a view to popularity, he entered Samaria with Jonadab, the son of Rechab, the founder of an austere ascetic sect, which abstained from the use of wine, seated by his side in his chariot. He concluded his dreadful work of vengeance by the total extermination of the priests of Baal, which he conducted with his usual subtlety. He avowed himself an ardent worshipper of that idolatry; and summoned a general assembly of the priesthood. The temple was crowded: he commanded all the worshippers to put on splendid and distinguished apparel; and ordered strict search to be made whether any of the worshippers of Jehovah were present. He then, having

encircled the building with his guard, gave the signal for an unsparing massacre. Not one escaped: the idols were destroyed, the temples razed. Jonadab, the ascetic, countenanced and assisted this dreadful extirpation of idolatry. Yet even Jehu adhered to the symbolic worship established by Jeroboam.

Thus Israel was finally delivered from the fatal house of Ahab; but Athaliah, the queen mother of Judah, showed herself a worthy descendant of that wicked stock, and scenes as bloody, and even more guilty, defiled the royal palace of Jerusalem. She seized the vacant throne, and massacred all the seed royal, excepting one child, Joash, who was secreted in the temple by his father's sister, Jehosheba, the wife of the high priest. Athaliah maintained her cruel and oppressive government for six years, during which the temple was plundered, and the worship of Baal established. In the seventh a formidable conspiracy broke out, headed by the high priest.

As Athaliah entered the courts of the temple, she beheld the young and rightful heir of the kingdom, crowned, and encircled by a great military force, who, with the assembled priesthood, and the whole people, joined in the acclamation, "God save the King." She shrieked aloud, Treason, Treason! but her voice was drowned by the trumpets, and the cries of the multitude. Incapable of resistance, she was seized, dragged beyond the precincts of the temple, and put to death (B. C. 878). Jehoiada, the high priest, who assumed the control of public affairs, the king being only seven years old, commanded Mattan, the priest of Baal, to be slain in his temple, and totally suppressed the religion.

The reign of Joash began under favourable auspices: the influence of the high priest, and the education of the king himself in the temple, promised the restoration of the national worship. Large contributions were made for the repair of the sacred edifice, which at first, it appears, were diverted by the priests to their own purposes. But a check having been devised to their fraudulent and irreligious proceedings, the fabric was restored in all its splendour, its services reorganised, and the sacred vessels, which had been profaned by Athaliah, replaced. But the peace of Judah, as well as of Israel, was threatened by the increasing power and ambition of Hazael, the ambitious and formidable usurper of the Syrian throne. During the latter part of the reign of Jehu, he had severed from the kingdom of Israel all the Transjordanic provinces; and during that of Jehoahaz, the successor of Jehu, reduced Samaria almost to a tributary province; ten chariots, fifty horsemen, and 10,000 infantry were all the remaining force of that once powerful kingdom.

Hazael, having taken Gath, now advanced against Jerusalem. The unwarlike Joash purchased his retreat at the price of all the

sacred treasures of the temple; and in every respect the latter part of the reign of Joash belied the promise of the former. After the death of the high priest Jehoiada, idolatry, which before, excepting the worship on high places, had been entirely suppressed, began to spread again among the higher ranks. Zachariah, the son of Jehoiada, both as priest and prophet, resisted with the strongest denunciations the prevailing apostasy. The king, forgetful of his father's services, and the people, weary of his remonstrances, conspired together to stone him.

Defeat and death followed hard on the ingratitude and apostasy of Joash. The Syrians again appeared with a small force, but totally discomfited the Jewish army; and his own officers revenged the disgrace of the nation on the person of the king, by murdering him in his bed. Nor was he thought worthy of a place in the sepulchres of the great kings of Judah.

The first act of Amaziah, the son and successor of Joash, was to do justice on the murderers of his father; but with merciful conformity to the law, unusual in such times, he did not involve the children in the treason of their fathers.

Amaziah (B. C. 838) raised 300,000 men in Judah, and hired 100,000 from Israel, but the latter, by command of a prophet, he dismissed. With his own great army he invaded the revolted kingdom of Edom, gained a signal victory in the Valley of Salt, and took Selah (the rock), probably the important city of Petra. The Israelites whom he had sent back, surprised on their return some of the cities of Judah; and Amaziah, flushed with his conquests over Edom, sent a defiance to the king of Israel. Jehoash, who now filled that throne, was a politic and successful prince; after the death of the formidable Hazael, he had reinstated his kingdom in its independence, and reconquered great part of his territory by three victories over the Syrians, which took place according to the prediction of the dying Elisha. Three times, according to the prophet's injunction, he had smote on the ground with certain arrows. Had he not paused, he had gained more than three victories. He treated the defiance of Amaziah with contempt. The two armies met at Bethshemesh: Judah was totally routed, Jerusalem pillaged, and the treasures of the temple carried away to Samaria. Fifteen years after the death of his rival, Amaziah, like his father, fell a victim to a conspiracy within the walls of his palace: he fled to Lachish, but was slain there.

In neither case was the succession altered; his son Azariah, or Uzziah, assumed the royal power (B. C. 809), and commenced a long, religious, and therefore prosperous, reign of fifty-two years. The great warlike enterprise of Azariah was the subjugation of the Philistines, and others of the adjacent tribes: but his more important conquest was the recovery of Elath, the port on

the Red Sea. Azariah provided with equal success for the internal prosperity of the country by the encouragement and protection of husbandry. He kept on foot a powerful army, strongly fortified Jerusalem, and endeavoured to make himself master of all the improvements in armour, and in the means of defending walled towns, then in use.

But this good and prudent king was guilty of one great violation of the law; he began to usurp the office of the priests, and to offer incense. While he was offering he was suddenly struck with leprosy; and in rigid conformity to the law of Moses, he was set aside, and the administration of public affairs entrusted to his son Jotham. The kingdom of Israel, or Ephraim as it is now often called, regained a high degree of prosperity during the early period of Azariah's reign in Judah. Jeroboam the second, an able prince, had succeeded Jehoash (B. C. 825), and pursuing his father's successes, re-established the whole frontier from Hamath to the Dead Sea; even Damascus, the Syrian capital, surrendered to his forces. But the kingdom, which was to remain in the line of Jehu to the fourth generation, at the death of Jeroboam fell into a frightful state of anarchy. At length, after eleven years of tumult (B. C. 770), his son Zachariah obtained the sceptre, but was speedily put to death by Shallum; Shallum in his turn by Menahem. Menahem (B. C. 769), a sanguinary prince, reigned ten years; during which the fatal power of the great Assyrian empire was advancing with gigantic strides to universal conquest. Pul, the monarch, who ruled at Nineveh, was rapidly extending his conquests over Syria, and began to threaten the independence of Israel. Menahem only delayed the final servitude by submission and tribute, which he wrung from his people by heavy exactions. Menahem was succeeded by his son Pekahiah (B. C. 758), who, in ten years after, was put to death by a new usurper, Pekah, the son of Remaliah. In the second year of Pekah began the reign of Jotham (B. C. 757), who took the reins of government during the lifetime of his father. Jotham strengthened the kingdom of Judah, made the Ammonites tributary, and, after an able, but not very eventful reign, left the throne to his son Ahaz, the worst and most unfortunate monarch who had ruled in Judah.

As the storm darkened over the Hebrew kingdom, the voices of the prophets became louder and more wild; those, whose writings have been preserved in our sacred volume, now come upon the scene. In their magnificent lyric odes, we have a poetical history of these momentous times, not merely describing the fall of the two Hebrew nations, but that of the adjacent kingdoms likewise. As each independent tribe or monarchy was swallowed up in the great universal empire of Assyria, the seers of Judah watched the progress of the invader; and uttered their

sublime funeral anthems over the greatness, the prosperity, and independence of Moab and Ammon, Damascus and Tyre. They were like the great tragic chorus to the awful drama, which was unfolding itself in the Eastern world. Nor did they confine their views to their own internal affairs, or to their own immediate neighbourhood. Jonah appeared as a man under divine influence in Nineveh; and Nahum described the subsequent fate of that spacious city in images, which human imagination or human language have never surpassed.

Still, in general, the poets of Judæa were pre-eminently national. It is on the existing state, the impending dangers, and future prospects of Ephraim and Judah, that they usually dwell. As moral teachers, they struggle with the noblest energy against the corruptions which prevailed in all ranks and classes. Each kingdom had its prophets; in that of Israel, the obscure and sententious Hosea reproved the total depravation. The rustic and honest Amos inveighed against the oppressions of the wealthy, and the corruptions of the judges. In Judah, Joel described the successive calamities which desolated the country. But Isaiah not only took a great share in all the affairs of the successive reigns from Azariah to Hezekiah—described or anticipated all the wars, conquests, and convulsions, which attended the rise and fall of the Assyrian and Babylonian dynasties—but penetrated still farther into futurity. To Isaiah may be traced the first clear and distinct intimations of the important influence to be exercised by the Jews on the destiny of mankind—the promise of the Messiah, and the remote prospects of future grandeur, which tended so strongly to form their national character, and are still the indissoluble bond which has held together this extraordinary people through centuries of dispersion, persecution, and contempt. Still blind to the fulfilment of all these predictions in the person and spiritual kingdom of Christ, the Jew, in every age and every quarter of the world, dwells on the pages of his great national prophet, and with undying hope looks forward to the long-delayed coming of the Deliverer, and to his own restoration to the promised land in splendour and prosperity, far surpassing that of his most favoured ancestors.

The dissensions between the two kingdoms led to their more immediate ruin. Ahaz succeeded to the throne of Judah in the seventeenth year of Pekah (B. C. 741), the last able or powerful monarch of Israel. Pekah entered into a confederacy with Rezin, king of Damascus, to invade Judæa. Their first expedition did not meet with much success; a second descent was more fatal. On the retreat of the Syrians, Ahaz ventured on a battle. In this bloody field Judah lost 120,000 men; Zichri, a valiant chieftain of the Israelites, slew with his own hand Maaseiah, the king's son, and some of his household. Two hundred thousand men,

women, and children were led away into captivity. The sight of their brethren in this miserable condition aroused the better feelings of the Israelites: they refused to retain them in servitude; forced the army into milder measures; treated the prisoners with great kindness; gave them food, raiment, and the means of returning home—a beautiful and refreshing incident in this gloomy and savage part of their annals; and, as usual, to be ascribed to one of their prophets. Rezin, in the mean-time, the ally of Pekah, seized Elath. The Edomites and Philistines revolted; and Ahaz, attacked on all sides, in his desperation threw himself under the protection of Tiglath Pileser, the Assyrian king, who had already subdued all the Transjordanic tribes, and advanced his frontier to the banks of the river. This treaty led to the usual results, where a weaker state enters into an alliance with a stronger. The Assyrian lent his aid as far as suited his own views of conquest; invaded Syria, took Damascus, led the people away captive, and slew the king. But against the more immediate enemies of Ahaz, the Edomites, he sent no succours, and exhausted the kingdom of Judah by the exaction of a heavy tribute. It was not from want of base subservience to his protector, that Ahaz suffered this ungenerous treatment. Ahaz revolted entirely from the national faith; he offered public worship to the gods of Syria; constructed a new altar on the model of the one he saw at Damascus, where he went to pay homage to the Assyrian; and robbed the treasury to pay his tribute. He defaced many of the vessels and buildings of the temple. No superstition was too cruel for Ahaz; he offered incense in the valley of Hinnom, and made his children pass through the fire. In short, had not his death relieved his people, Jerusalem seemed rapidly following the example, and hastening towards the fate, of Samaria. For now the end of that kingdom drew on. The unprincipled, though able Pekah, was assassinated; another period of anarchy lasted for several years, till at length the sceptre fell into the feeble hands of Hoshea, who had instigated the murder of Pekah. A new and still more ambitious monarch, Shalmaneser, now wielded the power of Assyria; Hoshea attempted to avert the final subjugation of his kingdom by the payment of tribute, but being detected in a secret correspondence with the king of Egypt, called So, the Sevechus of Manetho, the Assyrian advanced into the kingdom, besieged Samaria, which, after an obstinate resistance of three years, surrendered, and thus terminated for ever the independent kingdom of Israel or Ephraim.

It was the policy of the Assyrian monarchs to transplant the inhabitants of the conquered provinces on their borders, to the inland districts of their empire. Thus they occupied their outposts with those on whose fidelity they might rely; and with far

wiser and more generous views, by introducing agricultural colonies among the ruder and nomadic hordes, as the Russians have done in their vast dominions, carried culture and civilisation into wild and savage districts. Pul and Tiglath Pileser had already swept away a great part of the population from Syria, and the Transjordanic tribes; and Shalmaneser, after the capture of Samaria, carried off vast numbers of the remaining tribes to a mountainous region between Assyria and Media, who were afterwards replaced there by colonies of a race called Cuthæans. From this period, history loses sight of the ten tribes as a distinct people. Prideaux supposes that they were totally lost and absorbed in the nations among whom they settled; but imagination has loved to follow them into remote and inaccessible regions, where it is supposed that they still await the final restoration of the twelve tribes to their native land; or it has traced the Jewish features, language, and religion, in different tribes, particularly the Afghans of India, and, in a still wilder spirit of romance, in the Americans. How far the descendants of the Israelites constituted the mingled people of the Samaritans, whose history has come down to us only as it is coloured by irreconcilable Jewish hostility, is a question hereafter to be discussed.

While the kingdom of Israel was rarely blessed by a permanent, vigorous, and prudent administration, and frequently endured all the evils of a contested and irregular succession, which placed adventurer after adventurer, or short and precarious dynasties, upon the throne: while the best of their kings only so far returned to the national faith as to extirpate foreign idolatry, but remained true to the separate, symbolic, and forbidden worship of Jeroboam —the hereditary succession of Judah remained unbroken in the line of David, and a period of misrule and irreligion was almost invariably succeeded by a return to the national faith. Accordingly, six years before the final destruction of Samaria, one of the best and wisest of her kings, Hezekiah, replaced his father Ahaz on the throne of Judah (B. C. 726). Hezekiah carried the reformation much further than his most religious predecessors. The temple was cleansed—the rites restored with more than usual solemnity—the priesthood and Levites reinstated in their privileges—every vestige of idolatrous superstition eradicated—the shrines of false gods demolished—the groves levelled—the high places desecrated; even the brazen serpent made by Moses in the wilderness, having been abused to superstitious purposes, was destroyed. Having thus prepared the way, Hezekiah began still further to develope his plans, which tended to the consolidation of the whole Hebrew race under their old religious constitution. He determined to celebrate the passover (that which was called the second passover) with all its original splendour and concourse of people. He sent messengers into the neighbouring

kingdom of Israel, to summon the ten tribes, then under the feeble rule of Hoshea. The proud Ephraimites treated his message with contempt; but from the smaller tribes multitudes flocked to Jerusalem, where the sacrifices were offered with something like the ancient state and magnificence. On their return, the religious zeal of those who had visited Jerusalem had great effect on their kindred; idolatry was put down by force, the temples and altars destroyed. How far, if the Jewish constitution had existed in its original vigour, and the whole of Palestine remained one great consolidated kingdom, it could have offered an effectual resistance to the vast monarchies which now began to spread the shadow of their despotism over the East—how far the kingdom of David and Solomon might have held the balance between the rival empires of Egypt and Assyria, in whose collision it was finally crushed—must be matter of speculation. But from this fatal period, Palestine was too often the debateable ground, on which rival kingdoms or empires fought out their quarrels. On this arena, not only the monarchs of Nineveh and Babylon, and the ancient Egyptian sovereigns, but subsequently also the Ptolemaic and Syro-Grecian dynasties, the Romans and Parthians—we may add the Christian and Mahometan powers during the crusades—strove either for ascendancy over the Eastern world or for universal dominion. The wise policy of Hezekiah, if his views led to the union of the kingdoms, came too late. He himself threw off the yoke of Assyria, and gained important advantages over the Philistines. But divine Providence had ordained the fall of Israel, and after the capture of Samaria, Jerusalem might tremble at the approach of the victor. Shalmaneser, however, was allured by the more tempting conquest of opulent Tyre. The princely merchants of that city resisted vigorously a siege of five years; though their aqueducts were broken, and the population reduced to great distress. The besieged were at length relieved by the death of the invader. The hereditary power and ambition of his conquering ancestors descended into the vigorous hand of Sennacherib. An immense army made its appearance in Judæa, and sat down before Lachish. The dismay can scarcely be conceived with which, after the total destruction of the sister kingdom by these irresistible invaders, and the transplantation of the people to distant regions, the inhabitants of Jerusalem expected the approach of the hostile forces to the walls. There is a passage in the book of Isaiah descriptive of their terrors, most probably, on this occasion: *What aileth thee now that thou art wholly gone up to the house-tops; thou that art full of stirs, a tumultuous city, a joyous city: . . for it is a day of trouble and of treading down, and of perplexity by the Lord God of hosts in the valley of vision, breaking down the walls, and of crying to the mountains. And*

*Elam bare the quiver, and Kir uncovered the shield. And it shall come to pass that thy choicest valleys shall be full of chariots, and the horsemen shall set themselves in array in the gates.** The prophet goes on to describe the preparations for defence made by Hezekiah, who strengthened the walls, added to the fortifications, laid in great store of arrows and other ammunition, deepened the trenches, and cut off all the waters which might have supplied the besieging army. The wilder and voluptuous desperation of others, is, if possible, more striking. It reminds us of the frantic revelry among the Athenians, during the time of the plague, described by Thucydides. *And in that day did the Lord God of hosts call to weeping, and to mourning, and to baldness, and to girding with sackcloth: but behold joy and gladness, slaying oxen and killing sheep, eating flesh and drinking wine: let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.* The submission of Hezekiah, and the payment of an enormous tribute, for which he was obliged to strip the gold from the walls and pillars of the temple, for the present averted the storm; and Sennacherib marched onward to a much more important conquest, that of the great and flourishing kingdom of Egypt. His general, Tartan, had already taken Azotus, and Sennacherib, in person, formed the siege of Libnah, or Pelusium, the key of that country. But he left behind him a considerable force under Tartan, Rabsaris, and Rabshakeh, who advanced to the walls of Jerusalem, and made a demand of unconditional surrender. Hezekiah sent three of the chief officers of his palace to negotiate. Rabshakeh, as Prideaux conjectures, an apostate Jew, or one of the captivity, delivered his insulting summons in the Hebrew language, with the view of terrifying the people with the menace of total destruction. He contemptuously taunted them with their confidence in their God. *Hath any of the gods of the nations delivered at all his land out of the hand of the king of Assyria. Where are the gods of Hamath and of Arpad? where are the gods of Sepharvaim, Hena, and Ivah? have they delivered Samaria out of mine hand?* The people listened in silence. The king clothed himself in sackcloth, and with his whole court and the priesthood, made a procession to the temple, in that sad and humiliating attire. But Isaiah encouraged them in their defiance of the enemy, and Rabshakeh marched away to the army before Pelusium. This city made a most vigorous resistance; and Sennacherib received intelligence of the march of Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, (no doubt Taraco, a king of Egypt, who appears in the Ethiopian dynasty of Manetho,) to relieve this important post. The conquest of Judæa, and the surrender of Jerusalem, became almost necessary

* Isaiah xxiii. 1.

to his success. He sent a second summons by letter, more threatening and peremptory than the former, describing the nations who, notwithstanding the vaunted assistance of their gods, had fallen before the power of Assyria. Hezekiah again had recourse to the temple, and in a prayer, unequalled for simple sublimity, cast himself on the protection of the God of his fathers. Isaiah, at the same time, proclaimed, that the Virgin of Sion might laugh to scorn the menaces of the invader. The agony of suspense and terror, which prevailed in Jerusalem, was speedily relieved by the surprising intelligence that the army of Sennacherib had experienced a fatal reverse, that all which survived had dispersed, and that the monarch himself had fled to his capital, where he was slain by his own sons, while offering public sacrifice. The destruction of Sennacherib's army is generally supposed to have been caused by the Simoom,* or hot and pestilential wind of the desert, which is said not unfrequently to have been fatal to whole caravans. The Arabs, who are well experienced in the signs which portend its approach, fall on their faces, and escape its mortal influence. But the foreign forces of Sennacherib were little acquainted with the means of avoiding this unusual enemy, and the catastrophe taking place by night, (the miraculous part of the transaction, as the hot wind is in general attributed to the heat of the meridian sun,) suffered immense loss. Herodotus relates a strange story of this ruin of Sennacherib's army: A number of field mice gnawed asunder their quivers, their bow-strings, and shield-straps: upon which the army took flight. As Herodotus derived this from the misinterpretation of an hieroglyphic, in which the shield, the quiver, and the bow, the usual symbols by which, as in Hebrew poetry, the might of a great army is represented, were destroyed by some secret and unseen or insignificant instrument of the divine power, typified by the field mouse?†

At the latter end of the same year, the fourteenth of his reign, Hezekiah fell dangerously ill. His earnest prayer for the prolongation of his life, was accepted at the throne of mercy. Isaiah foretold his recovery, and the grant of fifteen years of life, and likewise of children; for the good king was leaving the kingdom without a legitimate heir. The prophet directed the means of his cure, by laying a plaster of figs on the boil from which he suffered; and proved his divine mission by the sign of the shadow retrograding ten degrees on the dial of Ahaz. On this sign, and on the dial, volumes have been written. It is not necessary to

* After all that has been written in prose and verse about the Simoom, Burckhardt has called into question its fatal effects; he could never hear of an instance of its having caused death.

† According to Horapollo, total destruction was represented, in Egyptian hieroglyphics, by the symbol of a mouse.

suppose that the sun actually receded, but that the shadow on the dial did; a phenomenon which might be caused by a cloud refracting the light. Whether the Jews possessed sufficient astronomical science to frame an accurate dial, can neither be proved nor disproved; still less the more rude or artificial construction of the instrument itself; for as the dial was probably set up by Ahaz, who was tributary to the Assyrians, it might have come originally from Chaldea. Immediately, indeed, after this event, Hezekiah received an embassy from Merodach Baladan, the independent king of Babylon, for the ostensible purpose of congratulating him on his recovery; some suppose, for that of inquiring into the extraordinary astronomical phenomenon, the intelligence of which had reached that seat of Oriental science; but more probably with the view of concerting measures for an extensive revolt from the Assyrian yoke. Hezekiah made a pompous display of his treasures, very likely much enriched by the plunder of Sennacherib's broken army. For this indiscreet ostentation, so calculated to excite the cupidity of a foreign invader, the king was reproved by the more prudent Isaiah. Internal convulsions in the kingdom of Assyria permitted Hezekiah to pass the rest of his reign in peace and opulence. His public treasury was full; the husbandry and pasturage of the country returned to their former productiveness. He strengthened the cities, ornamented Jerusalem with a new aqueduct, and at length went down to the grave, honoured and regretted by the whole people. He was succeeded by Manasseh, a king, to whose crimes and irreligion, the Jews mainly attribute the dreadful evils which shortly after consigned them to ruin and slavery.

Manasseh ascended the throne at the age of twelve: the administration fell into the hands of unworthy ministers, of whom Shebna is represented by Isaiah as the most haughty and violent. But with his years, the evil dispositions of the king came to maturity. Idolatry was restored; every kind of superstition, witchcraft, and divination practised; altars to idols were raised even within the sacred precincts; the temple itself was defiled by a graven image. The irreligion of Manasseh was only equalled by his tyranny. The city ran with innocent blood; the sacred persons of the prophets were violated. Tradition ascribes the horrid martyrdom of Isaiah, who was sawn asunder, to this relentless tyrant. His vices brought their own punishment in the contemptible weakness to which the state was reduced. When the army of Esarhaddon, the new sovereign of Assyria, made its appearance under the walls, Jerusalem offered no resistance, and the unworthy heir of David and Solomon was led away to learn wisdom and piety in the dungeons of Babylon. Esarhaddon completed the plan of colonisation commenced by his

predecessors, and established bodies of his own subjects in the desolated provinces of Israel. So frightful had been the ravages inflicted on these beautiful and luxuriant plains, that the new colonists found themselves in danger from beasts of prey. The strangers had brought their own religious rites with them. The Babylonians had set up the pavilions of Benoth: the Cuthites, the settlers from Hamath, the Avites, and the Sepharvites, had each their separate divinity. They trembled before the lions which infested their territory; and looked on them not only with terror, but with religious awe, as manifest instruments of divine wrath. The remaining Israelites, no doubt, proclaimed that they were sent by their God; and the strangers, in the true spirit of polytheism, recognised the anger of the local deity, whom they supposed offended by the intrusion of their national gods into his territory. They appealed in haste to Esarhaddon, by whose command an Israelitish priest was sent to propitiate the God of the land, whom they readily admitted to a participation in divine honours with their native deities; and thus, a mingled worship of idolatry and true religion grew up in these provinces.

The lessons of adversity were not lost on Manasseh: he was restored to his throne, and the end of his long reign of fifty-five years, passed in the observance of law and religion, in some degree compensated for the vices of his youth. His son Amon, who succeeded, following the early career of his father, fell a victim to a conspiracy among his own officers.

At the age of eight years (B. C. 640) Josiah came to the throne. The memory of this prince is as deservedly dear to the Jews, as that of Manasseh is hateful. Josiah surpassed even his most religious predecessors, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Azariah, or Hezekiah, in zeal for the reformation of the national religion. His first care was to repair the temple. While the work was proceeding, the king and the whole nation heard with the highest exultation, that Hilkiah, the high priest, had discovered the original copy of the law. But so little were its real contents known, that on its first reading, the king was struck with terror at its awful denunciations. The book was read in public; Josiah and all the nation renewed the solemn covenant with their God. The king proceeded to carry into execution the divine precepts of the law. He began by the total extirpation of idolatry, not merely in Judæa, but throughout all the holy land. The vessels of the temple, which had been abused to unhallowed uses, were burned to ashes; all the high places levelled—the worship of the host of heaven suppressed—the filthy and sanguinary rites of the Sodomites and worshippers of Moloch forbidden—the sacred places defiled. The horses dedicated to the sun—the altars which Ahaz had built on the top of the royal palace—the high places which Solomon had consecrated to the deities of his

foreign wives—the altar raised by Jeroboam at Bethel—were not merely destroyed, but defiled with that from which Jewish feelings revolted with horror, as the foulest contamination, the ashes and the bones of dead men. The authority of Josiah was acknowledged, and his orders fulfilled to the most remote part of Palestine; an apparent proof that, notwithstanding the numbers that had been carried away into the foreign colonies, the ten tribes were not so entirely exterminated, but that their descendants, at least of the lower orders, were still the predominant population of the country. Josiah completed his reform by the celebration of the great national festival, the passover, on a scale of grandeur and magnificence unknown to the later ages of the Jewish kingdom. Yet the virtues of Josiah delayed only for a time the fate of Jerusalem. The hopes of reuniting the dominions of David and Solomon into one powerful kingdom, animated with lofty religious zeal, and flourishing under the wise and beneficent constitution of Moses, were cut short, so Divine Providence ordained, by the unfavourable circumstances of the times, and the death of the wise and virtuous king. A monarch of great power and abilities, Necho, was now the Pharaoh of Egypt. He determined to act on the offensive against the rival empire of Assyria, at this time, probably, weakened by internal dissensions among the different kingdoms of which it was composed. His design was to gain possession of Carchemish, a city which commanded the passage of the Euphrates, and to make that river his frontier. Josiah was bound to the Assyrian interest by the terms of his vassalage, by treaty, by gratitude for the permission to extend his sovereignty over Samaria. From one or all of these motives, or from a desire of maintaining his own independence, instead of allowing free passage to the army of Necho, he determined on resistance. A battle took place, in which Josiah was unfortunately shot by an arrow. On the scene of the battle it is difficult to decide. The sacred writers place it at Megiddo, in the district of Manasseh, to reach which the Egyptian army must have passed through the whole of Judæa, and almost under the walls of Jerusalem. Herodotus, with greater local probability, fixes the scene of action at Magdolum, on the frontier of Egypt—Josephus at Mendes. The Jewish copyists may have substituted the more familiar name, Megiddo, for the remote Magdolum.

At this period of the approaching dissolution of the Jewish state, appeared the prophet Jeremiah, a poet, from his exquisitely pathetic powers admirably calculated to perform the funeral obsequies over the last of her kings, over the captive people, the desolate city, the ruined temple. The prophet himself, in the eventful course of his melancholy and persecuted life, learnt that personal familiarity with affliction, which added new energy to

his lamentations over his country and his religion. To our great loss, his elegy on the death of Josiah, in which the nation joined with heartfelt anguish, is not now extant among his prophecies. Necho, after his victory over the Assyrians, and the capture of Carchemish, took possession of Jerusalem, where, by a hasty choice, Jehoahaz, a younger son of Josiah, had been raised to the throne. The capture of the city under the name of Kadutis (the holy city) is related by Herodotus. In the celebrated royal tomb, discovered by Belzoni, in the valley of Beban el Malook, near Thebes, the name of Necho was thought to be distinctly decyphered.* A painting on the same walls, exhibited a procession of captives, some of whom, from their physiognomy and complexion, were clearly distinguished as Jews. The conqueror deposed and imprisoned Jehoahaz, after a reign of three months; exacted a heavy fine from the kingdom, and placed Eliakim (Jehoiakim) on the throne. From this period the kingdom of Judæa fell into a state of alternate vassalage to the two conflicting powers of Egypt and Assyria. The shadows of kings, who were raised to the throne, were dismissed at the breath of their liege lord. It is a deplorable period of misrule and imbecility. Without ability to defend them, these unhappy kings had only the power of entailing all the miseries of siege and conquest on their people, by rebellions which had none of the dignity, while they had all the melancholy consequences, of a desperate struggle for independence.

In the fourth year of Jehoiakim (B.C. 604) the mightiest monarch who had wielded the Assyrian power, Nebuchadnezzar, was associated in the empire with his father, and assumed the command of the armies of Nineveh. The prophetic eye of Jeremiah foresaw the approaching tempest, and endeavoured to avert it by the only means which remained, in the impoverished and enfeebled state of the kingdom, timely submission. Long had he struggled, but in vain, to restore the strength of the state by the reformation and religious union of the king and the people. In the royal palace and in the temple, he had uttered his solemn warnings. His honest zeal had offended the priesthood. He had been arraigned as a false prophet before the royal council, where, by the intervention of powerful friends, he had been acquitted. Uriah, another prophet, who had boldly exercised that unwelcome office, after having fled in vain to Egypt, had been seized and put to death. At this juncture, Jeremiah again came forward. In opposition to a strong Egyptian faction, he urged the impracticability of resistance to

* A strong objection has been raised to this supposition; Necho was of the Saitic dynasty of kings; and Herodotus clearly asserts that the burial-place of that whole race was in Lower Egypt. The tomb was certainly not that of Necho.

the Assyrian forces, already on their march. But he spoke to deaf and heedless ears. He then denounced an impending servitude of the whole people, which was to last for seventy years, and to give further publicity to his awful remonstrances, he commanded Baruch, a scribe, to write on a roll the whole of his predictions. The roll was read, during a general fast, in the most public place, before the gate of the temple. The chief nobility of the city were strongly affected, but the headstrong king cut the roll to pieces, cast it into the fire, and Jeremiah and Baruch were obliged to conceal themselves from his vengeance. The event soon justified the wisdom of the prophet. Nebuchadnezzar, having retaken Carchemish (B. C. 601), passed the Euphrates, and rapidly overran the whole of Syria and Palestine. Jerusalem made little resistance. The king was put in chains to be carried as a prisoner to Babylon. On his submission, he was reinstated on the throne, but the temple was plundered of many of its treasures, and a number of well-born youths, among whom were Daniel, and three others, best known by their Persian names, Shadrach, Meshech, and Abednego. From this date commence the seventy years of the captivity. Jehoiakim had learned neither wisdom nor moderation from his misfortunes. Three years after, he attempted to throw off the yoke of Assyria. Nebuchadnezzar, occupied with more important affairs, left the subjugation of Palestine to the neighbouring tribes, who, for three years longer, ravaged the whole country, shut up Jehoiakim in Jerusalem; and at length this weak and cruel king was slain (B. C. 598), perhaps in some sally. His unhonoured remains were buried, "with the burial of an ass."

Jehoiachin (Jeconias or Coniah), his son, had scarcely mounted the throne, when Nebuchadnezzar himself appeared at the gates of Jerusalem. The city surrendered at discretion. The king and all the royal family, the remaining treasures of the temple, the strength of the army and the nobility, and all the more useful artisans, were carried away to Babylon. Over this wreck of a kingdom, Zedekiah (Mattaniah), the younger son of Josiah, was permitted to enjoy an inglorious and precarious sovereignty of eleven years, during which he abused his powers, even worse than his imbecile predecessors. In his ninth year, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the wise Jeremiah, he endeavoured to assert his independence; and Jerusalem, though besieged by Nebuchadnezzar in person, now made some resistance. The Egyptian faction in the city were encouraged by the advance of Hophra (Apries), the reigning Pharaoh, into Palestine. This march suspended for a time the operations of the Assyrians. The Jews, released from the pressing danger, recanted all the vows of reformation which they had begun to make. But Hophra

and the Egyptian army were defeated; and the toils closed again around the devoted city. Jeremiah, undaunted by his ill-success, still boldly remonstrated against the madness of resistance. He was thrown into a foul and noisome dungeon, on an accusation of treasonable correspondence with the enemy. At length famine reduced the fatal obstinacy of despair. Jerusalem opened its gates to the irresistible conqueror. The king, in an attempt to break through the besieging forces, was seized, his children slain before his face, his eyes put out, and thus the last king of the royal house of David, blind and childless, was led away into a foreign prison. The capture of Jerusalem took place on the ninth day of the fourth month: on the seventh day of the fifth month (two days on which Hebrew devotion still commemorates the desolation of the city by solemn fast and humiliation) the relentless Nabuzaradan executed the orders of his master, by levelling the city, the palaces, and the temple, in one common ruin. The few remaining treasures, particularly the two brazen pillars which stood before the temple, were sent to Babylon: the chief priests were put to death, the rest carried into captivity.

Jeremiah survived to behold the sad accomplishment of all his darkest predictions. He witnessed all the horrors of the famine, and, when that had done its work, the triumph of the enemy. He saw the strongholds of the city cast down; the palace of Solomon, the temple of God, with all its courts, its roofs of cedar and of gold, levelled to the earth, or committed to the flames; the sacred vessels, the ark of the covenant itself, with the cherubim, pillaged by profane hands. What were the feelings of a patriotic and religious Jew at this tremendous crisis, he has left on record in his unrivalled elegies. Never did city suffer a more miserable fate, never was ruined city lamented in language so exquisitely pathetic. Jerusalem is, as it were, personified, and bewailed with the passionate sorrow of private and domestic attachment: while the more general pictures of the famine, the common misery of every rank, and age, and sex, all the desolation, the carnage, the violation, the dragging away into captivity, the remembrance of former glories, of the gorgeous ceremonies, and the glad festivals, the awful sense of the Divine wrath heightening the present calamities, are successively drawn with all the life and reality of an eye-witness. They combine the truth of history with the deepest pathos of poetry.

How solitary doth she sit, the many-peopled city!
She is become a widow, the great among the Nations;
The Queen among the provinces, how is she tributary!

Weeping—weeps she all the night; the tears are on her cheeks;
From among all her lovers, she hath no comforter;
Her friends have all dealt treacherously; they are become her foes.—Lam. i. 1, 2.

The ways of Sion mourn : none come up to her feasts,
All her gates are desolate ; and her Priests do sigh ;
Her virgins wail ! herself, she is in bitterness.—i. 4.

He hath plucked up his garden-hedge, He hath destroyed His Temple ;
Jehovah hath forgotten made the solemn feast and Sabbath ;
And in the heat of ire He hath rejected King and Priest.

The Lord his altar hath disdained, abhorred his Holy place,
And to the adversary's hand given up his palace walls ;
Our foes shout in Jehovah's house as on a festal day.—ii. 7, 8.

Her gates are sunk into the earth, he hath broke through her bars ;
Her Monarch and her Princes all are now among the Heathen ;
The Law hath ceased ; the Prophets find no vision from Jehovah.—ii. 10.

My eyes do fail with tears, and troubled are my bowels,
My heart's blood gushes on the earth, for the daughter of my people
Children and suckling babes lie swooning in the squares—

They say unto their mothers, Where is corn and wine?
They swoon as they were wounded, in the city squares ;
While glides the soul away into their Mother's bosom.—ii. 11, 12.

Even dragons, with their breasts drawn out, give suck unto their young ;
But cruel is my people's daughter, as the Ostrich in the desert ;
The tongues of sucking infants to their palates cleave with thirst.

Young children ask for bread, and no man breaks it for them ;
Those that fed on dainties are desolate in the streets ;
Those brought up in scarlet, even those embrace the dunghill.—iv. 3, 4, 5.

Behold, Jehovah, think with whom thou e'er hast dealed thus !
Have women ever eat their young, babes fondled in their hands?
Have Priest and Prophet e'er been slain in the Lord's Holy place?

In the streets, upon the ground, lie slain the young and old ;
My virgins and my youth have fallen by the sword ;
In thy wrath thou'st slain them, thou hast had no mercy.

Thou hast summoned all my terrors, as to a solemn feast ;
None 'scaped, and none was left in Jehovah's day of wrath ;
All that mine arms have borne and nursed, the enemy hath slain.
ii. 20, 1, 2.

Remember, Lord, what hath befallen,
Look down on our reproach.
Our heritage is given to strangers,
Our home to foreigners.
Our water have we drank for money,
Our fuel hath its price.—v. 1, 2, 3.

We stretch our hands to Egypt,
To Assyria for our bread.
At our life's risk we gain our food,
From the sword of desert robbers.
Our skins are like an oven, parched,
By the fierce heat of famine.
Matrons in Sion have they ravished,
Virgins in Judah's cities.

Princes were hung up by the hand,
And age had no respect.
Young men are grinding at the mill,
Boys faint 'neath loads of wood.
The elders from the gate have ceased,
The young men from their music.
The crown is fallen from our head,
Woe! woe! that we have sinned.
'Tis therefore that our hearts are faint,
Therefore our eyes are dim,
For Sion's mountain desolate,
The foxes walk on it.

The miserable remnant of the people were placed under the command of Gedaliah, as a pasha of the great Assyrian monarch; the seat of government was fixed at Mizpeh. Yet ambition could look with envy even on this eminence. Gedaliah was assassinated by Ishmael, a man of royal blood. Johanan attempted to revenge his death. Ishmael, discomfited, took refuge with the Ammonites; but Johanan and the rest of the Jews, apprehensive lest they should be called in question for the murder of Gedaliah, fled to Egypt, and carried Jeremiah with them. There the prophet died; either, according to conflicting traditions, put to death by the Jews, or by king Hophra.

Thus closes the first period of the Jewish History; and, in the ordinary course of human events, we might expect, the national existence of the Israelitish race. The common occupancy of their native soil seems, in general, the only tie that permanently unites the various families and tribes which constitute a nation. As long as that bond endures, a people may be sunk to the lowest state of degradation; they may be reduced to a slave-caste under the oppression of foreign invaders; yet favourable circumstances may again develope the latent germ of a free and united nation: they may rise again to power and greatness, as well as to independence. But, when that bond is severed, nationality usually becomes extinct. A people, transported from their native country, if scattered in small numbers, gradually melt away, and are absorbed in the surrounding tribes: if settled in large masses, remote from each other, they grow up into distinct commonwealths; but in a generation or two the principle of separation, which is perpetually at work, effectually

obliterates all community of interest or feeling. If a traditionary remembrance of their common origin survives, it is accompanied by none of the attachment of kindred; there is no family pride or affection; there is no *blood* between the scattered descendants of common ancestors. For time gradually loosens all other ties; habits of life change; laws are modified by the circumstances of the state and people; religion, at least in all polytheistic nations, is not exempt from the influence of the great innovator. The separate communities have outgrown the common objects of national pride; the memorable events of their history during the time that they dwelt together, their common traditions, the fame of their heroes, the songs of their poets, are superseded by more recent names and occurrences; each has his new stock of reminiscences, in which their former kindred cannot participate. Even their languages have diverged from each other; they are not of one speech, they have either entirely or partially ceased to be mutually intelligible. If, in short, they meet again, there is a remote family likeness, but they are strangers in all that connects man with man, or tribe with tribe.

One nation alone seems entirely exempt from this universal law. During the Babylonian captivity, as in the longer dispersion under which they have been for ages afflicted, the Jews still remained a separate people. However widely divided from their native country, they were still Jews; however remote from each other, they were still brethren. What then were the bonds by which Divine Providence held together this single people? What were the principles of their unextinguishable nationality? Their law and their religion; their law, of the irreversible perpetuity of which they were steadfastly convinced, and to which at length they adhered too long and too pertinaciously: their religion, which, however it might admit of modifications, in its main principles remained unalterable.

Under the influence of these principles, we shall hereafter see the Jewish people resuming their place among the nations of the earth, and opening a new and extraordinary career, to end even in a more awful dissolution.

BOOK IX.

THE HIGH PRIESTS.

B.C. 584.

The Captivity—The Return to the Holy Land—Rebuilding of the Temple —The Samaritans—Esther—Ezra—Nehemiah—Simon the Just—Alexandrian Jews—Persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes.

NOTHING could present a more striking contrast to their native country than the region into which the Hebrews were transplanted. Instead of their irregular and picturesque mountain city, crowning its unequal heights, and looking down into its deep and precipitous ravines, through one of which a scanty stream wound along, they entered the vast, square, and level city of Babylon, occupying both sides of the broad Euphrates; while all around spread immense plains, which were intersected by long straight canals, bordered by rows of willows. How unlike their national temple—a small but highly finished and richly adorned fabric, standing in the midst of its courts on the brow of a lofty precipice—the colossal temple of the Chaldean Bel, rising from the plain, with its eight stupendous stories or towers, one above the other, to the perpendicular height of a furlong! The palace of the Babylonian kings was more than twice the size of their whole city: it covered eight miles, with its hanging gardens built on arched terraces, each rising above the other, and rich in all the luxuriance of artificial cultivation. How different from the sunny cliffs of their own land, where the olive and the vine grew spontaneously, and the cool, shady, and secluded valleys, where they could always find shelter from the heat of the burning noon! No wonder then that, in the pathetic words of their own hymn, *by the waters of Babylon they sate down and wept, when they remembered thee, O Zion.* Of their general treatment as captives we know little. The psalm above quoted seems to intimate that the Babylonians had taste enough to appreciate their poetical and musical talent, and that they were summoned occasionally to amuse the banquets of their masters, though it was much against their will that they sang the songs of Zion in a strange land. In general it seems that the Jewish exiles were allowed to dwell together in considerable bodies, not sold as household or personal slaves, at least not those of the better order, of whom the captivity chiefly consisted. They were colonists rather than captives, and became by degrees

possessed of considerable property. There was one large settlement on the river Chebar, considerably to the north of Babylon. It was there that the prophet Ezekiel related his splendid visions, which seem impressed with the immense and gigantic character of the region and empire of Babylon. To the bold and rapid creations of the earlier Hebrew poets, Ezekiel adds not merely a vehement and tragical force, peculiar to his own mind, but a vastness and magnificence of imagery, drawn from the scenery and circumstances by which he was surrounded. The world of Ezekiel, and that of his contemporary, Daniel, seems enlarged: the future teems with imperial dynasties and wide and universal monarchies. It is curious that the earliest monuments of Persian antiquity, in Persepolis and its neighbourhood, abound with sculptures representing those symbolic and composite animals, which occur so frequently in the visions of these two prophets, especially of Daniel. Daniel had been among those noble youths transported to Babylon at the first invasion of Nebuchadnezzar, most likely as hostages for the good conduct and submission of the vassal king. These young men were treated with great kindness, educated with the utmost care, both in the manners and duties of the great officers of the Assyrian court, and in all the half-scientific, half-superstitious knowledge, the astronomy, the divination, and skill in the interpretation of dreams, for which the priesthood of the Chaldeans long maintained unrivalled celebrity. Daniel received the name of Belteshazzar; his chief companions, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, those of Shadrach, Meshech, and Abednego.

If the eminence to which Daniel attained in the favour of successive monarchs, inspired the captive Jews with confidence that Divine Providence still watched over the chosen people, his example contributed no less to confirm them in their adherence to the law and the religion of their ancestors. These youthful hostages were to be sumptuously maintained at the public charge; but Daniel and his companions, apprehensive of legal defilement, insisted on being supported on the meanest and simplest food, common pulse. On this coarse and ascetic diet, perhaps that of the Hebrew prophets, they throve, and became so well favoured, as to do no discredit to the royal entertainment. When Nebuchadnezzar raised his golden image on the plain of Dura, which all men were to worship, the companions of Daniel, resisting the act of idolatry, were thrown into the fiery furnace, from whence they were miraculously delivered. Under a later monarch, who forbade any prayer to be offered, for thirty days, but to himself, Daniel, with the same boldness, refusing to suspend his petitions to the Almighty, was cast into the den of lions, whose mouths were closed against the man of God. But it was chiefly like his predecessor Joseph, as interpreter of

dreams, that Daniel acquired his high distinction. Twice he was summoned to this important office by Nebuchadnezzar; once when the unconscionable demand was made of the national interpreters, that they should expound a vision of which they did not know the substance; once when the haughty monarch was warned of a dreadful malady (some kind of madness), by which his pride was to be humbled, when he should be expelled from human society, and eat grass like a beast of the field. On both occasions the Hebrew interpreter was equally successful. In the same manner he was called upon to expound the fatal hand-writing on the wall of Belshazzar, on that memorable night when the human hand, during the sumptuous banquet, wrote upon the wall the mysterious words, MENE. MENE. TEKEL. UPHARSIN, interpreted by Daniel that the kingdom was *numbered* and finished—Belshazzar *weighed* in the balance and found wanting—his kingdom taken away, and given to the Medes and *Persians*.

Like Joseph, Daniel became one of the viziers or satraps of the mighty empire, when it passed into the hands of the Medes and Persians. Nor was this rapid advancement of their countryman—though the manner in which Daniel is frequently named by his contemporary Ezekiel, shows the pride and reverence with which the whole nation looked up to their distinguished compatriot—the only ground of hope and consolation to the scattered exiles. Beyond the gloomy waste of the captivity, their prophets had always opened a vista of long ages of more than their former happiness and glory; but to which, their restoration to their own rich and pleasant land was the first and preparatory promise. Jeremiah had limited the duration of the captivity to seventy years: he had evinced his confidence in the certainty of his own predictions by one of the most remarkable examples of teaching by significant action, so common among the Hebrew prophets. In the time of the greatest peril he had purchased an estate at Anathoth, and concealed the title-deeds with the greatest care, in order that they might come to light, for the benefit of his posterity, after the restoration of the Hebrew polity; in which event he thus showed his own implicit reliance. When therefore they saw the storm bursting upon the haughty and oppressive Babylon—when the vast plains of Shinaar glittered with the hosts of the Medes and Persians; and Cyrus, the designated deliverer, appeared at their head; amid the wild tumults of the war, and the shrieks and lamentations of the captured city, the Jews, no doubt, were chaunting, at least murmuring in secret, the prophetic strains of Isaiah or Jeremiah, which described the fall of the son of the morning—the virgin daughter of Babylon sitting in the dust—the ceasing of the oppressor—the ruin of the golden city.

It is not necessary, in relating this part of the Jewish history, to plunge into the intricate and inextricable labyrinth of Assyrian history and chronology. It is unimportant whether we suppose, with Prideaux and most of the earlier writers, that the fatal night, which terminated the life of Belshazzar, witnessed the fall of Babylon, and that Darius the Mede was Cyaxares, the uncle of Cyrus; or with Larcher and others, that Belshazzar was overthrown, and put to death, by a conspiracy within the city, headed by Darius, a man of Median extraction; and that from this Darius opens a new dynasty of Babylonian kings, which ended in the Persian conquest by Cyrus.

At all events, the close of the seventy years' captivity found Cyrus the undisputed monarch of all the territories, or rather of a more extensive and powerful empire, than that of Assyria; and Daniel appears as high in the confidence of this wise and powerful monarch as he had been in that of his predecessor Darius. For Darius knew too well the value of this wise and useful minister not to rejoice at his providential delivery from the den of lions; to which, through the intrigues of his enemies, and the unalterable nature of the Median law, he had with reluctance condemned him. His providential deliverance had invested Daniel in new dignity, and he reassumed his station among the pashas, or rather as the supreme head of the pashas, to whom the provinces of the vast Persian empire were committed. Josephus attributes to Daniel, besides his religious and political wisdom, great skill in architecture, and ascribes to him the building of the splendid Mausoleum at Ecbatana, or according to Jerom, at Susa, where the kings of Persia, and even the later Parthian kings, were interred.

The national spirit was not extinguished in the heart of Daniel by all these honours; no doubt, through his influence, Cyrus issued out the welcome edict commanding the restoration of the exiled Hebrews to their native land; perhaps the framing of the edict, in which the unity of the Godhead was recognised, may be referred to the Jewish minister, though it is by no means improbable that, at this period, the Persians were pure Theists.

The numbers which assembled under Zerubbabel (Sheshbazzar), the descendant of their kings, the grandson of Jeconiah, and Jeshua, the hereditary high priest, were 42,360: four out of the twenty-four courses of priests joined the returning exiles. The joyful caravan set forth, bearing the remaining sacred vessels of the temple which Cyrus had restored. The rest of their equipage is characteristically described as comprising *servants and maids, singing men and singing women, horses, mules, camels, and asses.* On their arrival in their native land, they were probably joined by great numbers of the common people. These, in some degree, made up for the loss of those recreants

who did not choose to abandon their dwellings and possessions in Babylonia. The first object was to restore the worship of God; the altar was set up, the feasts re-established, and the first stone of the new temple laid among the joyful acclamations of the multitude, but the tears of the *ancient men that had seen the first house, who, when the foundation of this house was laid before their eyes, wept with a loud voice.* For how different was the condition of the Hebrew people, from that splendid period, when their kings ruled without rival from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean. The ports of the Rea Sea did not now pour the treasures of India and Africa into their dominions; the great caravans passed far beyond their borders. The mercantile Tyrians were, as before, glad to exchange their timbers and stone and artisans for the corn, wine, and oil of Palestine; but still the change from the magnificent intercourse between Hiram and Solomon was abasing to the pride of Judæa. The 61,000 drachms of gold, contributed by the heads of the captivity, are supposed to be Darics, which Prideaux calculates at something more than an English guinea; these with 5000 pounds of silver, though a liberal sum in their present state, might raise a melancholy remembrance of the incalculable treasures which sheeted the former temple with gold. Nor would the royal order for assistance, contained in the edict of Cyrus, in any degree replace the unbounded treasures accumulated by David and his son. The religious Jews deplored the still more important deficiencies of the new temple. The Ark, the prophetic Urim and Thummim, the Shechinah or divine presence, the celestial fire on the altar, and the spirit of prophecy, though the last gift still lingered on the lips of Haggai and Zechariah, till it expired, at a later period, on those of Malachi. The temple was built, probably, on the old foundations, but unexpected difficulties impeded its progress. The people called the Samaritans made overtures to assist in the great national work; their proposal was peremptorily and contemptuously rejected.

While the Hebrew writers unanimously represent the Samaritans as the descendants of the Cuthæan colonists introduced by Esarhaddon, a foreign and idolatrous race, their own traditions derive their regular lineage from Ephraim and Manasseh, the sons of Joseph. The remarkable fact, that this people have preserved the book of the Mosaic law in the ruder and more ancient character, while the Jews, after the return from Babylonia, universally adopted the more elegant Chaldean form of letters, strongly confirms the opinion, that, although by no means pure and unmingled, the Hebrew blood still predominated in their race. In many other respects, regard for the sabbath and even for the sabbatic year, and the payment of tithes to their priests, the Samaritans did not fall below their Jewish rivals in attachment

to the Mosaic polity. The later events in the history of the kings of Jerusalem, show that the expatriation of the ten tribes was by no means complete and permanent; is it then an unreasonable supposition, that the foreign colonists were lost in the remnant of the Israelitish people? and though, perhaps slowly and imperfectly weaned from their native superstitions, fell by degrees into the habits and belief of their adopted country. Their proposition of uniting in common worship with the Jews, which there seems no reason to suspect of insincerity (as at the same time, according to the account in Ezra, they seem to have acknowledged their impure descent), clearly evinces the prevalence of Israelitish feelings and opinions, over those of strangers and aliens from the blood of Abraham and the Mosaic constitution. It is remarkable that when the Samaritans are first named, they are called *the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin;* an expression which seems to intimate some remains of the hostility towards the rival kingdom of Israel, and the hated race of Ephraim; against whom they were glad to have the additional charge of the contamination of their blood by foreign admixture. But whether or not it was but the perpetuation of the ancient feud between the two rival kingdoms, from this period the hostility of the Jews and Samaritans assumed its character of fierce and implacable animosity. No two nations ever hated each other with more unmitigated bitterness. With a Jew, every Samaritan was a Cuthæan; and Cuthæan was a term expressive of the utmost scorn and detestation. Every thing a Samaritan ate or drank, or even touched, was as swine's flesh; no Samaritan might be made a proselyte; no Samaritan could possibly attain to everlasting life.

The jealous and exclusive spirit, which induced the Jews to suspect, or at all events to repel, the advances of their neighbours, if not their kindred, is scarcely reconcileable with the mild and liberal rules of conduct towards the stranger resident in the land (from which the prescribed race of Canaan were alone exempted), contained in the Mosaic law, as well as in the prayer of Solomon on the dedication of his first temple. Yet this was but one indication of that singular alteration in the national character of the Jews, which displayed itself after their return from the captivity. Prone before, on every occasion, to adopt the idolatrous practices of the adjacent nations, they now secluded themselves from the rest of the world in proud assurance of their own religious superiority. The law, which of old was perpetually violated, or almost forgotten, was now enforced, by general consent, to its extreme point or even beyond it. Adversity endeared that, of which in prosperity they had not perceived the value. Their city, their native soil, their religion, became the objects of the most passionate attachment. Inter-

marriages with foreigners, neither forbidden by the statute, nor by former practice, were strictly inhibited. The observance of the sabbath, and even of the sabbatical year, was enforced with rigour, of which we have no precedent in the earlier annals; even to the neglect of defence in time of war. In short, from this period commences that unsocial spirit, that hatred towards mankind, and want of humanity to all but their own kindred, with which, notwithstanding the extent to which they carried proselytism to their religion, the Jews are branded by all the Roman writers. Their opinions underwent a change no less important; the hope of a Messiah, which had before prevailed but vaguely and indistinctly, had been enlarged and arrayed in the most splendid images by Isaiah, previous to the fall of the city; it was propagated, and even the time of his appearance declared, by the prophets of the exiles, Ezekiel and Daniel; it sunk deep into the popular mind, and contributed, no doubt, to knit the indissoluble tie of brotherhood, by which the Hebrew people was held together more closely. National pride and patriotism appropriated not merely the lofty privilege of being the ancestors of the great deliverer, but all the advantages and glory which were to attend his coming. In whatever form or character they expected him to appear, king, conqueror, or even God, in this the Jewish race agreed, that the Messiah was to be the king, the conqueror, the God of Israel.

From this period likewise the immortality of the soul, and the belief in another life, appear more distinctly in the popular creed, from which they were never perhaps entirely effaced, but rested only on vague tradition, and were obscured by the more immediate hopes and apprehensions of temporal rewards and punishments, revealed in the law. But in the writings of the Babylonian prophets, in the vision of dry bones in Ezekiel, and in the last chapter of Daniel, these doctrines assume a more important place; and from the later books, which are usually called the Apocrypha, these opinions appear to have entered fully into the general belief. They formed, as is well known, the distinction between the Pharisaic sect, the great body of the people; and the Sadducees, the higher order of freethinkers. In other respects, particularly in their notions of angels, who now appear under particular names, and forming a sort of hierarchy, Jewish opinions acquired a new and peculiar colouring from their intercourse with the Babylonians.

The Samaritan influence at the Court of Persia prevented the advancement of the building, during the rest of the reign of Cyrus; as well as that of Cambyses, and Smerdis the Magian, up to the second year of Darius Hystaspes. Josephus places with apparent probability, under the reign of Cambyses, a formal representation made by the heads of the Samaritans, of the

danger which would arise from permitting "the bad and rebellious city to be rebuilt." The views of Cambyses on Egypt would give weight to this remonstrance; as at this juncture, it was manifestly dangerous to permit a strong and mutinous city to be built directly on the road of communication between his line of military operation and his native dominions.

On the accession of Darius Hystaspes, the prophets Haggai and Zechariah strongly urged on Zerubbabel, the chieftain of the people, to renew the work. The Persian pashas of the province, Tatnai, and Shethar-boznai, sent to the sovereign for instructions. Darius commanded the archives to be searched, in which the original edict of Cyrus was found. Darius, who in all respects pursued the policy of the great founder of the monarchy, re-issued and confirmed the decree. Under the protection of the Persian governors, the Jews pressed forward the work, and in the sixth year of Darius, the second temple, built on the old foundations, but of far less costly and splendid materials, was finally completed. The dimensions seem to have been the same with that of Solomon, except perhaps the height of the interior, which was greater, and the want of the lofty porch or tower. The feast of dedication was celebrated with all the joy and magnificence which an impoverished and dependent people could display; but what a falling-off in the national sacrifice of 100 bullocks, 200 rams, 400 lambs, and 12 goats, for a sin offering, from the countless hecatombs of Solomon!

The treasures of the national poetry alone were not exhausted: the hymns composed for the second dedication—probably the five last psalms in the collection, though they by no means equalled—approached far nearer to the vigour and dignity of the earlier hymns, than either the temple itself to its prototype, or the number and value of the sacrifices. The Jews enjoyed another kind of satisfaction; their Samaritan adversaries were not merely frustrated in their opposition to the building of the temple, but obliged, by an imperial edict, to contribute to its completion.

To the Jews the rest of the long reign of Darius Hystaspes passed away in uneventful prosperity: to that of his successor, Xerxes, we assign, with some of the most learned German writers, the remarkable history of Esther. The Ahasuerus of Scripture cannot be Darius Hystaspes; nor do we trace the character of the mild and humane Artaxerxes Longimanus in the capricious despot, who repudiates his wife because she will not expose herself to the public gaze in a drunken festival; raises a favourite vizier to the highest honours one day, and hangs him the next; commands the massacre of a whole people, and then allows them, in self-defence, to commit a horrible carnage among his other subjects. Yet all this weak and headstrong

violence agrees exactly with the character of that Xerxes who commanded the sea to be scourged, because it broke down his bridge over the Hellespont; beheaded the engineers, because their work was swept away by a storm; wantonly, and before the eyes of the father, put to death the sons of his oldest friend Pythias, who had contributed most splendidly to his armament; shamefully misused the body of the brave Leonidas; and after his defeat, like another Sardanapalus, gave himself up to such voluptuousness, as to issue an edict, offering a reward to the inventor of a new pleasure. The synchronisms, remarked by Eichhorn, strongly confirm this view. In the third year of his reign, Ahasuerus summons a divan of all the great officers of the kingdom at Susa, whom he entertains and banquets 180 days. In his third year, Xerxes, at a great assembly, deliberates and takes measures for the subjugation of Greece. In his seventh year (B. C. 479), Ahasuerus marries Esther. In his seventh year Xerxes returns, discomfited, to Susa, and abandons himself to the pleasures of his harem. The imbecile facility with which Xerxes, according to Herodotus, first gave up to his seductive mistress, Artaynta, a splendid robe, the present of his queen; and then, having made a rash promise at a banquet, yielded up the wife of his brother Masistes (the mother of his mistress) to the barbarous vengeance of his queen; so precisely resembles the conduct of Ahasuerus, that it is impossible not to suspect we are reading of the same person both in the Grecian and the Hebrew annalist. The similarity of the names Amestris, wife of Xerxes, and Esther, is likewise observable; and though Esther, at first, appears in an amiable light, by the account of her own countrymen, yet the barbarous execution of the ten sons of Haman diminishes the improbability, that, through jealousy, and the corrupting influence of her station in the court of Xerxes, she might in later life have become as revengeful and sanguinary as the Amestris of Herodotus. But whoever was the Ahasuerus (the great king), during his reign the Jewish nation was in danger of total extermination. At the great imperial banquet, where all the splendour of the kingdom was displayed, the sovereign commanded the presence of his queen, Vashti. With a better sense of her own dignity, the queen refused to attend. The weak monarch was not merely irritated during his state of intoxication; but after he had returned to his sober reason, instead of honouring her higher sense of decency, retained his anger at the disobedience of his queen, degraded Vashti from her royal station, and sent out an edict, ludicrous enough to modern ears, which enacted the implicit submission of all the females in the monarchy to the will of their husbands. After this a general levy of beautiful damsels was made, to supply the seraglio of the king, out of whom he was to select his queen. Hadassah, or

Esther, the cousin-german of Mordecai, a distinguished Jew, who had brought her up from her childhood, had the fortune to please the king; she was put in possession of the royal apartments, and at a great festival proclaimed the Queen of Persia, her birth still remaining a secret. Among the rival candidates for the royal favour were Mordecai and Haman, said to be descended from the ancient Amalekitish kings. Mordecai had the good fortune to detect a conspiracy against the life of the king, but Haman soon outstripped all competitors in the race of advancement. Perhaps the great destruction in the families of the Persian nobility, particularly of the seven great hereditary counsellors of the kingdom, during the Grecian war, may account, if any cause is wanting besides the caprice of a despot, for the elevation of a stranger to the rank of first vizier. Mordecai alone, his rival (for this supposition renders the whole history more probable), refused to pay the accustomed honours to the new favourite. Haman, most likely, secretly informed of his connexion with the queen, and fearing, therefore, to attack Mordecai openly, determined to take his revenge on the whole Jewish people. He represented them to the king as a dangerous and turbulent race; and promised to obtain immense wealth, 10,000 talents of silver, no doubt from the confiscation of their property, to the royal treasury, which was exhausted by the king's pleasures, and by the Grecian war. On these representations he obtained an edict for the general massacre of the Hebrew people throughout all the provinces of the empire, of which Judæa was one. The Jews were in the deepest dismay; those in Susa looked to Mordecai as their only hope, and he to Esther. The influence of the queen might prevail, if she could once obtain an opportunity of softening the heart of Ahasuerus. But it was death, even for the queen, to intrude upon the royal presence unsummoned, unless the king should extend his golden sceptre in sign of pardon. Esther trembled to undertake the cause of her kindred; but, as of Jewish blood, she herself was involved in the general condemnation. Having propitiated her God by a fast of three days, she appeared, radiant in her beauty, before the royal presence. The golden sceptre was extended towards her; not merely her life, but whatever gift she should demand, was conceded by the captivated monarch. The cautious Esther merely invited the king, and Haman his minister, to a banquet. Haman fell into the snare; and, delighted with this supposed mark of favour from the queen, imagined all impediments to the gratification of his vengeance entirely removed, and gave orders that a lofty gallows should be erected for the execution of Mordecai. The king, in the mean time, during a sleepless night, had commanded the chronicles of the kingdom to be read before him. The book happened to open at the relation of

the valuable but unrequited service of Mordecai, in saving the king's life from a conspiracy within his own palace. The next morning Ahasuerus demanded from the obsequious minister, "in what manner he might most exalt the man whom he delighted to honour?" The vizier, appropriating to himself this signal mark of favour, advised that this highly distinguished individual should be arrayed in royal robes, set on the king's horse, with the royal crown on his head, and thus led by one of the greatest men through the whole city, and proclaimed to the people, as the man whom the king delighted to honour. To his astonishment and dismay, Haman is himself commanded to conduct, in this triumphant array, his hated rival Mordecai. In terror he consults his wife and the *wise men* as to his future course; he is interrupted by a summons to the banquet of Esther. Here, as usual, the king, enraptured with his entertainment, offers his queen whatever boon she may desire, even to half of his kingdom. Her request is the deliverance of her people from the fatal sentence. The detection and the condemnation of the minister was the inevitable consequence. Haman, endeavouring to entreat mercy, throws himself upon her couch. The jealous monarch either supposing, or pretending to suppose, that he is making an attempt on the person of the queen, commands his instant execution; and Haman, by this summary sentence, is hanged on the gallows which had been raised for Mordecai, while the Jew is raised to the vacant vizieralty. Still, however, the dreadful edict was abroad: messengers were despatched on all sides throughout the realm, which extended from India to Ethiopia, on horseback, on mules, on camels, and on dromedaries, permitting the Jews to stand on the defensive. In Susa they slew 800 of their adversaries; 75,000 in the provinces. The act of vengeance was completed by the execution of Haman's ten sons, who, at the petition of Esther, suffered the fate of their father. So great was the confusion and the terror, caused by the degree of royal favour which Mordecai enjoyed, that the whole nation became objects of respect, and many of other extraction embraced their religion. The memory of this signal deliverance has been, and still is, celebrated by the Jews. The festival is called that of Purim, because on that day Haman cast (Pur) the lot to destroy them. It is preceded by a strict fast on the 13th of the month Adar (February and March); the 14th and 15th are given up to the most universal and unbounded rejoicing. The book of Esther is read in the Synagogue, where all ages and sexes are bound to be present; and whenever the name of Haman occurs, the whole congregation clap their hands, and stamp with their feet, and answer, "Let his memory perish."

The reign of Artaxerxes, the successor of Xerxes on the Persian throne, was favourable to the Jews. In the seventh

year a new migration took place from Babylonia, headed by Ezra, a man of priestly descent. He was invested with full powers to make a collection among the Jews of Babylonia for the adornment of the national temple, and to establish magistrates and judges in every part of Judæa. Many of the priesthood of the higher and of the inferior orders joined themselves to his party—singers, porters, and Nethinims. They arrived in safety, though without any protection from the royal troops, in Jerusalem, and were received with great respect both by the Jews and the Persian governors. The national spirit of Ezra was deeply grieved to find that, by contracting marriages with the adjacent tribes, not merely the commonalty, but the chieftains and the priests themselves had contaminated the pure descent of the Israelitish race. By his influence these marriages were generally cancelled, and the foreign wives repudiated. Still the city of Jerusalem was open and defenceless; the jealous policy of the Persian kings would not permit the Jews to fortify a military post of such importance as their capital.

On a sudden, however, in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, Nehemiah, a man of Jewish descent, cup-bearer to the king, received a commission to rebuild the city with all possible expedition. The cause of this change in the Persian politics is to be sought, not so much in the personal influence of the Jewish cup-bearer, as in the foreign history of the times. The power of Persia had received a fatal blow in the victory obtained at Cnidus by Conon, the Athenian admiral. The great king was obliged to submit to an humiliating peace, among the articles of which were the abandonment of the maritime towns, and a stipulation that the Persian army should not approach within three days' journey of the sea. Jerusalem being about this distance from the coast, as standing so near the line of communication with Egypt, became a post of the utmost importance. The Persian court saw the wisdom of intrusting the command of a city, and the government of a people always obstinately national, to an officer of their own race, yet on whose fidelity they might have full reliance. The shock, which the Persian authority had suffered, is still further shown by the stealth and secrecy with which Nehemiah, though armed with the imperial edict, was obliged to proceed. For the heads of the neighbouring tribes, the Samaritans, Ammonites, and Arabians, openly opposed the work. By night, and with their arms in their hands, the whole people of every rank and order laboured with such assiduity—one half working, while the other watched, and stood on their defence—that in incredibly short time, fifty-two days, the enemy, Sanballat, Tobiah, and Geshem the Arabian, who had at first treated the attempt with scorn, saw the strong city of Jerusalem, as if by enchantment, girt with impregnable walls and towers,

defying their assault, and threatening to bridle their independence. Nehemiah had to contend not only with foreign opposition, but domestic treachery. Some of the Jewish nobles were in secret correspondence with the enemy, particularly with Tobiah the Ammonite; and the great measure by which the governor relieved the people from usurious burthens, though popular no doubt among the lower orders, by no means conciliated the more wealthy to his administration. The exaction of the Persian tribute pressed heavily on the mass of the people: to defray this charge the poor were obliged to borrow of the rich, who, in defiance of the Mosaic law, exacted enormous usury. Nehemiah, by the example of his own munificence, and by his authority, extorted in a public assembly a general renunciation of these claims, and a solemn oath of future conformity to the law. In the spirit of the ancient constitution he closed the sitting with this imprecation:—he shook his lap, and said, "So God shake out every man from his house, and from his labour, that performeth not this promise, even thus be ye shaken out and emptied." And all the congregation said "Amen!" and praised the Lord.

Having thus provided for the outward security and inward peace of the people, and having solemnly dedicated the wall, Nehemiah left Hanani his brother, and Hananiah, as governors of Jerusalem, strictly enjoining them to keep the gates closed, except during the day, and returned to Persia for a short time, to report his proceedings and renew his commission. On his return, which speedily followed, he took new measures to secure the purity of descent, now held of such high importance among the Jews. The genealogies of all the congregation were inquired into and accurately made out; the number of genuine Israelites taken, which amounted to 42,360 with 7337 slaves, and 245 singers of both sexes. All their stock amounted (only) to 736 horses, their mules 245, camels 435, asses 1720. Such was the fallen state of this once mighty and opulent nation. Yet still the contributions to the temple were on a scale comparatively munificent. Nehemiah himself, the leaders, and the body of the people, voluntarily offered a considerable sum in gold, silver, utensils for the service, and costly garments for the priests. There seems to have been much unwillingness in the body of the people to inhabit the city, where probably the police was more strict, the military duties more onerous, and in general more restraint, with less freedom and less profit, than in the cultivation of the soil. But the general security of the country, and most likely direct orders from the court of Persia, required that the capital should be well manned; and accordingly every tenth man, by lot, was constrained to enrol himself among the citizens of Jerusalem.

In the mean time Ezra, who had been superseded in the civil administration by Nehemiah, had applied himself to his more momentous task—the compilation of the Sacred Books of the Jews. Much of the Hebrew literature was lost at the time of the Captivity; the ancient Book of Jasher, that of the wars of the Lord, the writings of Gad and Iddo the Prophet, and those of Solomon on Natural History. The rest, particularly the Law, of which, after the discovery of the original by Hilkiah, many copies were taken; the historical books, the poetry, including all the prophetic writings, except those of Malachi, were collected, revised, and either at that time, or subsequently, arranged in three great divisions: the Law, containing the five Books of Moses: the Prophets, the historical and prophetical books; the Hagiographa, called also the Psalms, containing Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon. At a later period, probably in the time of Simon the Just, the books of Malachi, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther were added, and what is called the Canon of Jewish Scripture finally closed. It is most likely that from this time the Jews began to establish synagogues, or places of public worship and instruction, for the use of which copies of the sacred writings were multiplied. The law, thus revised and corrected, was publicly read by Ezra, the people listening with the most devout attention; the feast of Tabernacles was celebrated with considerable splendour. After this festival a solemn fast was proclaimed: the whole people, having confessed and bewailed their offences, deliberately renewed the covenant with the God of their fathers. An oath was administered, that they would keep the law; avoid intermarriages with strangers; neither buy nor sell on the Sabbath; observe the sabbatical year, and remit all debts according to the law; pay a tax of a third of a shekel for the service of the temple; and offer all first-fruits, and all tithes to the Levites. Thus the Jewish constitution was finally re-established. In the twelfth year of his administration Nehemiah returned to the Persian court. But the weak and unsettled polity required a prudent and popular government. In his absence affairs soon fell into disorder. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of Malachi, the last of the prophets, the solemn covenant was forgotten; and on his return, after a residence of some time in Persia, Nehemiah found the high priest, Eliashib himself, in close alliance with the deadly enemy of the Jews, Tobiah the Ammonite, and a chamber in the temple assigned for the use of this stranger. A grandson of the high priest had taken as his wife a daughter of their other adversary, Sanballat. Others of the people had married in the adjacent tribes, had forgotten their native tongue, and spoke a mixed and barbarous jargon: the Sabbath was violated both by the native Jews and by the Tyrian traders, who sold

their fish and merchandise at the gates of Jerusalem. Armed with the authority of a Persian satrap, and that of his own munificent and conciliatory character—for as governor he had lived on a magnificent scale, and continually entertained 150 of the chief leaders at his own table—Nehemiah reformed all these disorders. Among the rest he expelled from Jerusalem, Manasseh, the son of Joiada (who succeeded Eliashib in the high priesthood), on account of his unlawful marriage with the daughter of Sanballat the Horonite. Sanballat meditated signal revenge. He built a rival temple on the mountain of Gerizim, and appointed Manasseh high priest; and thus the schism between the two nations, the Jews and the Samaritans, was perpetuated for ever. The Jews ascribe all the knowledge of the law among the Samaritans, even their possession of the sacred books, to the apostasy of Manasseh. The rival temple, they assert, became the place of refuge to all the refractory and licentious Jews, who could not endure the strict administration of the law in Judæa. But these are the statements of bitter and implacable adversaries, fairly to be mistrusted either as untrue, or as exaggerated. Still, from the building of the rival temple, we may date the total separation of the two people. Samaria, however, remained in comparative insignificance, while Jerusalem was destined to a second era of magnificence and ruin.

During the great period of Grecian splendour in arms, enterprise, and letters, the Jews, in quiet and, perhaps, enviable obscurity, lay hid within their native valleys. The tide of war rolled at a distance; wasting Asia Minor, and occasionally breaking on the shores of Cyprus and Egypt. The Grecian writers of this period seem quite unaware of the existence of such a people; they lay entirely out of the line of maritime adventure: Tyre alone, on the Syrian coast, attracted the Grecian merchant. Nor is there any reason to suppose that the Jews of Palestine, who were now in their lowest state both as to numbers and opulence, had commenced their mercantile career. The accounts of the intercourse of the earlier and later Grecian philosophers, Pythagoras and Plato, with the Hebrews, are manifestly fictions of the Alexandrian Jews, eagerly adopted and exaggerated by the Christian Fathers. The Greeks little apprehended that a few leagues inland from the coast which their fleets perpetually passed, a people, speaking a language which they esteemed barbarous, was quietly pursuing its rural occupations, and cultivating its luxuriant soil, yet possessed treasures of poetry which would rival their own Pindar and Simonides, moral wisdom which might put to shame that of Plato; a people who hereafter were to send forth the great religious instructors of the world.

The provincial administration of the Persian governors exer-

cised only a general superintendence over the subject nations, and the internal government of Jerusalem fell insensibly into the hands of the high priests. From the administration of Nehemiah to the time of Alexander the Great, one atrocious crime, committed in the family of the high priest, appears the only memorable transaction in the uneventful annals of Judæa. Eliashib was succeeded in the high priesthood by Judas—Judas by John. The latter, jealous of the influence of his brother Jesus with Bagoses, the Persian governor, and suspecting him of designs on the high priesthood, murdered him within the precincts of the sanctuary. The Persian came in great indignation to Jerusalem, and when the Jews would have prevented his entrance into the temple, he exclaimed, "Am not I purer than the dead body of him whom ye have slain in the temple?" Bagoses laid a heavy mulct on the whole people—fifty drachms for every lamb offered in sacrifice. At length the peace of this favoured district was interrupted by the invasion of Alexander. After the demolition of Tyre, the conqueror marched against Gaza, which he totally destroyed. Either during the siege of Tyre, or his march against Gaza, the Jews no doubt made their submission. On this simple fact has been built a romantic and picturesque story. While Alexander was at the siege of Tyre, he sent to demand the surrender of Jerusalem. The high priest answered that he had sworn fealty to Darius, and was bound to maintain his allegiance to that monarch. After the taking of Gaza, the conqueror advanced against Jerusalem. Jaddua, the high priest, and the people were in the greatest consternation. But, in a vision, God commanded Jaddua to take comfort—to hang the city with garlands—throw open the gates—and go forth, to meet the enemy, clad in his pontifical robes, the priests in their ceremonial attire, the people in white garments.—Jaddua obeyed. The solemn procession march forth to Sapha, an eminence, from whence the whole city and temple might be seen. No sooner had Alexander beheld the high priest in his hyacinthine robes, embroidered with gold, and with the turban and its golden frontal, than he fell prostrate and adored the Holy Name, which was there inscribed in golden characters. His attendants were lost in astonishment. The Phœnicians and Chaldeans had been eagerly watching the signal to disperse the suppliants, and pillage the city. The Syrian kings, who stood around, began to doubt if he were in his senses. Parmenio at length demanded why he, whom all the world worshipped, should worship the high priest. "I worship," replied the monarch, "not the high priest, but his God. In a vision at Dios in Macedonia, that figure in that very dress appeared to me. He exhorted me to pass over into Asia, and achieve the conquest of Persia." Alexander then took the priest by the hand, and entered the city. He offered

sacrifice; and the high priest communicated to him the prophecies of Daniel, predicting that a Greek was to overthrow the Persian empire. Alexander, delighted with his reception, offered to the Jews whatever gift they should desire. They requested the freedom of their brethren in Media and Babylonia. They likewise obtained an exemption from tribute in the Sabbatical year. The difficulties and anachronisms of this whole story* have been exposed by Moyle, and Mitford the Grecian historian; and unfortunately the Alexandrian Jews were so much interested in inventing or embellishing any tale which could honourably connect them with the great founder of that city, that an account, which has most probably passed through their hands, must be received with great mistrust. It is added, that the Samaritans petitioned for the same exemption from tribute in the Sabbatical year. Alexander hesitated. But some of the inhabitants having, for some unknown reason, risen against Andromachus, the Macedonian commander in Samaria, Alexander ordered the whole people to be expelled, and planted a Macedonian colony in their room. The Samaritans retreated to Shechem, and hence they are called, in the book of Ecclesiasticus, *the foolish people that dwell at Shechem.* The insurrection and expulsion of the Samaritans is mentioned by Curtius. Of the former history, the chroniclers of Alexander are silent, excepting perhaps Justin, in a passage which it is fair to mention. That author says, that in many of the Syrian cities, the kings came out to meet and to submit to Alexander, with sacred fillets on their heads. Alexander is likewise stated to have transplanted 100,000 Jews to his new colony in Egypt, and bestowed on them equal privileges and immunities with the Macedonians.

On the death of Alexander, Judæa came into the possession of Laomedon, one of his generals. On his defeat, Ptolemy, the king of Egypt, attempted to seize the whole of Syria. He advanced against Jerusalem, assaulted it on the Sabbath, and met with no resistance, the superstitious Jews scrupling to violate the holy day, even in self-defence. The conqueror carried away 100,000 captives, whom he settled chiefly in Alexandria and Cyrene. In a short time, following a more humane policy, he endeavoured to attach the Jewish people to his cause, enrolled an army of 30,000 men, and entrusted the chief garrisons of the country to their care. Syria and Judæa did not escape the dreadful anarchy which ensued during the destructive warfare waged by the generals and successors of Alexander. Twice these provinces fell into the power of Antigonus, and twice were

* For instance:—the high priest refuses his allegiance to Alexander, though aware that he is designated by God, in the prophecy of Daniel, as the Destroyer of the Persian Empire.

regained by Ptolemy, to whose share they were finally adjudged after the decisive defeat of Antigonus at Ipsus. The maritime towns, Tyre, Joppa, and Gaza, were the chief points of contention; Jerusalem itself seems to have escaped the horrors of war. During this dangerous period, Onias, the high priest, administered the public affairs for twenty-one years. He was succeeded, the year after the battle of Ipsus, by Simon the Just, a pontiff on whom Jewish tradition dwells with peculiar attachment. His death was the commencement of peril and disaster, announced, say the Rabbins, by the most alarming prodigies. The sacrifices, which were always favourably accepted during his life, at his death became uncertain or unfavourable. The scape goat, which used to be thrown from a rock, and to be dashed immediately to pieces, escaped (a fearful omen) into the desert. The great west light of the golden chandelier no longer burned with a steady flame—sometimes it was extinguished. The sacrificial fire languished; the sacrificial bread failed, so as not to suffice, as formerly, for the whole priesthood.

The founding of the Syro-Grecian kingdom by Seleucus, and the establishment of Antioch as the capital, brought Judæa into the unfortunate situation of a weak province, placed between two great conflicting monarchies. Still under the mild government of the three first Ptolemies, Soter, Philadelphus, and Euergetes, both the native and Alexandrian Jews enjoyed many marks of the royal favour; and while almost all the rest of the world was ravaged by war, their country flourished in profound peace. Towards the end of the reign of Euergetes, the prosperity of the nation was endangered by the indolence and misconduct of Onias the second, the high priest, the son of Simon the Just, who had succeeded his uncles, Eleazar and Manasseh, in the supreme authority. The payment of the customary tribute having been neglected, the Egyptian king threatened to invade the country, and to share it among his soldiers. The high priest, being unable, or unwilling, to go to Egypt to answer for his conduct, his nephew Joseph was dispatched on this delicate mission. Joseph, with difficulty, obtained money for his journey of some Samaritans. He travelled to Egypt in a caravan with some rich Cœlesyrians and Phœnicians, who were going to Alexandria to obtain the farming of the royal tribute. He caught from their conversation the sum they proposed to offer, and the vast profit they intended to make of their bargain. On his arrival at court, he made rapid progress in the royal favour. When the farmers of the revenue came to make their offers, they bid 8000 talents—Joseph instantly offered double that sum. His sureties were demanded; he boldly named the king and queen. Struck with the character of the man, the royal bondsmen testified their assent; and Joseph became farmer of the

revenues of Judæa, Samaria, Phœnicia, and Cœlesyria, with a formidable body of tax-gatherers, 2000 soldiers. By making one or two terrible examples, putting to death twenty men at Ascalon, and confiscating 1000 talents of their property—and by the same severity at Scythopolis—Joseph succeeded in raising the royal revenue with great profit to himself. He continued to discharge his office with vigilance, punctuality, and prudence for twenty-two years. Nor does it appear that his measures were unjust or oppressive. His administration lasted till the invasion of Antiochus the Great. This enterprising monarch, not contented with wresting his own territory of Cœlesyria from the power of Ptolemy, seized Judæa, but was totally defeated in a great battle at Raphia, near Gaza. After his victory, Ptolemy (Philopator) entered Jerusalem. He made sumptuous presents to the temple, but pressing forward to enter the sanctuary, he was repelled by the high priest, Simon, son of Onias. He is reported to have been seized with a supernatural awe and horror; but from that time he entertained implacable animosity against the Jews, whom, it is said, he cruelly persecuted, as will hereafter be related, in Alexandria. During the monarchy of the next Ptolemy (Epiphanes), Antiochus again seized Cœlesyria and Judæa. Scopas, general of the Egyptian forces, recovered, garrisoned, and strengthened Jerusalem, which he ruled with an iron and oppressive hand. But being defeated near the sources of the Jordan, he was constrained to leave Antiochus undisputed master of the territory. The Syrian king was received as a deliverer in Jerusalem, and desirous to attach these valuable allies to his cause, he issued a decree highly favourable to the whole nation. Antiochus afterwards bestowed Cœlesyria and Judæa, as the dowry of his daughter Cleopatra, on the young king of Egypt, Ptolemy Epiphanes. Still, however, the revenues were to be shared by the two sovereigns. In what manner the king of Syria regained his superiority does not appear, but probably through the disorder into which the affairs of Egypt fell, at the close of the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes, and during the minority of Ptolemy Philometor.

It was not, however, the tyranny of foreign sovereigns, but the unprincipled ambition of their own native rulers, that led to calamities little less dreadful than the Babylonian captivity, the plunder and ruin of the holy city, the persecution, and almost the extermination, of the people. By the elevation of Joseph, the son of Tobias, to the office of collector, or farmer of the royal revenue, as above related, arose a family powerful enough to compete with that of the high priest. Joseph had eight sons; the youngest, Hyrcanus, by his own niece, who was substituted by her father in the place of a dancer, of whom Joseph had become violently enamoured, in Egypt. This niece he afterwards

married. Hyrcanus, being sent on a mission to congratulate Ptolemy Philopator on the birth of his son, got possession of all his father's treasures. By the magnificence of his presents, a hundred beautiful girls, and a hundred beautiful boys, which each cost a talent, and bore a talent in his hand, and by the readiness of his wit, he made as favourable an impression in the court as his father had done before him. On his return to Judæa, he was attacked by his brothers, on account of his appropriation of his father's Egyptian wealth: two of them were slain in the affray. Hyrcanus then retreated beyond the Jordan, and became collector of the revenue in that district. On his father's death a great contest arose about the partition of his wealth; the high priest, Onias III., took part with the elder brothers against Hyrcanus. He fled again beyond Jordan, built a strong tower, and committed depredations on the Arabians, probably the Nabatheans, who carried on a considerable commerce. Dreading, however, the vengeance of the king of Syria, he fell on his sword and slew himself. A feud in the mean time had arisen between Onias and Simon, according to conjecture the elder son of Joseph, who held the office of governor of the temple. The immediate cause of dispute, probably, related to the command over the treasury of the temple, in which Onias had permitted Hyrcanus to deposit part of his riches, and over which Simon, as collector of the royal revenue, might pretend to some authority. Simon fled to Apollonius, who governed Cœlesyria, under King Seleucus, and gave an account of incalculable treasures laid up in the Jewish temple. Heliodorus, the royal treasurer, was immediately dispatched to take possession of this unexpected fund, so opportunely discovered; for the finances of Seleucus were exhausted by the exactions of the Romans. The whole city was in an agony of apprehension, the high priest seemed in the deepest distress, while the royal officer advanced to profane and pillage the temple of God. Suddenly a horse, with a terrible rider clad in golden armour, rushed into the courts, and smote at Heliodorus with his fore feet. Two young men, of great strength and beauty, and splendidly attired, stood by the rider, and scourged the intruder with great violence. At this awful apparition the treasurer fell half dead upon the pavement, was carried senseless out of the precincts of the sanctuary, and only revived after the promise of the high priest to intercede with his offended Deity. Although the Jews were too much delighted, and the Syrians too much terrified, to doubt the reality of this miracle, yet Simon, the adversary of the high priest, was not only incredulous, but openly accused him of imposture. The factions grew more turbulent, and murders having been committed by the party of Simon, Onias went up to Antioch to request the interposition of the sovereign.

Soon after his arrival, Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, the Illustrious, or Epimanes, the Madman, succeeded his brother Seleucus on the throne of Syria. Antiochus united the quick and versatile character of a Greek, with the splendid voluptuousness of an Asiatic. At one time he debased the royal dignity by mingling with the revels of his meanest subjects, scouring the streets in his riotous frolics, or visiting the lowest places of public entertainment, and the common baths; or, like Peter of Russia, conversing with the artisans in their shops on their various trades. With still less regard to the dignity of his own character, he was fond of mimicking in public the forms of election to the Roman magistracies; he would put on a white robe, and canvass the passengers in the streets for their votes. Then, supposing himself to have been elected ædile, or tribune, he would place his curule chair in the open market-place, and administer justice—a poor revenge against a people, before whose power he trembled! On the other hand, the pleasures of Antiochus were those of a Sardanapalus; and his munificence, more particularly towards the religious ceremonies and edifices, both of his own dominions and of Greece, was on a scale of truly Oriental grandeur: for among the discrepancies of this singular character, must be reckoned a great degree of bigotry and religious intolerance. The admirers of the mild genius of the Grecian religion, and those who suppose religious persecution unknown in the world till the era of Christianity, would do well to consider the wanton and barbarous attempt of Antiochus to exterminate the religion of the Jews, and substitute that of the Greeks. Yet the savage and tyrannical violence of Antiochus was, in fact, and surely we may say providentially, the safeguard of the Jewish nation from the greatest danger to which it had ever been exposed,—the slow and secret encroachment of Grecian manners, Grecian arts, Grecian vices, and Grecian idolatry. It roused the dormant energy of the whole people, and united again, in indissoluble bonds, the generous desire of national independence, with zealous attachment to the national religion. It again identified the true patriot with the devout worshipper.

Joshua, or Jason, the brother of Onias, the high priest, by the offer of 360 talents, bribed the luxurious but needy sovereign of Syria, to displace his unoffending relative, and confer upon himself the vacant dignity. Onias was summoned to Antioch, and there detained in honourable confinement. Joshua proceeded to strengthen his own interests by undermining the national character; he assumed a Grecian name, Jason; obtained permission to build a gymnasium, to which he attracted all the youth of the city; weaned them by degrees from all the habits and opinions of their fathers, and trained them in a complete

system of Grecian education. He allowed the services of the temple to fall into disuse; and carried his alienation from the Jewish faith so far as to send a contribution to the great games, which were celebrated at Tyre in honour of their tutelar deity, the Hercules of the Greeks. This last act of impiety was frustrated by the religious feelings of his messengers, who, instead of conferring the present on the conductors of the games, gave it to the magistrates to be employed in the service of their fleet. The authority of Jason was short-lived. He sent, to pay the tribute at Antioch, another Onias, (his own brother, according to Josephus, or the brother of Simon, the son of Joseph, according to the book of Maccabees,) but who, in conformity to the Grecian fashion, had assumed the name of Menelaus. This man seized the opportunity of outbidding his employer for the high priesthood, and was accordingly substituted in his place. Menelaus, however, found the treasury exhausted by the profusion of Jason, and, in order to make good his payments at Antioch, secretly purloined the golden vessels of the temple, which he sold at Tyre. The zeal of the deposed Onias was kindled at this sacrilege; he publicly denounced the plunderer before the tribunal of Antioch. But the gold of Menelaus was all-powerful among the officers of the Syrian court. Onias fled to an asylum in the Daphne, near Antioch, but being persuaded to come forth, was put to death by Andronicus, whom Menelaus had bribed. Yet the life of Onias had been so blameless and dignified, that even the profligate court and thoughtless monarch lamented his death. In the mean time a formidable insurrection had taken place in Jerusalem. The people, indignant at the plunder of the temple, attacked Lysimachus, brother of Menelaus, who had been left in command, and, although he rallied a force of 3000 men, overpowered and slew him.

Antiochus had now opened his campaign for the subjugation of Egypt. While at Tyre, a deputation from Jerusalem came before him to complain of the tyranny of Menelaus. Menelaus contrived not merely that the embassy should have no effect, but the ambassadors themselves were murdered. Antiochus advanced the next year into Egypt: his career was victorious: the whole country submitted. But a false rumour of his death having reached Palestine, Jason, the dispossessed high priest, seized the opportunity of revolt against his brother, took the city, shut up Menelaus in the castle of Acra, and began to exercise the most horrible revenge against the opposite party. The intelligence of the insurrection, magnified into a deliberate revolt of the whole nation, reached Antiochus. He marched without delay against Jerusalem, took it without much resistance, put to death in three days' time 40,000 of the inhabitants, and seized as many more to be sold as slaves. Bad as this was, it was the

common fate of rebellious cities: but Antiochus proceeded to more cruel and wanton outrages against the religion of the people. He entered every part of the temple, pillaged the treasury, seized all the sacred utensils, the golden candlestick, the table of shewbread, the altar of incense; and thus collected a booty to the amount of 1800 talents. He then commanded a great sow to be sacrificed on the altar of burnt offerings, part of the flesh to be boiled, and the liquor from the unclean animal to be sprinkled over every part of the temple; and thus desecrated with the most odious defilement the sacred place, which the Jews had considered for centuries the one holy spot in all the universe. The dastardly Jason had escaped before the approach of Antiochus: he led a wandering life; and died at length, unpitied and despised, at Lacedæmon. Menelaus retained the dignity of high priest; but two foreign officers, Philip, a Phrygian, and Andronicus, were made governors of Jerusalem and Samaria. Two years afterwards, Antiochus, being expelled from Egypt by the Romans, determined to suppress every pretension to independence within his own territories. He apprehended, perhaps, the usual policy of the Romans, who never scrupled at any measures to weaken the powerful monarchies which stood in the way of their schemes of conquest, whether by exciting foreign enemies, or fomenting civil disturbances in their states. The execution of the sanguinary edict for the extermination of the whole Hebrew race was entrusted to Apollonius, and executed with as cruel dispatch as the most sanguinary tyrant could desire. Apollonius waited till the Sabbath, when the whole people were occupied in their peaceful religious duties. He then let loose his soldiers against the unresisting multitude, slew all the men, till the streets ran with blood, and seized all the women as captives. He proceeded to pillage, and then to dismantle the city, which he set on fire in many places: he threw down the walls, and built a strong fortress on the highest part of Mount Sion, which commanded the temple and all the rest of the city. From this garrison he harassed all the people of the country, who stole in with fond attachment to visit the ruins, or offer a hasty and interrupted worship in the place of the sanctuary; for all the public services had ceased, and no voice of adoration was heard in the holy city, unless of the profane heathen calling on their idols. The persecution did not end here. Antiochus issued out an edict for uniformity of worship throughout his dominions, and dispatched officers into all parts to enforce rigid compliance with the decree. This office in the district of Judæa and Samaria was assigned to Athenæus, an aged man, who was well versed in the ceremonies and usages of the Grecian religion. The Samaritans, according to the Jewish account, by whom they are represented as always asserting their Jewish lineage, when

it seemed to their advantage, and their Median descent, when they hoped thereby to escape any imminent danger, yielded at once; and the temple on Gerizim was formally consecrated to Jupiter Xenius. Athenæus, having been so far successful, proceeded to Jerusalem, where, with the assistance of the garrison, he prohibited and suppressed every observance of the Jewish religion, forced the people to profane the Sabbath, to eat swine's flesh and other unclean food, and expressly forbade the national rite of circumcision. The Temple was dedicated to Jupiter Olympius; the statue of that deity was erected on part of the altar of burnt offerings, and sacrifice duly performed. Two women, who circumcised their children, were hanged in a conspicuous part of the city, with their children round their necks: and many more of those barbarities committed, which, as it were, escape the reprobation of posterity, from their excessive atrocity. Cruelties, too horrible to be related, sometimes, for that very reason, do not meet with the detestation they deserve. Among other martyrdoms, Jewish tradition dwells with honest pride on that of Eleazar, an aged scribe, ninety years old, who determined *to leave a notable example to such as be young, to die willingly and courageously for the honourable and holy laws;* and that of the seven brethren, who, encouraged by their mother, rejected the most splendid offers, and confronted the most excruciating torments rather than infringe the law. From Jerusalem the persecution spread throughout the country: in every city the same barbarities were executed, the same profanations introduced; and, as a last insult, the feasts of the Bacchanalia, the license of which, as they were celebrated in the later ages of Greece, shocked the severe virtue of the older Romans, were substituted for the national festival of Tabernacles. The reluctant Jews were forced to join in these riotous orgies, and to carry the ivy, the insignia of the god. So near was the Jewish nation, and the worship of Jehovah, to total extermination.

BOOK X.

THE ASMONEANS.

Mattathias—Judas the Maccabee—Jonathan—Simon—John Hyrcanus—Aristobulus I.—Alexander Jannæus—Alexandra—Aristobulus II.—Hyrcanus II.

AT this crisis Divine Providence interposed, not as formerly, with miraculous assistance, but by the instrumentality of human virtues: the lofty patriotism, adventurous valour, daring and sagacious soldiership, generous self-devotion, and inextinguishable zeal of heroic men in the cause of their country and their God. In Modin, a town on an eminence, commanding a view of the sea, the exact site of which is unknown, lived Mattathias, a man of the priestly line of Joarib, himself advanced in years, but with five sons in the prime of life, Johanan, Simon, Judas, Eleazar, and Jonathan. When Apelles, the officer of Antiochus, arrived at Modin to enforce the execution of the edict against the Jewish religion, he made splendid offers to Mattathias, as a man of great influence, to induce him to submit to the royal will. The old man not merely rejected his advances, but publicly proclaimed his resolution to live and die in the faith of his fathers; and when an apostate Jew was about to offer sacrifice to the heathen deity, in a transport of indignant zeal, Mattathias struck him dead upon the altar. He then fell on the king's commissioner, put him to death, and summoned all the citizens, who were zealous for the law, to follow him to the mountains. Their numbers rapidly increased; but the Syrian troops having surprised 1000 in a cave, attacked them on the Sabbath day, and meeting with no resistance, slew them without mercy. From thenceforth Mattathias and his followers determined to break through this over-scrupulous observance of the Sabbath, and to assert the legality of defensive warfare on that day.

The insurgents conducted their revolt with equal enterprise and discretion. For a time they lay hid in the mountain fastnesses; and, as opportunity occurred, poured down upon the towns; destroyed the heathen altars; enforced circumcision; punished all apostates who fell into their hands, recovered many copies of the law, which their enemies had wantonly defaced; and re-established the synagogues for public worship; the temple being defiled, and in the possession of the enemy. Their

ranks were swelled with the zealots for the law, who were then called the Chasidim. For, immediately after the return from Babylonia, two sects had divided the people; the Zadikim, the righteous, who observed the written law of Moses; and the more austere and abstemious Chasidim, or the holy, who added to the law the traditions and observances of the fathers, and professed a holiness beyond the letter of the covenant. From the former sprung the Caraites and Sadducees of later times; from the latter, the Pharisees. But the age of Mattathias was ill suited to this laborious and enterprising warfare: having bequeathed the command to Judas, the most valiant of his sons, he sank under the weight of years and toil. So great already was the terror of his name, that he was buried, without disturbance on the part of the enemy, in his native city of Modin.

If the youth of the new general added vigour and enterprise to the cause, it lost nothing in prudence and discretion. Judas unfolded the banner of the Maccabees, a name of which the derivation is uncertain. Some assert that it is formed from the concluding letters of a sentence in the eleventh verse of the fifteenth chapter of Exodus, "Mi Camo Ka Baalim Jehovah," signifying, *Who is like unto thee among the Gods, O Jehovah?* Some, that it was the banner of the tribe of Dan, which contained the three last letters of the names of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: others, that it was the personal appellation of Judas, from a word signifying a hammer, like that of Charles Martel, the hero of the Franks. Having tried his soldiers by many gallant adventures, surprising many cities, which he garrisoned and fortified, Judas determined to meet the enemy in the field. Apollonius, the governor of Samaria, first advanced against him, and was totally defeated and slain. Judas took the sword of his enemy as a trophy, and ever after used it in battle. Seron, the deputy-governor of Cœlesyria, advanced to revenge the defeat of Apollonius, but encountering the enemy in the strong pass of Beth-horon, met with the same fate. The circumstances of the times favoured the noble struggle of Judas and his followers for independence. By his prodigal magnificence, both in his pleasures and in his splendid donatives and offerings, Antiochus had exhausted his finances. His Eastern provinces, Armenia and Persia, refused their tribute. He therefore was constrained to divide his forces, marching himself into the East, and leaving Lysias, with a great army, to crush the insurrection in Judæa. The rapid progress of Judas demanded immediate resistance. Philip, the Syrian governor in Jerusalem, sent urgent solicitations for relief. The vanguard of the Syrian army, amounting to 20,000, under the command of Nicanor and Gorgias, advanced rapidly into the province: it was followed by the general-in-chief, Ptolemy Macron; their united forces forming an army of 40,000 foot and

7000 horse. In their train came a multitude of slave merchants; for Nicanor had suggested the policy of selling as many of the insurgents as they could take, to discharge the arrears of tribute due to the Romans. Judas assembled 6000 men at Mizpeh: there they fasted and prayed; and the religious ceremony performed in that unusual place, sadly reminded them of the desolate state of the holy city, the profanation of the sanctuary, the discontinuance of the sacrifices. But if sorrow subdued the tamer spirits, it infused loftier indignation and nobler self-devotion in the valiant. Judas knew that his only hope, save in his God, was in the enthusiastic zeal of his followers for the law of Moses. In strict conformity to its injunctions, he issued out through his little army the appointed proclamation, that all who had married wives, built houses, or planted vineyards, or were fearful, should return to their homes. His force dwindled to 3000 men. Yet with this small band he advanced towards Emmaus, where the enemy lay encamped. Intelligence reached him, that Gorgias had been detached with 5000 chosen foot and 1000 horse, to surprise him by night. He instantly formed the daring resolution of eluding the attack, by falling on the camp of the enemy. It was morning before he arrived; but, animating his men to the attack, he rushed down upon the Syrians, who, after a feeble resistance, fled on all sides. Judas was as wary as bold; his troops were as well-disciplined as enterprising. He restrained them from the plunder of the camp, till the return of Gorgias with the flower of the army, who came back weary with seeking the Jewish insurgents among the mountains, where they had hoped to surprise them. To their astonishment they beheld their own camp in a blaze of fire. The contest was short, but decisive: the Syrians were defeated with immense loss. The rich booty of the camp fell into the hands of the Jews, who, with just retribution, sold for slaves as many of the slave-merchants as they could find. The next day was the Sabbath, a day indeed of rest and rejoicing. But success only excited the honourable ambition of the Maccabee. Hearing that a great force was assembling beyond the Jordan under Timotheus and Bacchides, he crossed the river, and gained a great victory and a considerable supply of arms. Here two of the chief oppressors of the Jews, Philarches and Callisthenes, perished; one in battle; the other burnt to death in a house, where he had taken refuge. Nicanor fled, in the disguise of a slave, to Antioch. The next year Lysias appeared in person, at the head of 60,000 foot and 5000 horse, on the southern frontier of Judæa; having perhaps levied part of his men among the Idumeans. This tribe now inhabited a district to the west of their ancestors, the Edomites, having been dispossessed of their former territory by the Nabathean Arabs. Judas met this

formidable host with 10,000 men; gained a decisive victory, and slew 5000 of the enemy. Thus on all sides triumphant, Judas entered, with his valiant confederates, the ruined and desolate Jerusalem. They found shrubs grown to some height, like the underwood of a forest, in the courts of the temple; every part of the sacred edifice had been profaned; the chambers of the priests were thrown down. With wild lamentations and the sound of martial trumpets they mingled their prayers and praises to the God of their fathers. Judas took the precaution to keep a body of armed men on the watch against the Syrian garrison in the citadel; and then proceeded to install the most blameless of the priests in their office, to repair the sacred edifice, purify every part from the profanation of the heathen, to construct a new altar, replace out of the booty all the sacred vessels, and at length to celebrate the feast of Dedication—a period of eight days—which ever after was held sacred in the Jewish calendar. It was the festival of the regeneration of the people, which, but for the valour of the Maccabees, had almost lost its political existence.

The re-establishment of a powerful state in Judæa was not beheld without jealousy by the neighbouring tribes. But Judas, having strongly fortified the temple on the side of the citadel, anticipated a powerful confederacy which was forming against him, and carried his victorious arms into the territories of the Idumeans and Ammonites. Thus discomfited on every side, the Syrians and their allies began to revenge themselves on the Jews who were scattered in Galilee and the Transjordanic provinces. A great force from Tyre and Ptolemais advanced into the neighbouring country. Timotheus, son of a former general of the same name, laid waste Gilead with great slaughter. Judas, by the general consent of the people, divided his army into three parts; 8000 men, under his own command, crossed the Jordan into Gilead; 3000, under his brother Simon, marched into Galilee; the rest, under Joseph the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, remained to defend the liberated provinces; but with strict injunctions to make no hostile movement. The Maccabees, as usual, were irresistible: city after city fell before Judas and Jonathan. At length, having subdued the whole country, Judas found it prudent not to extend his kingdom to the bounds of that of David, and with that view removed all the Jews beyond the Jordan to the more defensible province of Judæa. Simon was equally successful in Galilee; he drove the enemy before him to the gates of Ptolemais. But the commanders who were left at home, in direct violation of orders, undertook an ill-concerted enterprise against Jamnia, a sea-port; were opposed by Bacchides, the most skilful of the Syrian generals, and met with a signal defeat.

In the mean time the great oppressor of the Jews, Antiochus, had died in Persia. That his end was miserable, both the Jewish and Roman historians agree. He had been repulsed in an assault on a rich and sumptuous temple in Persia, called by the Greeks that of Diana; perhaps of the female Mithra or the moon. Whether he had been incited by the desire of plunder, or by his bigoted animosity against foreign religions, does not appear; but at the same time he received intelligence of the disastrous state of his affairs in Palestine. Hastening homeward, he was seized with an incurable disorder, in a small town among the mountains of Paretacene. There, consumed in body by a loathsome ulcer, afflicted in mind by horrible apparitions and remorse of conscience, for his outrage on the Persian temple, says Polybius—for his horrible barbarities and sacrilege in Judæa, assert the Hebrew writers—died the most magnificent of the Syro-Macedonian monarchs.

Lysias, who commanded in Syria, immediately set up a son of the deceased king, Antiochus Eupator, on the throne; Demetrius, the rightful heir as son of Seleucus, being a hostage in Rome. The first measure of Lysias was to attempt the subjugation of Judæa, where a strong party of the apostate Jews anxiously awaited his approach. The royal army formed the siege of Bethsura, a town on the Idumean frontier, which Judas had strongly fortified. Their force consisted of 80 or 100,000 foot, 20,000 horse, and 32 elephants. Bethsura made a valiant defence, and Judas marched from Jerusalem to its relief. The elephants seem to have excited great terror and astonishment. According to the Jewish annalist each beast was escorted by a thousand foot, splendidly armed, and 500 horse; each bore a tower containing 32 men: and to provoke them to fight, *they showed them the blood of grapes and mulberries.* The whole army, in radiant armour, spread over the mountains and valleys, so that the *mountains glistened therewith, and seemed like lamps of fire.* Yet wherever Judas fought, the Hebrews were successful; and his heroic brother, Eleazar, excited the admiration of his countrymen by rushing under an elephant, which he stabbed in the belly, and was crushed to death by its fall. Still Judas found himself obliged to retreat upon Jerusalem. Bethsura, pressed by famine, capitulated on honourable terms; and the royal army joined the siege of that part of the city, which was in the possession of Judas. Jerusalem resisted all their assaults; the Syrians began to suffer from want of provisions; and intelligence arrived that affairs at Antioch demanded their immediate presence. A treaty was concluded, and Antiochus admitted into the city; but, in direct violation of the terms, he threw down the walls and dismantled the fortifications.

Demetrius in the mean time, the lineal heir to the throne of

Antioch, had escaped from Rome. After some struggle, he overpowered Lysias and Antiochus, put them to death, and became undisputed master to the kingdom. The new king adopted a more dangerous policy against the independence of Judæa than the vast armies of his predecessor. The looser and less patriotic Jews ill brooked the austere government of the Chasidim, who formed the party of Judas: many, perhaps, were weary of the constant warfare in which their valiant champion was engaged. Menelaus, the renegade high priest, had accompanied the army of Lysias, and endeavoured to form a faction in his favour; but, on some dissatisfaction, Lysias sent him to Berea, where he was thrown into a tower of ashes, and suffocated. Onias, son of the Onias murdered by means of Menelaus, the heir of the priesthood, fled to Egypt, and Alcimus, or Jacimus, was raised to the high priesthood. By reviving the title of the high priest to the supreme authority, Demetrius hoped, if not to secure a dependent vassal on the government of Judæa, at least to sow discord among the insurgents. He sent Alcimus, supported by Bacchides, his most able general, to claim his dignity. The zealots for the law could not resist the title of the high priest. Jerusalem submitted. But no sooner had Alcimus got the leaders into his power than he basely murdered sixty of them: Bacchides followed up the blow with great severities in other parts. Still, no sooner had Bacchides withdrawn his troops, than Judas again took arms, and Alcimus was compelled to fly to Antioch. Demetrius dispatched Nicanor, with a great army, to reinstate Alcimus. Jerusalem was still in the possession of the Syrians; and Nicanor attempted to get Judas into his power by stratagem, but the wary soldier was on his guard. A battle took place at Capharsalama: Nicanor retreated, with the loss of 5000 men, to Jerusalem, where he revenged himself by the greatest barbarities: one of the elders, named Raziz, rather than fall into his hands, stabbed himself with his own sword; but the wound not proving mortal, he ran forth and destroyed himself by other means, too horrible to describe. By these cruelties, and by a threat of burning the temple and consecrating the spot to Bacchus, Nicanor endeavoured to force the people to surrender their champion. All these treacherous and cruel means proving ineffectual, he was forced to revert to open war. A second battle took place, in which the superior forces of Nicanor were totally routed, and he himself slain. After this final victory Judas took a more decided step to secure the independence of his country; he entered into a formal treaty of alliance with Rome. The ambitious Roman senate—steadily pursuing their usual policy, of weakening all the great monarchies of the world, by all means, whether honourable or treacherous; and ever, as Justin observes, ready to grant what did not belong to them—

eagerly ratified the independence of Judæa, and received under their protection these useful confederates. Before, however, the treaty was made known, the glorious career of the Maccabee had terminated. Demetrius sent Alcimus and Bacchides, with the whole force of his kingdom, into Palestine. Judas was abandoned by all his troops, but 800 men, yet could not be prevailed on to retreat. Having discomfited one wing of the enemy's army, he fell nobly, as he had lived, the martyr, as the champion of his country. Among those lofty spirits who have asserted the liberty of their native land against wanton and cruel oppression, none have surpassed the most able of the Maccabees in accomplishing a great end with inadequate means; none ever united more generous valour with a better cause.

The faction of Alcimus now triumphed, the partisans of the Maccabees were oppressed, and the unrelenting Bacchides put to death the bravest of their adherents with the most cruel indignities. Jonathan, the brother of Judas, assembled a small force, and lay concealed in the wilderness of Tekoah, defended by the Jordan on one side, and by a morass on the other. A third of this gallant race, John, had fallen in an affray with an Arab tribe, who surprised him while escorting some of their effects to the friendly Nabatheans. To revenge his death was the first object: during a splendid marriage ceremony, the Jews fell on the bride and bridegroom, with all their attendants, and put them to the sword. Soon after this they repelled an attack of Bacchides, with great loss, but finding their numbers unequal to the contest, they swam the river and escaped. Bacchides, to secure military possession of the country, fortified and garrisoned all the strong towns. In the mean time, the unworthy high priest, Alcimus, having begun to throw down one of the partition walls in the temple, was seized with a mortal disorder, and died. On his death, Bacchides retired to Antioch, and Jonathan immediately broke out of his hiding-place; but on the re-appearance of Bacchides at the head of a considerable army, he again took refuge in the wilderness; where he kept up a desultory guerilla warfare, he himself hovering about the camp of Bacchides, while his brother Simon defended the strong post of Bethhasi. At length Bacchides, either wearied of this inglorious and harassing campaign, perhaps by orders from his court, who began to tremble at the danger of oppressing an ally of Rome, entered into honourable terms of peace. Jonathan thus became master of Judæa; though Jerusalem, and many of the stronger towns, occupied by garrisons, either of Syrians or apostate Jews, defied his authority. A revolution in the kingdom of Syria gave him new strength and importance. An adventurer, Alexander Balas, announcing himself as the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, laid claim to the crown of the Seleucidæ. The Romans admitted

his title, and Jonathan found himself courted by the two competitors for the kingdom of Antioch. Demetrius gave him power to levy forces, and yielded up all the hostages which remained in his hands. Jonathan seized the opportunity of making himself master of the city, though not of the fortress, of Jerusalem. But Alexander outbid his rival; he offered the high priesthood, exemption from all tribute, *from customs of salt and from crown taxes, the third part of the seed, and half of the fruit of the trees;* the surrender of all prisoners, not merely protection in their religion, but the town of Ptolemais, and other donatives for the expenses of the temple, and for the building and repairs of the city. Jonathan immediately assumed the pontifical robe, and in his person commenced the reign of the Asmonean princes.

The impostor, Alexander, met with the greatest success; defeated and slew Demetrius; mounted the throne of Syria; and received the daughter of the king of Egypt in marriage. Jonathan, who appeared at the wedding, was received with the highest honours the court could bestow. These distinctions were not thrown away on an useless or ungrateful ally. Apollonius, the general of young Demetrius, who laid claim to his father's crown, was defeated by Jonathan; the victorious high priest stormed Joppa, took Azotus, and there destroyed the famous temple of Dagon. The reign of Alexander Balas was short, he was overthrown by his father-in-law, Ptolemy, against whose life he had conspired, and Demetrius, surnamed Nicator, obtained the throne of Syria. Jonathan seized the opportunity of laying siege to the citadel of Jerusalem, the opposite faction endeavoured to obtain the interference of Demetrius, but Jonathan, leaving his troops to press the siege, went in person to the court in Antioch. He was received with great honour, and a treaty was concluded, still more advantageous to his power than that with Alexander Balas. In return, a body guard of 3000 Jews saved Demetrius from a dangerous conspiracy, and suppressed a turbulent sedition in Antioch. The conspiracy took its rise in the claims of Antiochus, son of Alexander Balas, who was supported by Tryphon, an officer equally crafty and ambitious. But the good understanding between Demetrius and Jonathan did not last long, and no sooner was the support of his powerful vassal withdrawn, than the Syrian king was constrained to fly, and yield up the throne to his rival, young Antiochus. Jonathan was treated with great distinction by the new sovereign, Antiochus Theos; he was confirmed in his dignity as high priest. Simon, his brother, was appointed captain-general of all the country from the ladder of Tyre to the river of Egypt. The activity of Jonathan mainly contributed to the security of Antiochus. He gained two signal victories over the armies in

the service of Demetrius, strengthened many of the fortresses in Judæa, and renewed the treaty with Rome, when his prosperous career was suddenly cut short by treachery. Tryphon, the officer who had raised the young Antiochus to the throne, began to entertain ambitious views of supplanting him. The great obstacles to his scheme were the power and integrity of Jonathan. With insidious offers of peace, he persuaded Jonathan to dismiss a large army which he had assembled to assist Antiochus, and allured him within the walls of Ptolemais, with a few followers, under pretence of surrendering to him the town. He then suddenly closed the gates, took Jonathan prisoner, and poured his troops over the great plain of Galilee. The Jews were struck, but not paralysed, with consternation. Another of the noble race of Mattathias remained, and Simon was immediately invested with the command. The crafty Tryphon began to negotiate: he offered to yield up Jonathan at the price of 100 talents of silver, and two of his children, hostages for his peaceable conduct. The money and the hostages were sent, but the perfidious Tryphon refused to surrender Jonathan. The two armies watched each other for some time. The Syrians being prevented by a heavy fall of snow from relieving their garrison in the fortress of Jerusalem, Tryphon, having first put to death the brave Jonathan, hasted into Syria, where he treated the unhappy Antiochus with the same treachery and atrocity. Simon recovered the body of his brother, who was interred at Modin in great state; a sepulchre, with seven pillars, for the father, mother, and five Maccabean brethren, was raised on an eminence; a sea-mark to all the vessels which sailed along the coast.

Simon openly espoused the party of Demetrius against Tryphon, and received from that monarch a full recognition of the independence of his country. Instead, therefore, of interfering in foreign affairs, he directed his whole attention to the consolidation and internal security of the Jewish kingdom. He sent an embassage, which was honourably received at Rome, fortified Bethsura, on the Idumean frontier, and Joppa, the great port of Judæa; reduced Gazara; and at length having made himself master of the fortress in Jerusalem, not merely dismantled it, but, with incredible labour, levelled the hill on which it stood, so that it no longer commanded the hill of the temple. Simon executed the law with great impartiality and vigour; repaired the temple, restored the sacred vessels; and the wasted country began, under his prudent administration, to enjoy its ancient fertility. In the picturesque language of their older poets, the historian says: *The ancient men sat all in the streets, communing together of the wealth of the land, and the young men put on glorious and warlike apparel.* To secure the

alliance of the Romans, the great safeguard of the new state, he sent a golden shield, weighing 1000 pounds, to Rome. In the mean time, Demetrius, the rightful sovereign of Syria, had been taken prisoner in an expedition against the Parthians; and Antiochus Sidetes, his brother, levied an army to dispossess the usurper and murderer, Tryphon. In a short time he gained the superiority in the field, and besieged Tryphon in Dora; Simon openly espoused his party; but Antiochus considered his assistance dearly purchased at the price of the independence of Palestine, and above all, the possession of the important ports of Gazara and Joppa. Athenobius, his ambassador, sent to demand tribute and indemnification, was struck with astonishment at the riches and splendour of Simon's palace; and on the Jewish sovereign refusing all submission, and only offering a price for the possession of Joppa, Antiochus sent his general, Cendebeus, to invade the country. Simon, now grown old, entrusted the command of his forces to his sons, Judas and John Hyrcanus. They, having defeated Cendebeus, and taken Azotus, returned crowned with victory. But the Maccabean race seemed destined to perish by violence. Ptolemy, son of Abubus, the son-in-law of Simon, under a secret understanding with Antiochus, king of Syria, formed a conspiracy to usurp the sovereignty of Judæa. At a banquet in Jericho, he contrived basely to assassinate Simon and his elder son; and at the same time endeavoured to surprise the younger, John, in Gazara. But John inherited the vigour and ability of his family; he eluded the danger, appeared in Jerusalem, and was unanimously proclaimed the high priest and ruler of the country. His first measure was to march against Jericho to revenge the base murder of his father; but Ptolemy had in his power the mother and brethren of Hyrcanus. He shut himself up in a fortress, and exposed his captives on the walls, scourging them, and threatening to put them to death. The noble-minded woman exhorted her son, notwithstanding her own danger, to revenge his father's murder: but Hyrcanus hesitated; the siege was protracted; and, at length, according to the improbable reason assigned by Josephus, the year being a Sabbatic year, entirely raised the siege. Ptolemy fled to Philadelphia; of his subsequent fate we know nothing. The rapid movements of Hyrcanus had disconcerted the confederacy between the assassin and Antiochus. Still, however, the Syrian army overran the whole country. Hyrcanus was besieged in Jerusalem, where he was reduced to the last extremity by famine. But Antiochus proved a moderate and generous enemy; on the feast of Tabernacles, he conceded a week's truce, furnished the besieged with victims for sacrifice, and finally concluded a peace, of which the terms, though hard, were better than Hyrcanus, in the low condition to which he

was reduced, could fairly expect. The country was to submit to vassalage under the kings of Syria, tribute was to be paid for Joppa and other towns held by grants from the predecessors of Antiochus, and Jerusalem was dismantled. Four years after, John Hyrcanus was summoned to attend his liege lord on an expedition into Parthia, under the pretence of delivering Demetrius Nicator, brother of the king, formerly possessor of the crown, and long a captive in Parthia. Hyrcanus returned before the defeat, which lost Antiochus his throne and life. Demetrius escaped, and recovered the throne of Antioch. But Hyrcanus seized the opportunity of throwing off the yoke of Syria, and the Jewish kingdom reassumed its independence, which it maintained until it fell under the Roman dominion. The Syrian monarchy being distracted by rival competitors for the throne, the prudent and enterprising Hyrcanus lost no opportunity of extending his territory and increasing his power. He took Samega and Medaba, in the Transjordanic region. But his greatest triumph, that which raised him the highest in the opinion of his zealous countrymen, was the capture of Sichem, and the total destruction of the rival temple on Gerizim. It was levelled to the earth, not a vestige remained. For two hundred years this hated edifice had shocked the sight of the pious pilgrim to Jerusalem; now the temple of Jerusalem resumed its dignity as the only sanctuary where the God of their fathers was worshipped, at least within the region of Palestine. The Samaritan temple had always seemed an usurpation upon the peculiar property of the Jewish people in the universal Deity; now they were again undisputed possessors, as of the Divine Presence, so they conceived of the Divine protection.

Yet, at a more remote distance, another temple had arisen, which excited great jealousy in the more rigid. This was in Egypt, where, in fact, another nation of Jews had gradually grown up. On the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, a great number of Jews, under Gedaliah, fled to Egypt. Alexander is reported to have encouraged their settlement in his new city of Alexandria by privileges, which put them on the same footing with the Macedonians. Ptolemy, founder of the Egypto-Grecian kingdom, transported from Judæa 30,000 families; some he settled in Cyrene, most in Alexandria. During the oppressions of the Syrian kings, many, envying the peaceful and prosperous state of their brethren in Egypt, abandoned Judæa, and took refuge under the protection of the Ptolemies, who either as useful subjects, or never entirely abandoning their ambitious views on Palestine, uniformly endeavoured to secure the attachment of the Jews. Under the reign of Ptolemy Philometor, as has been stated, Onias, (son of that Onias who was murdered by Menelaus), the rightful heir of the

high priesthood, fled into Egypt. He rose high in favour with the king and his queen, Cleopatra; and, being deprived of his rightful inheritance, he conceived the design of building a temple for the use of the Egyptian Jews. The king entered into his views, whether to advance his popularity with his Jewish subjects, or to prevent the wealth, which, as tribute or offering to the temple, flowed out of his dominions to Jerusalem. He granted to Onias a ruined temple in Leontopolis, in the Heliopolitan name, and a tract of land for the maintenance of the worship. Both temple and domain remained unviolated till the reign of Vespasian. Onias reconciled his countrymen to this bold innovation by a text in Isaiah (xix. 18, 19). In this passage it is predicted that *there should be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt;* according to the interpretation of Onias, the very place was designated. That, which in our translation appears as "the city of destruction," was interpreted, perhaps not inaccurately, the City of the Sun (Heliopolis). Thus then the Jews of Alexandria claimed divine authority for their temple, and had unquestionably the legitimate high priest as their officiating minister. The Aramean Jews looked on their Egyptian brethren with assumed contempt, but inward jealousy: perhaps the distance only prevented a feud, almost as deadly as that with the Samaritans.

Alexandria being the retreat of Grecian learning, the Jews turned their attention to literature, and even to philosophy. But in some respects they were in an unfortunate situation, with great temptations and great facilities to substitute fiction for truth. They were pressed on all sides, by Egyptians, by Greeks, and by the Aramean Jews. The former denied their antiquity as a nation, and reproached them with the servitude and base condition of their ancestors in Egypt, which they grossly exaggerated; the Greeks treated their national literature with contempt; the rigid Jews could not forgive their adoption of the Greek language and study of Greek letters. The strange legend about the origin of their version of the Scriptures, commonly called the Septuagint, evidently originated in their desire to gain a miraculous sanction for their sacred books, and thus to put them in some degree on the same footing with the original Hebrew Scriptures. This work, which probably was executed at different periods, by writers of various abilities and different styles, was reported by a certain Aristeas to have been the work of seventy-two translators, deputed by the grand Sanhedrin, at the desire of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who were shut up in separate cells, yet each rendered the whole work, word for word, in the same language. The romantic history of the persecution of the Alexandrian Jews, sometimes called the third book of the Maccabees, was apparently compiled with a similar

design, to show that they had been exposed, on account of their religion, to equal barbarities with their brethren, endured them with equal courage, and were delivered in a manner equally miraculous. Ptolemy Philopator, (or Ptolemy Physcon), for it is not easy to fix a period for the legend, had determined on the extermination of the Jews, unless they would apostatise from their religion. Only 300 consented to this base compliance, the rest were shut up in the Hippodrome to be destroyed by elephants. The king being engaged in a drunken revel; the Jews remained a whole day expecting, yet boldly determined to endure, their miserable fate. When the elephants were let loose, they refused to assail the Jews, but turned all their fury on the spectators, on whom they committed frightful ravages. We have mentioned these facts as illustrating the character of the Alexandrian Jews: we pass unwillingly over their controversies with the Egyptians and the Greeks, and the curious union of Grecian philosophy with the Jewish religion, which prevailed in their schools, as these subjects belong rather to the history of Jewish literature than to that of the Jewish people. The Alexandrian Jews mingled in all the transactions and attained the highest honours of the state. Onias, who built the temple during the pontificate of Jonathan, filled the most eminent offices in the state and in the army; and at a later period we shall find Chelcias and Ananias, two Jews, commanding the armies of Cleopatra.

While Egypt and Syria were desolated by the crimes and the contentions of successive pretenders to their thrones, the state of Judæa enjoyed profound peace under the vigorous administration of Hyrcanus. Having destroyed Sichem, he next turned his forces against Idumea, subjugated the country, compelled the ancient rivals of his subjects to submit to circumcision, and to adopt the Jewish religion; and so completely incorporated the two nations, that the name of Idumea appears no more in history as a separate kingdom. Hyrcanus maintained a strict alliance with the Romans, and renewed a treaty, offensive and defensive, against their common enemies. In the twenty-sixth year of his reign he determined to reduce the province and city of Samaria to his authority. He entrusted the command of his army to his sons, Aristobulus and Antigonus. The Samaritans implored the protection of Antiochus Cyzicenus, then king of Damascus, who marched to their relief, but suffered a total defeat by the brothers. In conjunction with 6000 Egyptian allies, Antiochus made a second attempt to rescue this province from the power of the Jews, but with no better success. Samaria fell after an obstinate resistance of a whole year; one of the Syrian generals betrayed Scythopolis and other towns to the Jews, and thus Hyrcanus became master of all Samaria and Galilee. The city of Samaria was razed, trenches dug (the hill on which it stood being full of

springs), and the whole site of the detested city flooded and made a pool of water.

But though thus triumphant abroad, Hyrcanus, at the end of his reign, was troubled by serious dissensions at home. Two great religious and political factions divided the state—those of the Pharisees and Sadducees. No part of Jewish history is more obscure than the origin and growth of these two parties. The Maccabees had greatly owed their success to the Chasidim, or righteous. The zeal, and even the fanaticism, of this party, had been admirable qualities in the hour of trial and exertion. Austerity is a good discipline for the privations and hardships of war. Undaunted courage, daring enterprise, contempt of death, fortitude in suffering, arose directly out of the leading religious principles of this party—the assurance of divine protection, and the certainty of another life. Their faith, if it led them to believe too much, and induced them to receive the traditions of their fathers, as of equal authority with the written law and authentic history, made them believe only with the stronger fervour and sincerity all the wonders and glories of their early annals; wonders and glories, which they trusted the same power, in whose cause, and under whose sanction, they fought, would renew in their persons. Even their belief in angels, celestial, unseen beings, who ever environed them, to assist their arms, and discomfit their enemies, contributed to their confidence and resolution. In this great conflict the hero and the religious enthusiast were one and the same. But those qualities and principles, which made them such valiant and active soldiers in war, when the pride of success and conscious possession of power were added, tended to make them turbulent, intractable, and domineering subjects in peace. Those who are most forward in asserting their liberty do not always know how to enjoy it, still less how to concede it to others. Their zeal turned into another channel—the maintenance and propagation of their religious opinions—and flowed as fiercely and violently as before. Themselves austere, they despised all who did not practise the same austerities; earnest in their belief, not only in the law, but in every traditional observance, they branded as free-thinkers all whose creed was of greater latitude than their own; and considered it their duty to enforce the same rigid attention, not merely to every letter of the law, but likewise to all their own peculiar observances, which they themselves regarded as necessary, and most scrupulously performed. In everything as they were the only faithful servants, so they were the delegates and interpreters of God. As God had conquered by them, so he ruled by them; and all their opponents were the enemies of the national constitution, the national religion, and the national Deity. Thus the generous and self-devoted Assideans, or

Chasidim, degenerated into the haughty, tyrannical, and censorious Pharisees, the Separatists of the Jewish religion, from *Pharez*, the Hebrew word for "to separate," or stand aloof. The better order among the opponents of the Pharisees were the Karaites, strict adherents to the letter of the law, but decidedly rejecting all traditions; the great strength of the party consisted, however, of the Sadducees. The religious doctrines of the Sadducees, it is well known, were directly opposite to those of the Pharisees. The Pharisees were moderate Predestinarians: the Sadducees asserted Free Will. The Pharisees believed in the immortality of the soul, and the existence of angels, though their creed on both these subjects was strongly tinged with Orientalism: the Sadducees denied both. The Pharisees received not merely the Prophets, but the traditional law likewise, as of equal authority with the books of Moses. The Sadducees, if they did not reject, considered the Prophets greatly inferior to the law. The Sadducees are said to have derived their doctrine from Sadoc, the successor of Antigonus Socho in the presidency of the great Sanhedrin. Antigonus taught the lofty doctrine of pure and disinterested love and obedience to God, without regard to punishment or reward. Sadoc is said to have denied the latter, without maintaining the higher doctrine on which it was founded. Still the Sadducees were far from what they are sometimes represented, the teachers of a loose and indulgent Epicureanism; they inculcated the belief in Divine Providence, and the just and certain administration of temporal rewards and punishments. The Pharisees had the multitude, ever led away by extravagant religious pretensions, entirely at their disposal: Sadduceism spread chiefly among the higher orders. It would be unjust to the Sadducees to confound them with that unpatriotic and Hellenised party, which, during the whole of the noble struggles of the Maccabees, sided with the Syrian oppressors, for these are denounced as avowed apostates from Judaism: yet probably, after the establishment of the independent government, the latter might make common cause, and become gradually mingled up with the Sadducean party, as exposed alike to the severities of the Pharisaic administration. During the rest of the Jewish history we shall find these parties as violently opposed to each other, and sometimes causing as fierce and dangerous dissensions, as those which rent the commonwealths of Greece and Rome, or the republican states of modern Italy. It was at the close of his reign that Hyrcanus broke with the Pharisaic party, and openly joined the opposite faction: a measure, of which the disastrous consequences were not entirely felt till the reign of his son Alexander. The cause of this rupture is singularly characteristic of Jewish manners. During a banquet, at which the chief of the ruling sect were

present, Hyrcanus demanded their judgment on his general conduct and administration of affairs, which he professed to have regulated by the great principles of justice, and by strict adherence to the tenets of their sect. The Pharisees, with general acclamation, testified their approval of all his proceedings;—one voice alone, that of Eleazar, interrupted the general harmony. "If you are a just man, abandon the high priesthood, for which you are disqualified by the illegitimacy of your birth." The mother of Hyrcanus had formerly, it was said, though, according to Josephus, falsely, been taken captive, and thus exposed to the polluting embraces of a heathen master. The indignant Hyrcanus demanded the trial of Eleazar for defamation. By the influence of the Pharisees he was shielded, and escaped with scourging and imprisonment. Hyrcanus, enraged at this unexpected hostility, listened to the representations of Jonathan, a Sadducee, who accused the rival faction of a conspiracy to overawe the sovereign power; and from that time he entirely alienated himself from their councils. This able prince reigned for twenty-nine years; he built the castle of Baris on a rock within the fortifications which surrounded the hill of the Temple, on the north-west corner of which it stood. It afterwards became the Antonia of Herod.

Aristobulus, the son of Hyrcanus, succeeded: his reign, though brief, was long enough for much crime, and much misery. His mother, by the will of Hyrcanus, claimed the sovereignty; he threw her into a dungeon, and starved her to death. The fate of his brother, Antigonus, will immediately appear: the other three of his brethren were kept in close imprisonment. Soon after assuming the diadem, the new king made a successful expedition, and subdued Iturea, a district at the foot of Anti-Libanus, afterwards called Auranitis. He returned, suffering under a dangerous malady. His brother, Antigonus, a short time after, having completed the conquest, as he entered Jerusalem, hastened, all armed as he was, with his soldiers, to pay his devotions in the Temple. This innocent act was misrepresented by the queen and the harem of Aristobulus as covering a treacherous design. Aristobulus sent to summon his brother to attend him unarmed. His treacherous enemies, instead of this message, delivered one commanding him to come with some very splendid armour, which his brother wished to see. The guards were posted; and Antigonus appearing in arms, was assassinated in the subterranean gallery which led from the Temple to the palace of Baris. Aristobulus, seized with agonising compunction for his crime, vomited blood. The slave, who bore the vessel away, happened to stumble on the very spot where Antigonus had been slain, and the blood of the two brothers mingled on the pavement. A cry of horror ran through

the palace. The king, having extorted from the reluctant attendants the dreadful cause, was seized with such an agony of remorse and horror, that he expired.

Alexander Jannæus, the next in succession, assumed the throne; a feeble attempt was made by his younger brother to usurp his place, but he was seized and put to death. Alexander was an enterprising rather than a successful prince; and it was perhaps fortunate for the kingdom of Judæa, that the adjacent states were weakened by dissension and mutual hostility. Egypt was governed by Cleopatra, widow of Ptolemy Physcon; Cyprus by Ptolemy Lathyrus, her eldest son, and most deadly enemy. The Syrian monarchy was shared by Antiochus Grypus and Antiochus Cyzicenus: one held his court at Antioch, the other at Damascus. The Jews possessed the whole region of Palestine, except the noble port of Ptolemais; Dora and the tower of Straton were in the hands of Zoilus, who owned a sort of allegiance to Syria. Gaza was likewise independent of the Jewish government. The first object of Alexander was to reduce all these cities. He formed the siege of Ptolemais. The inhabitants sent to demand relief from Ptolemy Lathyrus, but after the Cyprian king had levied an army of 30,000 men, dreading the loss of their independence, they refused to admit him into their gates. Ptolemy turned on the dominions of Zoilus, and on Gaza. Alexander entered into negotiations with Ptolemy for the friendly surrender of those places, and at the same time with Cleopatra for a large force to expel the king of Cyprus from Palestine. Ptolemy, detecting the double intrigue, marched into Judæa, took Asochis near the Jordan on the Sabbath, ravaged the country, and (by the assistance of an expert tactician, Philostephanus) totally defeated Alexander, with the loss of 30,000 men, pursued his ravages, and, to spread the terror of his name, is said to have practised most abominable cruelties. Having surprised a village full of women and children, he ordered them to be hewn in pieces, and cast into caldrons, as if to be boiled: so that the horror of this invasion of cannibals spread throughout the whole country. The kingdom of Judæa was lost, but for a great army of Egyptians under the command of Chelcias and Ananias, two Alexandrian Jews. Lathyrus retreated into Cœlesyria: part of Cleopatra's army pursued him, part formed the siege of Ptolemais. Lathyrus determined on the bold measure of marching into Egypt: he was repelled, and retreated to Gaza. Ptolemais fell; and Alexander came to congratulate the Queen of Egypt on her victory. Cleopatra was strongly urged to seize the prince, and thus make herself mistress of Judæa: the remonstrances of Ananias dissuaded her from this breach of faith. The Cypriot and Egyptian armies being withdrawn, Alexander resumed his sovereignty; but his restless

disposition involved him in new wars, with no better success. He invaded the country east of the Jordan, took Gadara, but was totally defeated before Amathus, which he had plundered of the treasures of Theodorus, prince of Philadelphia. The indefatigable monarch next fell upon the territory of Gaza, took Raphia and Anthedon, and, although constrained to raise the siege of Gaza by a descent of Lathyrus, he formed it again the next year. Gaza made an obstinate resistance. At one time the besieger had nearly lost his whole army by a desperate sally; at length, however, the commander of the garrison, Apollodotus, having been slain by treachery, it surrendered. Alexander at first seemed inclined to mercy, but, before long, let loose his troops to revenge themselves on the town. The inhabitants took up arms; yet, after a considerable loss, the conqueror succeeded in totally dismantling and destroying this ancient city, and left it a heap of ruins. But the most dangerous enemies of Alexander were at home. The Pharisaic faction had the populace at their command; and at the feast of Tabernacles, while he was officiating as the king and high priest, a mutiny arose; the mob pelted him with citrons, reproached him with the baseness of his descent, and denied his right to the priesthood. Alexander commanded his troops to fall on the unarmed multitude, and slew 6000. To prevent these insults in future, Alexander raised a wooden partition between the court of the priests and that of the people; and, to awe the insurgents, raised a body guard of foreign mercenaries, chiefly Pisidians and Cilicians. He then, a second time, invaded the country east of Jordan, reduced it to pay tribute, took Amathus, but again suffered a total defeat by Orodes, king of Arabia. The Jews seized the opportunity to rise in rebellion, and for six years the country suffered all the horrors of civil war. Alexander at first met with great success; but when he endeavoured to bring the mutineers to terms, they cried out with one voice, that they would yield only on one condition, that he would put himself to death. At length, pressed on all sides, the insurgents demanded the assistance of Demetrius Euchærus, one of the kings of Syria. Alexander, always unfortunate in battle, was routed, with the loss of all his 6000 mercenaries, and many other of his troops. He fled to the mountains; but a sudden revulsion of popular feeling took place in his favour, and he found himself at the head of 60,000 men. Demetrius retreated, and Alexander, master of the whole country, besieged his enemies in Bethome, took the city, and marched to Jerusalem in triumph. His vengeance was signal and terrible. He publicly crucified 800 men, and slew their wives and children before their faces. From this atrocity he was named the Thracian. Of the disaffected, 8000 abandoned the city; but, under his iron sway, the whole country remained at peace during the rest of his

reign. His foreign policy at this period was equally vigorous, and the kingdom of the Jews at his death comprehended the coast from the tower of Straton to Rhinocorura, Idumea, Samaria, and considerable provinces to the east of the Jordan. In the fourth year, after his triumph over the insurgents, Alexander Jannæus was seized with a mortal malady; a turbulent and rebellious kingdom, and newly conquered provinces, were not likely to submit to the feeble authority of women and children. The dying king summoned his wife Alexandra, and strongly urged, as the only means of preserving the kingdom, that on his death she should throw herself into the arms of the Pharisaic party, powerful on account of their numbers and turbulence, and still more from having the people entirely under their direction. Thus, after an unquiet and eventful reign of twenty-seven years, Alexander Jannæus died. His widow Alexandra immediately adopted the policy which he had suggested, and threw the administration into the hands of the Pharisees. The change was immediate; the greatest honours were paid to the remains of the unpopular Jannæus, and the high priesthood conferred on his eldest son, Hyrcanus II.

During the whole reign of Alexandra, the wisdom, or rather the imperious necessity, of her husband's dying admonition became more manifest; the throne stood secure, the whole land, says Josephus, was at rest, except the Pharisees, who began to execute dreadful reprisals upon their former adversaries. Having strengthened their party by a general release of prisoners and recall of exiles, they began their attack on Diogenes, a favourite of the late king. They next demanded public justice on all who had been accessory to the execution of the 800 who were crucified. Alexandra, unable to resist, was compelled to submit; but her second son, Aristobulus, a man of daring ambition and intrigue, seized the opportunity of placing himself at the head of the party, which, though now oppressed, was still powerful. They appealed to the justice as well as to the mercy of the queen, and remonstrated on the ingratitude of abandoning the faithful adherents of her husband to the vengeance of their enemies. She adopted a measure, intended to secure them without offending the Pharisees; they were allowed to leave Jerusalem, and were enrolled as the garrison of the frontier cities. To employ the restless mind of her son Aristobulus, she sent him, with a considerable army, under the pretence of checking the depredations of Ptolemy, who ruled a small independent kingdom at Chalcis, but with the secret design of seizing Damascus. Aristobulus succeeded both in the object contemplated by his mother and in his own; he got possession of Damascus, and strongly attached the army to his person. After a prosperous reign of nine years, Alexandra fell sick and died; a woman of masculine

understanding and energy of character. Before her decease Aristobulus secretly fled from Jerusalem, put himself at the head of the army, summoned all the frontier garrisons, which were composed of his own party, to his assistance, and immediately, upon the death of his mother, advanced rapidly towards Jerusalem. The Pharisaic party, with Hyrcanus at their head, seized as hostages the wife and children of Aristobulus, and hastily raising their forces, met the invader at Jericho. But the affections of the army were centred in the bold and enterprising Aristobulus; a great part deserted, the rest were discomfited, the younger brother entered Jerusalem, the elder was besieged in the palace of Baris; till at length the mild and indolent Hyrcanus consented to yield up the sovereignty, and retire, perhaps to the happier station, of a private man. The blow was fatal to the Pharisaic party. But an enemy remained, whose descendants were to be more dangerous opponents to the Asmonean house even than the Pharisees. Antipater, the father of Herod, an Idumean of noble birth, was the son of Antipas, who had been governor of that province under Alexander Jannæus. Antipater had acquired great influence over the feeble mind of Hyrcanus, as his chief minister. He had every prospect of enjoying all but the name of a sovereign. He ill brooked the annihilation of his ambitious hopes by the conquest of Aristobulus. At length, after long working on the fears of Hyrcanus, as if his life were in danger, he persuaded him to fly to Aretas, the King of Arabia. This kingdom had silently grown up to considerable power; Petra, its capital, had become the great emporium of the commerce through the Red Sea and Persian Gulf. Aretas marched an host of 50,000 men against Aristobulus; the capricious army of the Jews wavered; Aristobulus suffered a defeat, and fled to Jerusalem. There, abandoned likewise by the people, he shut himself up in the temple, where the priests prepared for defence. He was vigorously pressed by Aretas, Antipater, and Hyrcanus. During this siege two characteristic circumstances took place. An old man, named Onias, had the fame of having prayed for rain during a drought, and rain had immediately fallen. The party of Hyrcanus brought him out to employ his powerful prayers against Aristobulus. The patriotic old man knelt down, and uttered these words:—"O God, the King of the Universe, since on one side are thy people, on the other thy priests, I beseech thee hear not the prayers of either to the detriment of the other." The cruel and infatuated populace stoned him to death. The second occurrence was as follows:—The Passover drew near, and there were no victims in the temple for sacrifice. The besieged entered into an agreement that, on payment of a certain price, lambs should be furnished for the great national offering. They let baskets down the

walls, but the perfidious besiegers took the money, and sent up the baskets empty, or, as the Rabbins relate, with the deepest horror, loaded with swine.

An unexpected deliverer at length appeared; a military officer of that haughty republic which had been steadily pursuing its way to universal dominion; and now, having trampled under foot the pride and strength of the great Asiatic monarchies, assumed a right of interfering in the affairs of every independent kingdom. Scaurus, the lieutenant of Pompey, had seized Damascus; the competitors for the Jewish throne endeavoured to outbid each other for his protection. Aristobulus offered 400 talents—Hyrcanus the same. The rapacious Roman hesitated; but Aristobulus was in possession of the public treasures of the temple, and therefore most likely to make good his terms. Scaurus sent an order to Aretas to break up the siege; the Arabian complied. The enterprising Aristobulus, hastily collecting troops, fell unexpectedly on his rear, and gave him a signal defeat.

In a short time, Pompey himself arrived at Damascus. Kings crowded from all sides to pay homage and to conciliate, with splendid presents, the greatest subject of the republic. The present of the king of Egypt was a gold crown, worth 4000 pieces of gold; that of Aristobulus a golden vine worth 400 talents. After a short absence in Pontus, Pompey returned, and the ambassadors of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus appeared before the tribunal of their master; the wily Antipater on the part of Hyrcanus—on that of Aristobulus a certain Nicodemus, who had so little address, as to complain of the extortions of the Roman commanders, Scaurus and Gabinius. Pompey appointed a solemn hearing of the cause for the next spring, and accordingly, at that time the ambassadors of Hyrcanus, of Aristobulus, and of the Jewish people, stood before his tribunal. The latter began the charge against both the brothers: they had usurped (it was urged) an authority which belonged solely to the high priests, introduced a kingly despotism, and reduced a free people to servitude. The ambassador of Hyrcanus pleaded his superior title as the elder born; accused Aristobulus not merely of usurping the throne of his brother, and degrading him to a private station, but of committing wanton depredations by land, and piracies by sea, on all the neighbouring states. On the part of Aristobulus, the total incapacity of Hyrcanus was strongly pressed; his own pretensions to power were limited to that enjoyed by his father Alexander. But Pompey had a greater object in view than the settlement of Judæa—the subjugation of Arabia, with the seizure of Petra and its trade. He dismissed both parties with great civility, particularly Aristobulus, who had the power of impeding his designs. Aristobulus, sus-

pecting the goodness of his own cause, endeavoured to put the country in a state of defence; but Pompey, on his return from Arabia, began to assume a higher tone. He collected his forces, and marched directly into Judæa. He found Aristobulus shut up in a strong citadel on a rock, called Alexandrion. Aristobulus attempted to negotiate; twice he descended from his place of security to hold a conference with Pompey; the third time Pompey forced him to sign written orders for the surrender of all his fortresses. The bold and enterprising spirit of Aristobulus could not brook the disgrace of submission; too high-minded to yield, too weak to resist, his conduct shows a degree of irresolution and vacillation, which it is more just to attribute to the difficulty of his situation, than to want of vigour in his character. He fled to Jerusalem, and prepared for resistance. Pompey advanced to Jericho, where the Romans were struck with admiration at the beautiful palm-groves and gardens of balsam-shrubs, which, originally the growth of Arabia, flourished in that district with great luxuriance: their produce had become an important article of trade. As he approached Jerusalem, Aristobulus, who found the city too much divided to make effectual resistance, met him, and offered a large sum of money, and the surrender of the capital. Gabinius was sent forward to take possession of the city, but the bolder party, meantime, had gained the ascendancy, and he found the gates closed and the walls manned. Indignant at this apparent treachery, Pompey threw the king into chains, and advanced in person on Jerusalem. The party of Hyrcanus were superior in the city, and immediately received the invader with open arms. The soldiery of Aristobulus took possession of the Temple, and, with the priesthood, cut off all the bridges and causeways which communicated with the town, and prepared for an obstinate defence. The hill of the Temple, precipitous on three sides, was impregnable, except from the north. On that side Pompey made his approaches, where, nevertheless, there was a rapid descent, flanked by lofty towers. Notwithstanding the arrival of military engines from Tyre, this holy citadel held out for three months, and was only lost through the superstitious observance of the Sabbath. The Maccabean relaxation of this law only provided for actual self-defence; the Romans soon perceived that they might carry on their works without disturbance on that day. They regularly, therefore, suspended their assault, but employed the time in drawing the engines near the walls, filling up the trenches, and in other labours, which they carried on without the least impediment. At the end of the three months, one of the battering engines threw down the largest of the towers; Cornelius Faustus, a son of Sylla, mounted the breach, and, after an obstinate resistance and great loss of life, the Romans

remained masters of the Temple. During the assault, the priests had been employed in the daily sacrifice: unmoved by the terror, and confusion, and carnage around, they calmly continued their office; many of them were slain, many of the more zealous defenders of the Temple threw themselves headlong down the precipices. The conduct of the Roman general excited at once the horror and admiration of the Jews. He entered the Temple, surveyed every part, and even penetrated and profaned with his heathen presence the Holy of Holies, into which the high priest entered only once a year. Great was his astonishment to find this mysterious sanctuary entirely empty, with no statue, or form or symbol of the Deity, to whom it was consecrated. In the other parts he found immense riches—the golden table and candlesticks, a great store of precious frankincense, and two thousand talents in the treasury. All these, with generosity not less noble because it was politic, he left untouched—commanded the temple to be purified from the carnage of his soldiers—nominated Hyrcanus to the priesthood, though without the royal diadem: then having appointed the stipulated tribute which the country was to pay—demolished the walls of the city—and limited the dominions of Hyrcanus to Judæa—he departed, carrying with him Aristobulus, his two sons and two daughters, as prisoners to Rome. Alexander, the elder son, on the journey, made his escape; but the Jewish king and his other son adorned the splendid triumph of the conqueror. The magnanimity of Pompey, in respecting the treasures of the Temple, could not obliterate the deeper impression of hatred excited by his profanation of the sacred precincts. The Jews beheld with satisfaction the decline of Pompey's fortune, which commenced from this period, and attributed it entirely to his sacrilegious impiety. Throughout the world they embraced the party of Cæsar, fortunate, inasmuch as the course they followed from blind passion, conduced eventually to their real interests, and obtained them important privileges and protection from the imperial house.

Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, inherited the daring and active courage of his father; he soon gathered a considerable force, and garrisoned Machaerus, Hyrcania, and the strong fort of Alexandrion. Hyrcanus hastily summoned the Romans to his assistance; Gabinius entered Judæa, and, having defeated Alexander, for the Jews could make no great stand in the open field, he besieged him in Alexandrion. While the siege lasted, to secure the affections of the provinces, he commanded many of the cities, which the Asmoneans had destroyed, to be rebuilt —Samaria, Dora, Scythopolis, Gaza, and other towns. In the mean time, the mother of Alexander, who had always espoused the Roman party, by her interest with Gabinius brought about

a treaty, in which Alexander received an amnesty for his insurrection, on condition of surrendering his fortresses. No sooner was he subdued, than Aristobulus himself and his younger son, having escaped from Rome, raised again the standard of revolt, but with worse fortune; for, though many of the Jews deserted to his banner, and he had time to re-fortify Alexandrion, he was taken, after being severely wounded, and sent back in chains to Rome. The interest of the mother procured the intercession of Gabinius for the release of her son Antigonus, which was granted by the senate. Aristobulus remained a prisoner. Gabinius, in the interval between these insurrections, reorganised the whole government of the country; he deprived the high priest of the royal authority, and established five independent senates or Sanhedrins, according to the form of the great Sanhedrin of seventy-one, which perhaps had existed from the captivity. The places where the Sanhedrins sat, were Jerusalem, Jericho, Gadara, Amathus, and Sepphoris. This form of government lasted till Julius Cæsar re-invested Hyrcanus with the supreme dignity. Gabinius, with Mark Antony as his master of the horse, who had signalised his valour during three campaigns, now determined on the conquest of Egypt; but scarcely had he drawn off his troops from Syria, when the restless Alexander appeared again in arms, and drove the few remaining Romans into a strong position on Mount Gerizim, where he besieged them. On the return of Gabinius, he had the courage to meet him, at the head of 80,000 men, in the open field, near Mount Tabor; but the irresistible Roman discipline bore all before it, and the Jewish prince was obliged to take flight.

It was singular, and the fact strongly tended to confirm the Jews in their conviction that they were under the especial protection of the Almighty, that the worst enemies of their nation seemed marked for disaster and disgrace. Gabinius no sooner returned to Rome, than he was ignominiously banished for his rapacity and malversations. The fate of Crassus in Parthia followed almost immediately on his sacrilegious plunder of the Jewish temple. When this rapacious triumvir entered Jerusalem on his way to that fatal expedition, the high priest, Eleazar, attempted to appease his avarice by the surrender of a bar of gold, of immense value, concealed within a hollow beam of wood, known only to himself. This offering only whetted the appetite of Crassus; he pillaged without remorse all that Pompey had spared, even the sacred treasures, and all that had since accumulated;—for the Jews, now spread throughout almost all the world, made it a part of religion to send an annual contribution for the service of the temple. This sum was so large, even in Italy, that Cicero, in his oration in defence of Flaccus, seems to urge the wisdom of a similar measure to that adopted by his

client in Asia Minor, a prohibition of the practice, as draining the Roman provinces of their wealth. Hence the plunder of Crassus from the temple of Jerusalem, estimated at ten thousand talents, according to Prideaux, near two million of money, though perhaps exaggerated, may not be so remote from truth.

During the great civil war, the fate of Judæa, like that of the world, hung in trembling suspense. Cæsar, master of Rome, sent Aristobulus an order to create a diversion in the province of Palestine. The partisans of Pompey contrived to poison the ill-fated monarch; and Scipio publicly executed his gallant son Alexander at Antioch. Thus Hyrcanus, or rather Antipater under his name, retained the sovereignty. After the death of Pompey, in that romantic war which Cæsar, delaying to assume the empire of the universe, waged in Egypt in favour of Cleopatra, the prudent Antipater rendered him essential service. He facilitated the march of Mithridates, his ally, to his relief, and contributed to the reduction of Pelusium; conciliated the Egyptian Jews, who had espoused the opposite party, and greatly distinguished himself in an important battle. His reward was the full re-establishment of Hyrcanus in the high priesthood; for himself, the rights of Roman citizenship, and the appointment of procurator over the whole of Judæa. The first care of the new government was to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem; but before long, Antipater, still further presuming on the incapacity of Hyrcanus, and the protection of the Romans, appointed his elder son Phasael to the government of Jerusalem, and the younger, Herod, to that of Galilee. Herod began immediately to develop his natural decision and severity of character. He seized a notorious captain of banditti, Hezekiah, who had been the terror of the whole country, and put him to death, with almost the whole of his band. The leading Jews, jealous of the Idumean influence, persuaded the feeble Hyrcanus, that the execution of these robbers without trial was an infringement of the law. Herod was summoned to Jerusalem, to answer for his offence. He appeared in arms before the affrighted Sanhedrin; not a voice was raised against him, till at last Sameas, a man of high integrity, rose and rebuked him for appearing, not in the humble garb of a criminal, but thus clad in purple and armour. To the honour of Herod, when subsequently he slew the whole Sanhedrin, he spared the life of Sameas. The timid Hyrcanus adjourned the trial, and sent secret intimation to Herod to escape. He took refuge at Damascus with Sextus Cæsar, in whose favour he rose with great rapidity, and obtained, by means of a bribe, the military command of Cœlesyria. He then advanced against Jerusalem, but by the intervention of his father Antipater, withdrew his forces. After the death of Cæsar, Cassius

assumed the administration of Syria. Judæa was heavily oppressed by his rapacity: though Antipater and his sons undertook, with Malichus, a powerful Jew, the collection of the tribute, so severe were the exactions, that the whole population of some towns were sold as slaves, and Malichus himself would not have escaped the resentment of Cassius, had not Hyrcanus defrayed the deficiency in his accounts. The dexterous Herod contrived to insinuate himself into the favour of Cassius; but Malichus, head of the Jewish faction, seized the opportunity to undermine the Idumean influence in Jerusalem. He contrived to poison Antipater, but at the same time to exculpate himself from all participation in the crime. By the advice of his cautious brother, Phasael, Herod dissembled his vengeance; till, at length, after much subtle intrigue on both sides, he got Malichus into his power, and caused him to be murdered. Cassius had protected Herod; but no sooner had he left Syria, than the adverse faction rallied, Felix, the Roman commander in Jerusalem, taking their side; but they were suppressed by the vigour of Phasael. A new enemy arose in the person of Antigonus, the surviving son of Aristobulus, who, with his brother-in-law the king of Chalcis, advanced into Galilee. They were repulsed and defeated by Herod. In the mean time, the fate of the world was decided at Philippi. Herod, ever a dexterous worshipper of the rising sun, hastened to render his allegiance, and, knowing the character of the man, made acceptable offerings in the shape of large sums of money, to the victorious Mark Antony. Henceforth the Roman was deaf to the complaints of Herod's enemies; he issued several edicts favourable to Hyrcanus and the nation in general, particularly commanding the liberation of those Jews whom Cassius had sold for slaves, but appointed Phasael and Herod tetrarchs of the province.

An unexpected enemy arose, to trouble again the peace of Judæa. At this juncture, the Parthians under Pacorus, the king's son, entered Syria and Asia Minor, and overran the whole region. A part of their army, under Barzapharnes, took possession of Cœlesyria. Antigonus, the last remaining branch of the Asmonean race, determined to risk his fortune on the desperate hazard of Parthian protection; he offered 1000 talents and 500 Jewish women—a strange compact—as the price of his restoration to the Jewish kingdom. Antigonus, himself, raised a considerable native power, and entered Judæa, followed by Pacorus, the cup-bearer of the king, who had the same name with the king's son. Antigonus fought his way to Jerusalem, and by means of his party, entered the city. Jerusalem was torn asunder by the contending factions; and the multitudes who came up at the feast of Pentecost, adopting different parties, added to the fierce hostility and mutual slaughter. The

Antigonians held the temple, the Hyrcanians the palace, and daily contests taking place, the streets ran with blood. Antigonus at length invidiously proposed to submit their mutual differences to the arbitration of Pacorus, the Parthian general. Phasael weakly consented, and Pacorus, admitted within the town, prevailed on the infatuated Phasael to undertake a journey with Hyrcanus, and to submit the cause to Barzapharnes the commander-in-chief. He set forth on this ill-fated expedition, and was at first received with courtesy: the plan of the Parthians being to abstain from violence, till they had seized Herod, who, having vainly remonstrated with his brother on his imprudence, remained in the city. But the crafty Herod, receiving warning from his brother, whose suspicions had been too late awakened, fled with the female part of the family towards Masada. The journey was extremely dangerous, and at one time Herod, in despair, had almost attempted his own life. At Masada, a strong fortress on the western shore of the Dead Sea, he received succours brought by his brother Joseph from Idumea; him he left in command at Masada, and retired himself into Arabia; from thence to Egypt, and at length to Rome. In the mean time Hyrcanus and Phasael had been made prisoners; the former, Antigonus not wishing to put him to death, was incapacitated for ever from the office of high priest, by the mutilation of his ears. Phasael anticipated the executioner by beating his brains out against the wall of his prison.

Notwithstanding their alliance with Antigonus, who assumed the sovereignty, the Parthians plundered the city, and ravaged the country. Herod, however, prospered in Rome, beyond his most ambitious hopes: his design had been to set up the claim of Aristobulus, the brother of the beautiful Mariamne, to whom he was betrothed. This youth united the titles both of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, being the son of Alexander, the elder son of the latter, by the daughter of the former. But Augustus and Antony united in conferring the crown of Judæa on Herod himself. Herod was not a man to decline, or not to make the most of the favours of fortune; he wasted no time in the courtly circle, or in the luxuries of Rome. In seven days he despatched all his business, returned to his ships at Brundusium, and after an absence of scarcely three months, landed at Ptolemais. The city of Masada, in which his brother and his beautiful bride were shut up, was his first object; the Parthians had broken up on the advance of the Roman general Ventidius, and left Antigonus to defend himself as well as he could. Antigonus had almost reduced Masada, which but for a timely rain which filled the water-tanks, was reduced to the greatest extremity from drought. Herod speedily raised a force, united with some Roman auxiliaries under Silo, overran Galilee, relieved Masada, and sat down

before Jerusalem. Silo was a man equally perfidious and rapacious; by assisting both parties, he enriched himself. Hitherto he had befriended Herod, now under pretext of a mutiny among his soldiers for want of provisions, he broke up the siege of Jerusalem, pillaged Jericho, and retired into winter quarters. Herod, unable with his own forces to undertake the invasion of Judæa, fixed his head quarters at Samaria, and employed his time in reducing Galilee, then infested by bands of daring robbers, who dwelt in caves among the wild and craggy mountainous districts of Upper Galilee. A great number he drove beyond Jordan, the rest he surprised in their dens. Chests full of armed men were let down by windlasses from the precipices above the caves; when they were thus landed at the mouths of the caves, the soldiers transfixed those they could reach with harpoons, and finally set fire to the caves. One desperate old man slew his wife and children, threw them down the precipice, and dashed himself after them.

The next year the campaign against Antigonus was renewed, the Roman auxiliaries, two legions and 1000 horse, were under the command of Machæras. Machæras, being repulsed from the walls of Jerusalem, revenged the affront on the Jewish followers of Herod, who retreated to Samaria, and from thence departed to Samosata, to pay his homage and lodge his complaints before Antony, who was engaged in the siege of that city. Joseph, his brother, was left in command in Judæa, with strict injunctions not to risk a battle; he disobeyed, was routed and slain. Herod, on his return, revenged his death by the total discomfiture of Pappus, the general of Antigonus. In the spring of the next year he formed the regular siege of Jerusalem; during the siege he returned to Samaria to consummate his marriage with Mariamne, and having thus formed an intimate connexion with the line of the Asmonean princes, he hastened to secure his throne by the conquest of the capital. Jerusalem held out for above half-a-year; the Romans under Sosius, furious at the obstinate resistance, after the capture gave loose to all their revengeful cruelty and rapaciousness. It was only through the interference of Herod, who bitterly expostulated on the indignity of leaving him king not of a noble city, but of a desert, that the whole town escaped destruction. He exerted himself with no less energy and success in preventing the heathen soldiers from penetrating into the Holy Places; with his characteristic sagacity, never overlooking an opportunity of working either on the popular feeling, or on that of his Roman confederates, for his own advantage. Antigonus craved his life in a mean and abject manner from Sosius, to whom he had surrendered. The stern Roman treated his unmanly weakness with contempt, called him by the feminine name Antigone, not Antigonus, and sent him in

chains to Antony, where, at the solicitation of Herod, he was put to death by the barbarous and insulting stroke of the common lictor.

BOOK XI.

HEROD.

B.C. 37.

Accession—Battle of Actium—Death of Mariamne—Magnificence of Herod—Sebaste built—Rebuilding of the Temple—Cæsarea—Sons of Mariamne—Death of Antipater—Death of Herod.

THUS Herod the Great, the last independent sovereign of Palestine, became master of his dominions. So far his career had been marked with uncommon ability; nor had it been disgraced by unusual atrocity. With signal penetration he had eluded the arts, by the rapidity and the decision of his measures triumphed over the open hostility, of his antagonists: by his knowledge of the Roman character, and that of the successive extraordinary individuals who had held the destiny of the world at their command, he had secured, not merely their protection, but their friendship. Still his situation was difficult and precarious; it demanded his utmost dexterity and vigour, and unhappily gave him the tyrant's plea of necessity for the most relentless cruelties. The mass of the people were still ardently attached to the great Asmonean family; the faction of Antigonus was strong in Jerusalem. Against the latter he proceeded without scruple, put to death forty-five of the chiefs, and confiscated all their property. The whole Sanhedrin fell victims to his vengeance, excepting Sameas (Shammai) and Pollio. The two latter, during the siege, had endeavoured to persuade the city to capitulate. The rest had raised the popular cry—"The Temple of the Lord! the Temple of the Lord!" and excited a strong enthusiasm against the alien from the blood of Israel. The appointment to the office of high priest caused the greatest embarrassment. The nation would never have endured the usurpation of that dignity by an Idumean stranger. Hyrcanus, the old patron of the Herodian family, returned from his honourable captivity in Parthia; he was received with every mark of outward respect by Herod, but the mutilation of his ears by

Antigonus disqualified him for reinstatement in his function. Herod invited Ananel, an obscure individual, of the lineage of the high priest, from Babylon. Alexandra, the widow of that gallant Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, who was executed by Scipio, beheld this choice with secret indignation. She was a high-minded and ambitious woman; the marriage of her daughter, Mariamne, to Herod, aggravated, rather than palliated, the indignity of excluding her son, the rightful heir of both the Asmonean families, from the priesthood. Unscrupulous as to her means of vengeance, she sent the pictures of her two children, a son and daughter, both of exquisite beauty, to Antony, in order, by this unnatural and odious measure, to work on the passions of the voluptuous triumvir. Herod was seized with apprehension, changed at once his policy, displaced Ananel, and installed the young Aristobulus in the pontificate. But mistrust and hatred had taken too deep root. Alexandra was detected in a secret correspondence with Cleopatra; and a plan which she had formed to fly with her son to the court of Egypt, was only disconcerted by the excessive vigilance of Herod. Worse than all this, when the lovely boy of seventeen, the heir of their rightful princes, appeared before the assembled nation at the Feast of Tabernacles, in the splendid costume of the high priest, and performing his solemn office with the most perfect grace, the popular feeling was too evident to be mistaken. Herod saw that his own suspicions were sadly verified; he had raised up a dangerous rival to his power in the young Asmonean. He dissembled his jealousy, and joined in the general admiration; but, contriving shortly after to remove the youth to Jericho, he caused him to be drowned by his companions while bathing in a pool. He assumed great grief on the melancholy event, and attempted to divert the popular indignation by a splendid funeral. But the people were not deceived, still less the heart of the bereaved and wretched parent. Alexandra sent intelligence of the murder to Cleopatra, who espoused her cause with the warmest interest of a woman and a mother; not without some secret suggestion from her ambition, which already began to look towards Judæa as a valuable province of Egypt. Antony was at the height of his devotion to the luxurious queen: the ruin of Herod seemed inevitable. With his characteristic boldness he determined to try the effect of his personal presence, which might awaken early friendship, and give weight to those more powerful arguments, the immense bribes, with which he hoped to secure his cause. He left Jerusalem under the government of his uncle Joseph; he entrusted to his care not merely his interests, but his incomparable Mariamne. He went, certainly, to danger, perhaps to death, and, with a strange jealousy, he could not endure that any one should possess his wife, even after his death,

least of all the licentious Antony. He left a secret charge with Joseph, that if he should fail in his mission, Mariamne was to be immediately put to death. During his absence, the incautious Joseph betrayed this secret order to Mariamne; her mother excited her to revenge. A sudden rumour spread abroad that Herod had been slain by Antony. Alexandra and Mariamne began to take immediate measures for securing the authority, but intelligence of an opposite nature frustrated their plans. On the return of Herod, his sister, Salome, wounded at the haughtiness with which she had ever been treated by the proud Asmonean princess, endeavoured to poison his mind with suspicions of his wife, whom she accused of too intimate correspondence with Joseph, the governor. Yet the beauty of Mariamne, once seen, overpowered every emotion but that of unbounded love. Unhappily, in the transport of tender reconciliation, Mariamne asked, whether if he had really loved her, he would have given that fatal order for her death. Herod sprang from her arms in fury. The betrayal of this secret warranted his worst suspicions; it could not have been yielded up but at the price of her honour. He would have slain her on the spot, but her beauty, even then, disarmed him; his whole vengeance fell on Joseph and Alexandra. The first he executed, the second he imprisoned with every mark of insult. Cleopatra, in the mean time, having been unable to extort the gift of Judæa from her paramour, was obliged to content herself with the balsam gardens near Jericho. On her return from accompanying Antony in his campaign to the Euphrates, she entered Jerusalem, and Herod was in as great danger from her love as from her hate. Whether from prudence or dislike, he repelled her advances, and even entertained some thoughts of delivering both himself from a dangerous neighbour, and Antony from a fatal and imperious mistress, by her assassination. His friends dissuaded him from the hazardous measure. A short time after, he found himself engaged in a war, which he entered into with the ostensible design of enforcing Cleopatra's right of tribute over Malchus, king of Arabia. By complying with the wishes of Antony on this point, the dexterous politician escaped taking any prominent part in the great war between the eastern and western world, which was to award the empire to Antony or Octavius. In his first invasion of Arabia he was unsuccessful, and met with so signal a defeat, that he was constrained to change the war into one of sudden irruptions into the border of the enemy, without risking a battle. A more tremendous blow fell on Judæa —an earthquake, which threw down many cities, and destroyed 30,000 lives. The Arabs seized the opportunity of this disaster, and put the Jewish ambassadors to death; but this conduct enabled Herod to rouse the national spirit, and the Arabians,

defeated with the loss of 5000 men, were besieged in their camp. Many surrendered from want of water; the rest made a desperate but fatal sally, in which 7000 more perished.

Still, though not personally engaged in the battle of Actium, Herod had reason to apprehend the triumph of Octavius Cæsar. Having secured everything at home, he determined to meet the youthful conqueror at Rhodes. While one remnant of the Asmonean race survived, his throne was less secure; and the old Hyrcanus, now eighty years of age, at length paid the last penalty for having unhappily been born to a lofty station, for which he was unfit. The documents in the royal archives of Herod accused the poor old man of having been persuaded, by his intriguing daughter, Alexandra, into a treasonable correspondence with the Arabian king; other accounts ascribe the invention of the plot to Herod. At all events, it was fatal to Hyrcanus, who thus closed a life of extraordinary vicissitude, borne with constitutional indolence, by a violent death. This done, Herod committed the government to his brother, Pheroras; sent his mother, sister, and children to Masada; and committed Mariamne and her mother to the charge of his faithful partisans, Soemus and Joseph, in the fortress of Alexandrion, with the same extraordinary injunctions which he had before left, that, in case of his death, Mariamne should be despatched. He then set sail for Rhodes. He appeared before the conqueror, without the diadem, but with all the dignity of an independent sovereign. He addressed him in a speech, which, disdaining apology, enlarged on his obligations, and avowed his attachment, to Antony. He declared that, as a friend, he had given him the best advice; such advice as might have made him again formidable to Cæsar; he had begged him to put Cleopatra to death, and vigorously resume the war. "Antony," he pursued, "adopted a counsel more fatal to himself, more advantageous to you. If, then, attachment to Antony be a crime, I plead guilty; but if, having thus seen how steady and faithful I am in my friendships, you determine to bind me to your fortunes by gratitude, depend on the same firmness and fidelity." This lofty tone and generous sentiment won the kindred heart of the arbiter of the world's destinies. Cæsar commanded the dignified suppliant to resume the diadem, treated him with great distinction, and Herod returned to Judæa, to the admiration of his partisans, and the terror of his enemies, thus constantly breaking forth with great splendour from every transient cloud of danger. Cæsar passed from Rhodes to Asia Minor; thence through Syria to Egypt. Herod met him at Ptolemais, made him a present of eight hundred talents, and, by the splendour of his entertainment, and the provisions with which he furnished his army, still further conciliated his favour. After the conquest of

Egypt, Octavius restored to him the part of his own territory formerly bestowed on Cleopatra, with Gadara, Hippo, Samaria, and the maritime towns of Joppa, Anthedon, Gaza, and the tower of Strato.

Thus, abroad, success seemed to wait on all the designs of Herod: the neighbouring kings might admire and envy the good fortune, or rather the consummate ability, with which he extricated himself from all his difficulties, and continued advancing in the career of prosperity and power; but at home, the most miserable peasant might compassionate the wretchedness which filled his palace with dissension, crime, and bloodshed. The magnificence of Herod's public life is strangely contrasted with the dark tragedy of his domestic history. Mariamne had again extorted the fatal charge entrusted to Soemus; and indignant at the jealous determination of her husband, that she should not survive him, she met him on his return with repulsive indifference, and even with undissembled dislike. Herod struggled between his love and his indignation; till one day, instead of submitting to his caresses, in the height of her passion she reproached him, in terms of the utmost bitterness, with his barbarous conduct to her relations. The envious Salome watched every opportunity of inflaming the resentment of her brother; and suborned his cup-bearer to accuse Mariamne of having bribed him to administer a poisonous philtre, or love-potion, to his master. Herod commanded her favourite eunuch, to whom all her secrets were entrusted, to be put to the rack. The tortured man denied all knowledge of the poison, but exclaimed, that the conduct of his mistress was entirely owing to the information she had received from Soemus. Furious at this new proof of her infidelity, he ordered Soemus to be despatched at once, and summoned Mariamne before a tribunal of judges, who were too much in dread of his power not to pass the sentence of death. Still Herod hesitated; he had no immediate intention of proceeding further than imprisonment; but his mother and sister so worked on his moody and violent temper, that he at length issued the fatal orders for her execution. To the horror of the spectators, her mother Alexandra assailed the wretched Mariamne, as she went to death, with a violent invective against her ingratitude to so gentle and affectionate a husband, loudly declaring that she deserved the fate she was about to suffer. The queen passed on in silence with the dignity of conscious virtue; though deeply wounded at this disgraceful and hypocritical conduct of her mother, who thus sought to avert the suspicions of Herod from herself, and to save her own life at the sacrifice of her daughter's honour, she would not condescend to betray her emotion. She met her death with the calm intrepidity of innocence, and died worthy of the noble

house of which the last blood flowed in her veins. She was a woman of unrivalled beauty and a haughty spirit: unhappy in being the object of passionate attachment, which bordered on frenzy, to a man who had more or less concern in the murder of her grandfather, father, brother, and uncle, and who had twice commanded her death in case of his own. Strange conflict of duties! who shall decide what ought to have been her feelings and her conduct?

All the passions which filled the stormy mind of Herod, were alike without bound; from violent love, and violent resentment, he sank into as violent remorse and despair. Everywhere, by day and night, he was haunted by the image of the murdered Mariamne; he called upon her name; he perpetually burst into passionate tears. In vain he tried every diversion,—banquets, revels, the excitement of society. A sudden pestilence broke out, to which many of the noblest of his court and of his own personal friends fell a sacrifice; he recognised and trembled beneath the hand of the avenging Deity. On pretence of hunting, he sought out the most melancholy solitude, till the disorder of his mind brought on disorder of body, and he was seized with violent inflammation and pains in the back of his head, which led to temporary derangement. In this state he lay at Samaria. The restless Alexandra immediately began to renew her intrigues; but his partisans sent intelligence to him, and she was at length consigned to execution.

Herod slowly recovered from his malady, but it left an indelible gloom upon his mind; and his stern temper, instead of being softened by calamity, seemed to have acquired a fierce and insatiable propensity to cruelty and bloodshed. His next victim was Costobaras, an Idumean, the husband of his sister Salome, whom she, in defiance of the law, had divorced; and, through her machinations, the unfortunate man was involved in the guilt of a pretended conspiracy, and convicted of the concealment of some of the Asmonean partisans. He was put to death with many other men of rank and distinction. From these horrible scenes we may turn with satisfaction to the peace and happiness of the country, and the liberality and magnificence of Herod's public administration. Yet Herod either did not understand, or more probably suspected as adverse to his interests, the strong and distinctive principles of the national character. Outwardly professing the utmost respect for the religion of his subjects, he introduced public exhibitions and spectacles of every kind, as if to reconcile the people by degrees to foreign usages, and so break down the wall of partition which separated them from other nations. He built a theatre within the walls of Jerusalem, an amphitheatre of immense size without. He celebrated quinquennial games on a scale of unrivalled splendour; invited the

most distinguished proficients in every kind of gymnastic exercise, in chariot-racing, boxing, and every kind of musical and poetic art; offered the most costly prizes; and even introduced the barbarous spectacles of the Romans, fights of wild beasts, and combats of wild beasts with gladiators. The zealous Jews looked on in amazement, and with praiseworthy though silent abhorrence, at these sanguinary exhibitions, so contrary to the mild genius of their great lawgiver's institutions. But when Herod proceeded to adorn his theatre with representations of the victories of Cæsar, and set up, as trophies around it, complete suits of armour which had been taken in his wars, the people broke out into a violent tumult, supposing that images were concealed within these panoplies. To appease the general dissatisfaction, Herod commanded one of them to be taken to pieces in the sight of all the people; and when a bare peg of wood appeared within, their discontent and anger turned to laughter and ridicule. But still a stern and dangerous enthusiasm prevailed among all who were zealously attached to the institutions of their ancestors. Ten men bound themselves by a solemn vow to assassinate the innovator in the scene of his delinquency: one of them was blind, yet, though he could not assist in the execution, he was determined to share in the peril, of the enterprise. They entered the theatre with daggers under their cloaks; but the vigilant police of Herod were on their guard: he received intimation, and returned into the palace. The men were apprehended, and instead of denying, boldly avowed and justified, their design. They endured the most ignominious torture, but died firm and undaunted to the last. The informer, being discovered, was torn to pieces by the populace; and though Herod with incredible pains detected and punished the ringleaders in this affray, he felt the insecurity of his government, and even of his life, particularly in Jerusalem. Actuated by his fears as well as the magnificence of his disposition, he built a strong and splendid palace on the hill of Sion, rebuilt as a fortress the palace of Baris, which commanded the temple, and called it Antonia. Still further to secure himself against the turbulent disposition of the capital, he determined to found other cities which might be more at his devotion. They would serve the double purpose, of controlling the country as strong military posts, and affording him a retreat, on an emergency, from the disaffected metropolis. With this view he built citadels, at Gaba in Galilee, and Heshbon in Peræa. The strongest measure was the rebuilding of Samaria, which he did on a scale of great magnificence and strength, and peopled it partly with his soldiers, partly with the descendants of the old Samaritans, who hoped to see their temple likewise restored. But Herod did not neglect more noble and kingly means of regaining the lost affections of his subjects. A long

drought followed by unproductive seasons, involved not merely Judæa, but the neighbouring countries likewise, in all the horrors of famine, and its usual consequence—a dreadful epidemic pestilence. The litle corn that remained, rotted, so that there was not enough seed to crop the ground. Herod instantly opened his treasures, secured a vast importation of grain from Egypt, and made constant distributions, both of food and of clothing. 50,000 persons are said to have been maintained at his sole expense, and he even furnished corn for seed to the neighbouring inhabitants of Syria, so that the fame of his munificence not merely caused a strong reaction in his favour among his own subjects, but secured him a high degree of popularity with all the bordering states. This great expenditure seems by no means to have exhausted the revenues of Herod. He still indulged in his sumptuous passion for building. Having married a second Mariamne, the daughter of Simon, an obscure individual of priestly lineage, whom he appointed high priest, he chose the spot on which he had defeated Antigonus, about seven miles from Jerusalem, as the site of a new fortified palace in his usual style of architecture. It stood on the gentle slope of a mound raised by human industry. The ascent was by a hundred steps to an inclosure of circular towers, within which were courts, ascending to the palace, which stood like a citadel above the rest. A town rapidly grew around the base of the hill. Water was brought by costly aqueducts from a great distance.

Thus, terrible to his adversaries, generally courteous, affable, and bounteous to his countrymen and to strangers, securing his interests with Rome and its rulers by the most costly adulation, Herod steadily pursued his policy of counterbalancing, by a strong Grecian party, the turbulent and exclusive spirit of his Jewish subjects. More completely to secure this object, he determined to found a powerful city, chiefly colonised with Grecians, and dedicated to the name of his great Roman protector. Samaria he had already called Sebaste (the August); the new city was to take the name of Cæsarea. He chose a maritime situation, for the advantage of commerce, and may have thought of uniting in his new city the wealth of ancient Tyre with the greatness of Jerusalem. There was a small town called the tower of Straton, mid-way between Joppa and Dora. It possessed a haven, like all the rest on that coast, dangerous on account of the violent south-western winds, against which they had no protection. He first formed a strong mole or breakwater, by sinking stones fifty feet long, eighteen wide, and nine deep. On this arose a pier two hundred feet wide, defended by a wall and towers. The entrance to this great artificial haven was from the north, and a vast fleet could thus ride in perfect safety in a sort of double harbour. All round, ran a noble quay or

esplanade, and, probably under this, were arched buildings for the entertainment and residence of mariners. Above, the city rose like an amphitheatre in a uniform line of sumptuous palaces. The subterranean arches, for drainage and other purposes, were on so great a scale, that Josephus says there was as much building below ground as above. In the centre stood a great temple dedicated to Cæsar, with two colossal statues, one of Rome, the other of Cæsar. A theatre and amphitheatre, the customary ornaments of a Grecian city, were not forgotten. Cæsarea was twelve years before it was completed.

Thus Judæa was fast sinking into a province of the Roman empire; and Herod, instead of head of the Hebrew religious republic, became more and more on a level with the other vassal kings of Rome. His elder sons by Mariamne, Alexander and Aristobulus, were not brought up in Jewish tenets or customs, but sent to Rome for their education, where they were received into the palace of Augustus, and treated with great care and distinction. Nothing could exceed the estimation in which Herod stood, both with the emperor and his favourite, Agrippa. Cæsar was said to assign Herod the next place in his favour to Agrippa; Agrippa to esteem Herod higher than any of his friends, except Augustus. Whenever either visited the eastern provinces, Herod was the first to pay his homage. To see Agrippa he sailed to Mitylene, and afterwards entertained Augustus himself in Syria. On one occasion, when Agrippa was engaged in war near the Bosphorus, Herod suddenly appeared with a large fleet, and through all the campaign assisted him with his personal support and advice. Herod took advantage of this alliance to enlarge his dominions. A district to the east of the sea of Gennesareth was farmed by a certain Zenodorus. This man maintained a suspicious connexion with the freebooters, who dwelt in the mountain caves of Trachonitis. The whole province was made over to Herod, who, with his customary rigour and severity, suppressed and hunted down the robbers. Zenodorus, and some of the Gadarenes, who complained of oppression, laid their grievances first before Agrippa, afterwards before Augustus himself; but found their ears closed against all representations to the disadvantage of Herod. Part of this district was created into a Tetrarchate for his brother Pheroras. At Paneas, near the fountains of the Jordan, where Cæsarea Philippi afterwards stood, was built a temple of white marble to the honour of Cæsar.

But the higher Herod advanced in the good graces of the Romans, by these costly and enduring marks of his adulation, the lower he sank in the good-will of his jealous Jewish subjects. They suspected him, not without reason, of a fixed design to heathenise their nation and country. Neither his munificence in

diminishing their annual tax one-third, nor his severities, could suppress their deep though secret murmurs. He exercised a stern and vigilant police, interdicted all fraternities and assemblies, occasionally surprised the most disaffected, and hurried them to the Hyrcania (his Bastile), whence they never returned. He was even said to walk the streets in disguise, to detect secret conspiracies, and form a judgment of the popular feeling; at one time he had determined to exact a general oath of allegiance, but the stricter and more powerful of the Pharisees and the Essenes, an ascetic fraternity, openly refusing compliance, he thought it better to urge the matter no further.

At length he determined on a measure, which he hoped would at the same time employ the people, and ingratiate himself with all classes, the rebuilding the temple in its former pride and magnificence. The lapse of five hundred years, and the sieges which it had undergone, as it was the great military post of the nation, had much dilapidated the structure of Zorobabel. But the suspicious Jews beheld the work of demolition commence with the utmost jealousy and apprehension, lest, under pretence of repairing, the king should destroy entirely the sanctuary of their God. The prudence of Herod calmed their fears; he made immense preparations before he threw down the old building: the work proceeded with the greatest regularity, and the nation saw, with the utmost pride, a new fabric of more regular and stately architecture crowning the brow of Moriah with its glittering masses of white marble and pinnacles of gold. Yet even while the temple was proceeding, Herod maintained his double character; he presided at the Olympic games, made magnificent donations for their support, and the Jewish monarch was nominated perpetual president of this solemn festival of Greece. On the other hand, Agrippa, on an excursion into Judæa, during which Herod showed him all his great works, offered one hundred oxen in the Temple and feasted the whole people.

But the declining days of Herod were to be darkened with a domestic tragedy as melancholy and awful as those of his earlier life. His sumptuous palaces were again to resound with strife, mourning, and murder. Never was an instance in which the heathen might recognise so distinctly their avenging Nemesis; or those of purer faith the providence of a just and holy God, making cruelty its own avenger, and leaving crime to work its late, though natural consequences, horror, ruin, and desolation. It might have seemed, that the spirit of the injured Mariamne hovered over the devoted house, and involving the innocent as well as the guilty in the common ruin, designated the dwelling of her murderous husband as the perpetual scene of misery and bloodshed. On the return of Alexander and Aristobulus, the two sons of Mariamne, to Jerusalem, they were received,

notwithstanding their Roman education, with general enthusiasm. The grace and beauty of their persons, their affable manners, above all, the blood of the ancient Asmonean princes, which flowed in their veins, rendered them objects of the deepest interest to the whole Hebrew nation. Herod married them: Alexander to Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia; Aristobulus to Mariamne, the daughter of Salome. Notwithstanding this, the envious mind of Salome, the sister of Herod, sickened at their praises. Both her conscience, and that of her brother Pheroras, reproached them with their share in the murder of Mariamne; they apprehended direct vengeance, on the accession of the young princes. The youths themselves, perhaps, spoke without much discretion or reserve about their mother's fate; and rumours, aggravated by Salome and her party, began to spread abroad that they announced themselves as her future avengers. For three years these insinuations made no deep impression on the mind of Herod, who was justly proud of the popularity of his sons; but while he was absent with Agrippa, in his war near the Bosphorus, during which period he obtained for the Jews of Asia Minor a ratification of all their privileges, which the Greeks had endeavoured to wrest from them; these sinister reports began to obtain much strength and consistency, and consequently more credit with the suspicious father. Herod resorted to a most dangerous measure, in order to subdue the pride of his sons, and make them more entirely subservient to his will. He sent for his elder son, Antipater, whom he formerly had by Doris, the wife whom he divorced to marry Mariamne, and set him up as a sort of counterpoise to the popularity and hopes of Alexander and Aristobulus. The dark, designing, and unscrupulously ambitious Antipater entered into all the plots of Salome and Pheroras; and, as Herod had permission from Rome to bequeath his crown to whichever of his sons he chose, he lost no opportunity of alienating his father's affections from the sons of Mariamne. Herod, to place him more on a level with his rivals, introduced him to Agrippa, and sent him in the suite of his powerful friend to Rome. From Rome the artful youth steadfastly pursued, by means of letters, his insidious designs, till the mind of Herod was so inflamed, that he determined to accuse his sons before the tribunal of Augustus. The king of Judæa and the two royal youths appeared before the emperor at Aquileia. Herod opened the charge by accusing them of unnatural obstinacy and disobedience, and of entering into criminal practices against his life. Shocked at this dreadful charge, the youths stood silent, unable to exculpate themselves, without criminating their jealous and cruel father. Their situation, and still more their silence, and the modest defence, into which they at length entered, excited the deepest interest in their

favour; and Augustus, with that temperance and moderation which distinguished all his actions after he became emperor, succeeded in reconciling the father to his children. Herod returned with them to Jerusalem. Still, however, infatuated in favour of Antipater, he declared him his heir; in default of his issue, the succession was to pass to the sons of Mariamne. A short and deceitful peace ensued, during which, Herod, having finished his splendid city of Cæsarea, solemnly dedicated it, at a great festival, to the emperor, and instituted quinquennial games to his honour. He founded at the same time the towns of Antipatris, Cypron, and Phasaelis; and built a lofty tower in Jerusalem, called likewise after the name of his elder brother Phasael. Before long, the domestic dissensions broke out anew with greater violence. Antipater, sometimes insidiously exculpating, sometimes artfully accusing, his brothers, kept the mind of Herod in a continued fever of suspicious excitement. The king's own favourite brother, Pheroras, increased his wretchedness. He had become so infatuated with the love of a female slave, as to refuse the hand of one of Herod's daughters. Not long after, on the offer of another daughter, Pheroras consented to break off his connection with the slave. But before the espousals, he again changed his mind, and refused to conclude the marriage. Pheroras was a still worse enemy to the peace of Herod. He instilled into the mind of Alexander, that his father secretly cherished a guilty passion for his wife Glaphyra. Alexander boldly questioned Herod about this scandalous imputation. Pheroras, to avoid the fury of his justly offended brother, laid the plot to the instigation of Salome, who vindicated herself with great energy. Yet these two dangerous inmates for some time lost their influence in the court. But the wily Antipater still remained; the sons of Mariamne were every day accused of new plots; sometimes with perverting the eunuchs who held the chief offices about the royal person, from whom they were said to have discovered the secret and feminine artifices which Herod used, to disguise the advance of old age; sometimes with designing the death of their father; or with a design of flying to Rome, or with entering into treasonable correspondence with the Parthians. Night and day these charges were repeated; the whole court became a scene of gloom, suspicion, and distrust. Friend shrunk from friend; every society swarmed with spies; men accused each other, from personal and private grounds of animosity. Sometimes their evil practices recoiled on their own heads; when the evidence was insufficient, Herod, disappointed of his victims, wreaked his vengeance on the accusers. Those who frequented the presence of the sovereign, were suspected of sinister designs; those who stood aloof, were self-convicted of disloyalty. Whoever had at any time shown marks of favour or

attachment to the suspected sons of Mariamne, though his own most firm and steadfast friends, fell into disgrace. At length, all the confidential slaves of Alexander having been put to the rack, some kind of evidence was wrung from their extorted confessions, and the unhappy youth committed to prison and loaded with chains. Here he adopted a strange and desperate measure; he sent four papers to his father, filled with the most extravagant and improbable treasons, in all of which he avowed his participation, but implicated Salome, Pheroras, and all the most influential and faithful ministers of his father. Herod was worked up to a pitch of frenzy, persons of all ranks were daily seized, and either put to the torture, or executed at once.

At length Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, the father-in-law of Alexander, arrived at the court of Jerusalem. By first dexterously humouring the frenzy of Herod, and pretending to enter into his suspicions; afterwards by arguing dispassionately the improbability of the accusations, he succeeded in reconciling the father and son, and Alexander was reinstated in freedom and favour.

At this period Herod was not without anxiety arising from foreign disturbances. With all his vigour and severity he had never entirely suppressed the banditti of the Trachonitis. Encouraged by the secret protection of the Arabs, this lawless race commenced new depredations. Obodes was at that time king of Arabia Petrea, but all the authority was in the hands of Syllæus. This Syllæus had formerly proposed to marry Salome, the sister of Herod; but the abjuration of his religion being demanded as the price of the connexion, he broke off the match, declaring that he should be stoned by the Arabians for such a compliance. The troops of Herod pursued the banditti into the dominions of Obodes, destroyed Repta, their stronghold, and discomfited an Arabian force which espoused their party. This was represented by Syllæus, at Rome, as a wanton and unprovoked aggression upon the kingdom of Arabia. The credit of Herod began to waver; but he immediately despatched the eloquent Nicolaus of Damascus (an historian whose contemporary life of Herod is unfortunately lost) to the Roman Court, and through his address the cause assumed a better aspect, and was finally settled not only to his exculpation, but to his honour. Augustus had even determined to confer on Herod the kingdom of the Nabathean Arabians: but the dreadful dissensions in his family, which had again broken out with greater fury than ever, induced the cautious emperor at least to delay his munificent intention. Antipater, Salome, and Pheroras, had again obtained the ear of Herod. He wrote to Rome the most dreadful charges against the sons of Mariamne; and Augustus, after endeavouring to soothe the maddened spirit of the father, consented that the

sons should be brought to trial at Berytus. Saturninus and Volumnius, the governors of Syria, presided in the court. The only fact which was clearly proved against them was a design of flying beyond the power of their suspicious father; but so strong were the charges, and so vehement the exertions of Herod, who acted as his own advocate, examining witnesses, and reading documents with the strongest and most violent emphasis, that a verdict of condemnation was at length extorted from a majority of the council. The unhappy youths, who had not been permitted to make their defence, awaited their doom in silence. Yet still Herod wanted courage to execute his own barbarous design. The whole people, particularly the army, looked on in deep but suppressed interest, till one Teron, a gallant soldier, openly expressed the general feeling in the presence of the monarch. His interference turned out, eventually, fatal to himself and to the sons of Mariamne. He was accused of having tampered with the barber of Herod against his life; and Alexander was implicated as privy to the crime. The son of the barber, to save his father's life, confirmed the accusation. Teron was put to death on the spot, and the final order issued that Alexander and his brother should be strangled at Sebaste. Either on this or on some similar occasion, his imperial protector, Augustus, uttered this bitter sarcasm—that he had rather be one of Herod's swine than one of his sons.

The crime did not remain long unavenged; it recoiled with dreadful force against almost all who were implicated. The low-born wife of Pheroras had connected herself with the Pharisaic party; and when, on the refusal of 7000 of this faction to take an oath of allegiance to Augustus and to Herod, they were heavily fined, she discharged the whole of the mulct. Rumours began to spread abroad of prophecies, which declared that God intended to transfer the government of his people from the line of Herod to that of Pheroras. Pheroras was commanded to separate himself from his wife, to whom all these intrigues were attributed. He refused, and lost all the favour with which he had been once regarded by his brother and benefactor. Yet, when a short time after he fell ill, and lay on his death-bed, the kindly feelings of Herod revived, and he visited him with fraternal tenderness. On the death of Pheroras suspicions began to arise that his malady was not in the course of nature: two of his freedmen openly charged his wife with having poisoned him. Herod ordered a strict investigation of the transaction: in the process a darker and more horrible secret came to light. Antipater, the beloved son, for whom he had imbrued his hands in the blood of his own children — Antipater, the heir of his kingdom, was clearly proved to have conspired with Pheroras to poison his old and doting father, and thus to secure and accelerate

his own succession. The wife of Pheroras acknowledged the whole plot, and declared that the affectionate conduct of Herod to Pheroras, on his death-bed, had melted the heart of the fratricide, who had commanded her to throw into the fire the subtle poison which had already been prepared. His wife, Mariamne, daughter of Simon the high priest, was implicated in the conspiracy: he repudiated her immediately, deposed her father, and appointed Mattathias to the high priesthood. Antipater was at Rome; and the horror-stricken Herod dissembled his detection of the conspiracy: yet still obscure intimations spread abroad, which, however, did not reach the ears of Antipater. Triumphing in the success of his intrigues, and the unbounded promises of support which he had purchased at Rome—confident in his speedy, if not immediate, inheritance of the throne—in all the pride of successful guilt, and the malignant assurance that his rivals were entirely removed by death, Antipater landed at Cæsarea. The once-crowded port seemed a solitude; no acclamations rose around him, no deputations waited upon him at his landing: the few people who met turned aloof, or looked on as if they now dared to hate him undisguisedly; every one seemed in possession of some fearful secret, of which he alone was ignorant. It was too late to fly: he was constrained to dissemble his terrors, and proceed to Jerusalem. There he was immediately summoned before the tribunal of Herod, who sat with Varus, the Roman governor of Syria, for his assessor. The proofs of his guilt were full and conclusive: he was condemned without the lest hesitation. Herod, already afflicted by his last mortal malady, delayed the execution, but in the mean time made his final alterations in his will. He bequeathed the kingdom to Antipas, passing over Archelaus and Philip, who were supposed to be implicated in the conspiracy of Antipater. He left splendid bequests to Cæsar, to his wife Julia, to her sons, to his friends, and even his freedman. Thus the great and magnificent Herod lay, afflicted in body by the most painful and loathsome malady, tormented in mind by the ingratitude of his favourite son—perhaps with remorse for the murder of those of Mariamne. His last hours were still further embittered by the turbulence and disaffection of his subjects.

Among the innovations of Herod nothing offended the eyes of the zealous Jews more than a large golden eagle, which he had placed over the great gate of the temple. Some daring and enthusiastic youths, instigated by two celebrated teachers, named Judas and Matthias, conspired to tear down the offensive emblem. On a rumour of Herod's death, they put their design in execution. Being apprehended, they boldly justified their conduct. Herod at first assumed something like moderation: he assembled the chiefs of the people, reproached them with the ungrateful return

which they made for his munificence in rebuilding the temple, which the Asmonean princes had left in decay; and only displaced Mattathias, the high priest, who was suspected of having encouraged the enterprise. The most criminal of the actual assailants and their teachers were burnt alive. But now the disorder of the king made sensible progress; a slow fire seemed creeping through all his vital parts: he had a rabid appetite, which he dared not gratify on account of internal ulcers, and dreadful pains, particularly in the colon. Dropsical symptoms appeared in his feet, which were swollen, and exuded. Ulcers, which bred worms, preyed on the lower region of his belly and the adjacent parts. His breathing was difficult; and violent spasms, which seemed to give him unnatural strength, convulsed his frame. He sought relief from the warm bituminous baths of Callirhoe, but returned to Jericho without improvement. There the frenzy of his malady working on the natural sternness of his disposition, he is said to have imagined a kind of testamentary cruelty, almost too horrible to be believed: he determined to extort an universal mourning for his death from the reluctant people. He commanded some of all the chief families in Judæa to be seized, shut up in the Hippodrome, and strictly enjoined his sister Salome that, immediately he expired, the guards should be let loose, and an unsparing massacre commence. Thus a wide, and general, and heartfelt wailing would spread throughout all the land with the news of his death. But the dying requests of kings proverbially fail of their accomplishment, and, happily for human nature, this sanguinary injunction was disregarded.

Among these atrocities of the latter days of Herod, what is called the Massacre of the Innocents (which took place late in the year before, or early in the same year with, the death of Herod, four years before the vulgar æra of Christ) passed away unnoticed. The murder of a few children, in a small village near Jerusalem, would excite little sensation among such a succession of dreadful events, except among the immediate sufferers. The jealousy of Herod against any one who should be born as *a King in Judæa*—the dread that the high religious spirit of the people might be re-excited by the hope of a real Messiah—as well as the summary manner in which he endeavoured to rid himself of the object of his fears, are strictly in accordance with the relentlessness and decision of his character.

At length, just before his death, the ratification of the sentence against Antipater arrived from Rome. It found Herod in a paroxysm of torment so great that he had attempted to lay violent hands on himself. The rumour of his death induced Antipater to make a desperate attempt to bribe the keeper of his prison. This last offence was fatal. Herod just raised

himself up in his bed to give the mandate for his execution, and then fell back—had only time once more to remodel his will; and thus, dispensing death on one hand, and kingdoms on the other, expired!

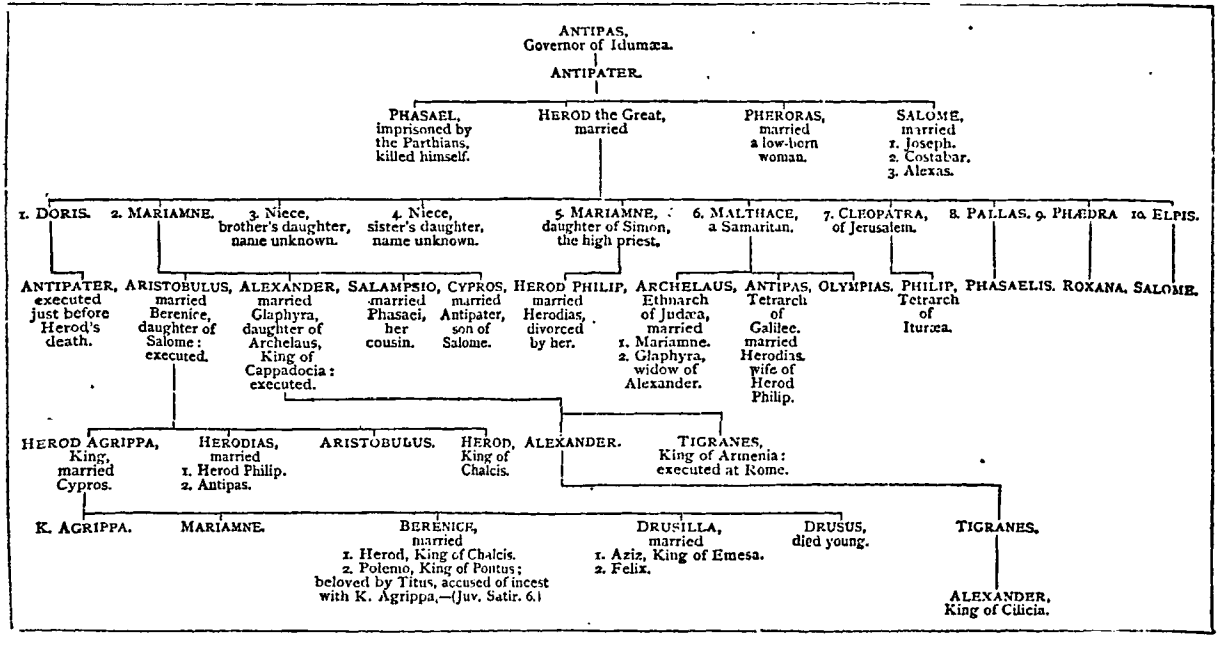
BOOK XII.

THE HERODIAN FAMILY.

Archelaus—Roman Governors—Pontius Pilate—Herod Antipas—Philip—Accession of Caligula—Agrippa—Persecutions in Alexandria—Philo—Babylonian Jews—Agrippa King.

THE executioner had made frightful ravages in the family of Herod; but still a powerful, if united, race survived. Ten wives of Herod are mentioned in history. The *first*, Doris, the mother of Antipater, the last and the only unpitied victim of his vengeance. The *second*, Mariamne, the Asmonean princess, the mother of the unfortunate Aristobulus and Alexander, and of two daughters, Salampsio and Cypros. Aristobulus, by Bernice, his cousin, left four children—1, Herod Agrippa, who became distinguished at a later period—2, Herodias, infamous for her divorce of her first husband, her uncle Philip, and her incestuous marriage with Herod Antipas—3, Aristobulus—4, Herod. The *third* wife of Herod the Great was Mariamne, daughter of Simon the high priest, the mother of Herod Philip. The name of Herod Philip was effaced from the will of his father, on account of his mother's supposed connexion with the conspiracy against his life. The *fourth*, a niece by the brother's side; the *fifth*, a niece by the sister's side, whose names do not appear, and who had no issue. The *sixth*, Malthace, a Samaritan, the mother of —1, Archelaus—2, Herod Antipas—3, Olympias. It was among this family that his dominions were chiefly divided. The *seventh*, Cleopatra of Jerusalem, mother of—1, Herod—2, Philip, tetrarch of Trachonitis. The *eighth*, Pallas, the mother of Phasaelis. The *ninth*, Phædra, mother of Roxana. The *tenth*, Elpis, the mother of Salome.

The will of Herod had designated the sons of Malthace as his successors. To Herod Antipas were assigned Galilee and Peræa —to Archelaus, Idumæa, Samaria, and Judæa. Archelaus at once assumed the direction of affairs in Jerusalem. The funeral


ANTIPAS, Governor of Idumæa.
ANTIPATER.
PHASAEL, imprisoned by the Parthians, killed himself.
HEROD the Great, married
PHERORAS, married a low-born woman.
SALOME, married 1. Joseph. 2. Costabar. 3. Alexas.
1. DORIS.
2. MARIAMNE.
3. Niece, brother's daughter, name unknown.
4. Niece, sister's daughter, name unknown.
5. MARIAMNE, daughter of Simon, the high priest.
6. MALTHACE, a Samaritan.
7. CLEOPATRA, of Jerusalem.
8. PALLAS.
9. PHÆDRA
10. ELPIS.
ANTIPATER, executed just before Herod's death.
ARISTOBULUS, married Berenice, daughter of Salome: executed.
ALEXANDER, married Glaphyra, daughter of Archelaus, King of Cappadocia: executed.
SALAMPSIO, married Phasaei, her cousin.
CYPROS, married Antipater, son of Salome.
HEROD PHILIP, married Herodias, divorced by her.
ARCHELAUS, Ethnarch of Judæa, married 1. Mariamne. 2. Glaphyra, widow of Alexander.
ANTIPAS, Tetrarch of Galilee. married Herodias, wife of Herod Philip.
OLYMPIAS.
PHILIP, Tetrarch of Ituræa.
PHASAELIS.
ROXANA.
SALOME.
HEROD AGRIPPA, King, married Cypros.
HERODIAS, married 1. Herod Philip. 2. Antipas.
ARISTOBULUS.
HEROD, King of Chalcis.
ALEXANDER.
TIGRANES, King of Armenia: executed at Rome.
K. AGRIPPA.
MARIAMNE.
BERENICE, married 1. Herod, King of Chalcis. 2. Polemo, King of Pontus; beloved by Titus, accused of incest with K. Agrippa.—(Juv. Satir. 6.)
DRUSILLA, married 1. Aziz, King of Emesa. 2. Felix.
DRUSUS, died young.
TIGRANES.
ALEXANDER, King of Cilicia.

of his father was the first object of his care. The lifeless remains of Herod seemed to retain his characteristic magnificence. The body was borne aloft on a bier which was adorned with costly precious stones. The linen was of the richest dye; the winding-sheet of purple. It still wore the diadem, and, above that, the golden crown of royalty: the sceptre was in its hand. The sons and relatives of Herod attended the bier. All the military force followed, distributed according to their nations. First, his body-guard—then his foreign mercenaries, Thracians, Germans, Gauls—then the rest of the army, in war array. Last, came five hundred of his court-officers, bearing sweet spices, with which the Jews embalmed the dead. In this pomp the procession passed on, by slow stages, to the Herodium, a fortified palace, about twenty-five miles from Jericho.

Archelaus, according to Jewish usage, mourned for seven days; but rumours were industriously propagated by his enemies, that, while he wore the decent garb of sorrow during the day-time, his nights were abandoned to revelry, and to the most undisguised rejoicing among his own private friends. At the end of this time, he gave a splendid funeral banquet to the whole people, and then entered the temple in great pomp, amid general acclamations; and, taking his seat on a golden throne, delivered an address to the multitude. His speech was conciliatory and temperate. He alluded to his father's oppressions—thanked the people for their loyal reception—promised to reward their good conduct—but declined assuming the royal diadem till his father's testament should be ratified at Rome. The people vied with each other in the vehemence of their applause; but their acclamations were mingled with demands by no means so acceptable to the royal ear. Some called for a diminution of the public burthen; others for the release of the prisoners, with whom Herod had crowded the dungeons; some more specifically for the entire abandonment of the taxes on the sale of commodities in the markets, which had been levied with the utmost rigour. Archelaus listened with great affability, promised largely, and, having performed sacrifice, retired.

While he was preparing for his voyage, the zealous party which had been concerned in the demolition of the Eagle, collected their strength. They bewailed, with frantic outcries, the death of Matthias, the teacher, and his seditious pupils, who had even been deprived of the rites of burial by the unrelenting rigour of Herod—and no unintelligible execrations against the deceased monarch were mingled with their lamentations. They demanded the summary punishment of all who had been employed in the recent executions, the expulsion of the high priest, and the substitution of one more legally appointed. Archelaus attempted to allay the tumult by conciliatory measures. He

sent officer after officer to soothe, to expostulate, to admonish, to threaten. Argument and menace were alike unavailing. The clamorous multitude would listen to neither, and the sedition grew every day more alarming. The danger was more urgent on account of the approaching Passover, which assembled the Jews from all quarters of the country, and even strangers from the most remote parts of the world. If it was difficult at any time to keep the fanatical multitude of Jerusalem in check, it was still more so when this formidable addition was made to their numbers. The leaders of the faction held their meetings in the temple itself, where they were abundantly supplied with provisions by their friends, who did not scruple to beg in their behalf. It was high time to interfere, and Archelaus sent a centurion with a band of soldiers to disperse the multitude, to apprehend the ring-leaders, and bring them before his tribunal. They arrived while the sacrifice was offering. The zealots inflamed the multitude, who attacked the soldiers, many of whom were stoned; the rest, with the centurion, made their escape, but with great difficulty, and dreadfully maimed. This done, the sacrifice quietly proceeded. Archelaus found it necessary, if he would not at once throw up all his authority, to act with greater vigour. He gave orders for a large body of troops to advance. The cavalry cut off the strangers from the provinces who were encamped without the city, from the zealots who occupied the temple. The multitude fled on all sides; those of Jerusalem dispersed; the strangers retreated to the mountains; 3000 were slain. Archelaus issued a proclamation, commanding all the strangers to return to their homes; they obeyed with reluctance, and, to the universal horror, the great national festival, thus interrupted, was not concluded.

Archelaus set out for Rome, accompanied by Nicolaus of Damascus, and many of his relatives, all with the ostensible purpose of supporting his claim to the throne, some with the secret design of thwarting his advancement. Among the latter was Salome, the false and intriguing sister of Herod. At Cæsarea he met Sabinus, the procurator of Syria, who was hastening to Judæa, in order to make himself master of the treasures left by Herod, and to obtain military possession of the country, by seizing the fortresses which the king had built. Through the interference of Varus, the prefect of Syria, Sabinus agreed to suspend his march, to leave Archelaus in possession of the treasures, and to undertake no measure till the arrival of an edict from Rome. But no sooner had Archelaus set sail, and Varus returned to Antioch, than Sabinus marched to Jerusalem, seized the palace, summoned the keepers of the treasures to render up their accounts, and the military officers to cede the fortresses. All, however, remained faithful to

their charge, and refused to comply without direct orders from Rome.

Archelaus had to encounter a formidable opposition to his attainment of the royal dignity, not merely from the caprice or pride of the emperor, but from intrigues set on foot in his own family. His younger brother, Herod Antipas, arrived in Rome to maintain his own pretensions to the crown, grounded on a former will of Herod, made, as his party asserted, when his father was in a saner state of mind than at his decease, and in which he was named first. His mother, Malthace, Salome, his aunt, Ptolemy, the brother of Nicolaus of Damascus, who had been a great favourite with his father, and Irenæus, a man of remarkable eloquence and ability, espoused the party of Antipas. Augustus appointed a solemn hearing of the cause, and in that haughty spirit which delighted in displaying kings publicly pleading for their thrones before the footstool of Roman subjects, appointed Caius, the son of Agrippa, and his own daughter, Julia, afterwards noted for her profligacy, to preside on the occasion. Antipater, the son of Salome, conducted the cause of Herod Antipas. He insisted on the former will of Herod—accused Archelaus of assuming the crown without the sanction of the emperor—of unseemly rejoicings at the death of his father—and of wanton acts of tyranny against the people—urging and aggravating the dreadful slaughter during the tumult of the Passover. The eloquent Nicolaus of Damascus maintained the cause of Archelaus with his accustomed ability. The emperor took time to deliberate on his judgment.

While these affairs were pending at Rome, intelligence arrived that Judæa was in a state of insurrection. The rapacity and insolence of Sabinus had exasperated the people, already in a state of tumultuary excitement. Varus advanced to Jerusalem, seized the ringleaders, and re-established order—but unfortunately left Sabinus behind him to maintain the peace. The sole object of this unscrupulous commander was to find an opportunity and excuse for seizing the tempting treasures of this opulent city, as well those left by Herod, as the more inestimable riches contained in the temple. All his acts tended to goad the people to insurrection.

The Pentecost drew on, and the Jews gathered together from all quarters with the deliberate intention of wreaking their vengeance on Sabinus. From both the Galilees, from Idumæa, from Jericho, and from the provinces beyond Jordan, vast multitudes came crowding into the city. One party encamped in the circus to the south, one occupied a position to the north, another to the west, of the temple; and thus shut up the single legion of Varus in the palace. Sabinus sent pressing messages to Varus for relief. In the mean time he himself,—for with more than

Roman rapacity he does not seem to have possessed Roman valour,—ascending the lofty tower of Phasaelis, gave orders to his troops to make a desperate sally, and force their way to the temple. The Jews, though repelled by the disciplined valour of the legionaries, fought with courage, and, mounting on the roofs of the cloisters or porticoes which surrounded the outer court of the temple, annoyed the assailants with stones, javelins, and other missiles. The Romans at length set fire to the cloisters, the roofs of which were made of wood, cemented with pitch and wax; and the whole magnificent range became one immense conflagration: the gilding melted, the columns fell, and all the Jews upon the roof were either crushed to death among the blazing ruins, or lay victims to the unrelenting fury of the enemy: some of the more desperate fell on their own swords: not one escaped. But the flames could not repress the daring rapacity of the Roman soldiery: they broke into the temple, plundered on all sides, and even seized the sacred treasures, from which Sabinus secured the greater part of 400 talents; the rest was secreted by the pillagers. Maddened with this outrage, the bravest of the Jews assembled from all quarters, besieged the palace, but offered Sabinus his life if he and his legion would evacuate the city. Many of Herod's soldiers deserted to the Jews; but, on the other hand, two distinguished officers, Rufus, the commander of Herod's cavalry, and Gratus, the captain of his infantry, with 3000 Samaritan troops, joined Sabinus. The Jews pressed the siege with vigour, and began to mine the palace; at the same time urging Sabinus to quit the city, and leave them to their own government; but Sabinus would not trust their faith.

The whole country was in the same dreadful state of anarchy. The severe military police of Herod was now withdrawn or suspended, on account of the uncertainty of the succession. The Romans exercised all the oppression without affording the protection of despotic sovereignty: and at the period when the nation was in the highest state of excitement—some looking forward, with sober patriotism, to the restoration of their national independence—others, of more ardent zeal, to the fulfilment of their national prophecies in the person of some mighty conqueror, the fame of whose destined birth at this period prevailed, according to the expression of the Roman historian, throughout all the East,—the whole country was without any regular government; adventurer after adventurer sprang up in every quarter, not one of whom was too base or too desperate to assemble a number, either of daring robbers or deluded fanatics, around his standard. Two thousand of Herod's troops having been dismissed, spread over Judæa, subsisted on plunder, and besieged Achiab, a cousin of Herod, who took refuge in the mountains. One Judas, son of Hezekias, a noted captain of banditti, surprised

Sepphoris, seized the treasures, and plundered the armoury, from which he supplied his followers, who became the terror of the district. Simon, a slave of Herod, a man of great personal strength and beauty, had the audacity to assume the diadem He plundered the palace in Jericho, and several other of the royal residences; his followers burnt that of Betharamptha, near the Jordan. He was at length attacked by Gratus, taken in a ravine, and beheaded. Another adventurer, Athronges, a common shepherd, with his four brothers, men of extraordinary personal strength and courage, collected a predatory band, and waged open war both against the Romans and the royal party. Athronges also assumed the diadem. He had the boldness to attack a Roman cohort, which was escorting a convoy of provisions and arms, near Emmaus. One centurion and 400 men were killed; the rest escaped with difficulty, leaving the dead on the field of battle. Nothing could exceed the rapacity and cruelty of this band. They were not subdued till long after, when one brother having been slain in battle by Gratus, the other in a conflict against Ptolemy, and the eldest taken, the youngest, who survived, broken in spirit, and finding his troops dispersed, surrendered to Archelaus.

In consequence of urgent entreaties from Sabinus, and dreading the peril in which his legion was placed, Varus, the prefect of Syria, assembled at Ptolemais the two legions remaining in Syria, and four troops of horse, with some allies from Berytus, and some Arabian bands. Part he sent forward into Galilee; they recovered and burnt Sepphoris, and subdued the whole district. With the rest he advanced in person to Samaria, which had taken no part in the late insurrections. His Arabian allies committed dreadful depredations, burning and ravaging on all sides: he himself gave orders for the burning of Emmaus, in revenge for the loss of the cohort defeated by Athronges. On his approach to Jerusalem, the forces from the country broke up their siege of Sabinus and dispersed: the inhabitants submitted, and laid the whole blame of the insurrection on the strangers. Sabinus, ashamed of meeting Varus, stole away to the coast, and took ship for Rome. Varus spread his troops over the country, and seized the notorious ringleaders in the recent tumults; 2000 were crucified, the rest pardoned. Finding, however, that the rapacity of his soldiers, particularly his Arabian allies, from their hatred of Herod, increased the mischief, he dismissed the latter, and advanced only with his own force on a body of 10,000 men, which appeared in arms on the borders of Idumæa. These insurgents were persuaded by Achiab to surrender: the leaders were sent to Rome for trial; a general amnesty was granted to the rest. Augustus treated the criminals with lenity, excepting those who were related to the house

of Herod, whom he ordered to be put to death for their unnatural hostility to the head of their own family.

In the mean time the great decision which was to award the dominions of Herod remained in suspense. A deputation of 500 Jews arrived at Rome, to petition for the re-establishment of their ancient constitution, and the total suppression of the kingly government. They were joined by 8000 of their countrymen resident in Rome. An audience was granted, in which they enlarged on the oppressions, cruelties, summary executions, and enormous taxations of the elder Herod. The whole Herodian family now found it expedient to give up their dissensions, and unite their common interest. Herod Philip arrived at the same time to support his own claims.

At length the imperial edict appeared: it confirmed for the most part the will of Herod. Archelaus was appointed to the sovereignty of Judæa, Idumæa, and Samaria, under the title of Ethnarch; that of king was reserved as a reward for future good conduct. Herod Antipas obtained Galilee and Peræa; Philip—Auranitis, Trachonitis, Paneas, and Batanea. The Samaritans were rewarded for their peaceable behaviour by the reduction of one quarter of their tribute. The chief cities of Archelaus were Jerusalem, Sebaste (Samaria), Cæsarea, and Joppa. Gaza, Gadara, and Hippo, as Greek towns, were added to the prefecture of Syria. The annual revenue of Archelaus was 600 talents. The bequests of Herod to Salome were confirmed; and in addition she obtained the towns of Jamnia, Azotus, and Phasaelis, and a palace in Ascalon: her yearly revenue was sixty talents. The wealth left to Augustus, he distributed, chiefly as a dower to two unmarried daughters of Herod, whom he united to two sons of Pheroras. He retained nothing except some magnificent plate, as a memorial of his friend.

At this juncture an impostor made his appearance, who assumed the name of Alexander, the murdered son of Mariamne. So like was he in person to that ill-fated youth, and so well had he been tutored by an unprincipled adventurer, who was intimately acquainted with the court of Herod, that wherever he went, in Crete and Melos, where a number of Jews resided, he was received with all the attachment which the nation felt to the race of the Asmonean princes: he was liberally furnished with money, and boldly set out for Rome to demand his inheritance. The Jews crowded forth to meet him, and escorted him into the city with loud acclamations. Celadus, one of the emperor's freedmen, who had been familiarly acquainted with the sons of Mariamne, was sent to investigate the case; he was imposed upon like the rest. Not so Augustus, who, on sending for the false Alexander, observed that his hands were hard and horny, and that his whole person wanted the delicacy and softness of the royal youth. Still

both he and his tutor supported a strict cross-examination, till at length Augustus himself led the youth aside, and promised to him a free pardon if he would confess the imposture. The youth, either supposing himself detected, or awed by the imperial presence, acknowledged the deception; and Cæsar, seeing that he was of a strong and muscular make, ordered him as a rower to his galleys. His instructor was put to death.

Archelaus (B. C. 3) assumed the dominion of Judæa, and governed with great injustice and cruelty. Such is the unanimous report of all historians, confirmed by his condemnation, after a solemn hearing before Augustus. Yet few facts have transpired by which posterity may judge of the equity of the sentence. He displaced Joazar from the pontificate, and substituted his brother Eleazar. Eleazar in his turn was supplanted by Jesus, son of Siva. The unlawful marriage of the Ethnarch with Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and widow of his brother Alexander, and his divorce of his own wife, Mariamne, gave great offence to his zealous subjects. He repaired the palace of Jericho with great magnificence, and paid much attention to the cultivation of the palm-trees in the neighbourhood. Such are the barren incidents of a reign of nine years; at the end of which Archelaus was hastily summoned to Rome, while sitting at a banquet. His cause was formally heard, his brothers as well as his subjects being his accusers. He was banished to Vienne, in Gaul; his estates confiscated, and Judæa reduced to a Roman province. Thus the sceptre finally departed from Judah; the kingdom of David and Solomon—of the Asmonean princes and of Herod, sank into a district, dependent on the prefecture of Syria, though administered by its own governor, a man usually of the equestrian order.

At this period of the Jewish history, when the last semblance of independence passed away, and Judæa became part of a Roman province, it may be well to cast a rapid view over the state of the people, and their more important existing institutions.

The supreme judicial authority was exercised by the Sanhedrin, the great ecclesiastical and civil council. The origin of this famous court is involved in great obscurity. The Jews, it has been observed, took pride in deducing its lineal descent from that established by Moses in the wilderness. The silence of the whole intervening history to the captivity, has been considered fatal to these lofty pretensions. Others date its origin from the captivity: others again from the re-organisation of the Jewish polity by the Maccabees. The Sanhedrin consisted of seventy-one persons, partly priests, partly Levites, partly elders. The high priest, whether of right or not is much disputed, usually

sate as president; he was entitled Nasi, or prince. At his right hand sate the Ab-beth-Din, the father of the council, or vice-president: on his left, the Wise Man, perhaps the most learned among the doctors of the law. The constitution of the rest of the council, and their mode of election, are involved in much obscurity. The qualifications of a member of this court, as stated by the Jewish writers, are curious. They must be religious, and learned in arts and languages. Some added, in their fanciful attachment to the number seventy, that they must understand seventy languages! They must have some skill in physic, arithmetic, astronomy, astrology, and be acquainted with what belonged to magic, sorcery, and idolatry, that they may know how to judge of them. They must be without maim or blemish of body; men of years, but not extremely old, because such are commonly of too great severity; and *they must be fathers of children, that they might be acquainted with tenderness and compassion.*

The council sate in the form of a semicircle round the president, whose place was between the Ab-beth-Din and the Wise Man. At each end was a secretary; one registered the votes of acquittal—the other of condemnation.

At first the Sanhedrin sate in a room in the cloister of the court of the Israelites, called Gazith. They afterwards removed successively to other places. The proper period of sitting was all the time between the morning and evening service. The Sanhedrin was the great court of judicature: it judged of all capital offences against the law: it had the power of inflicting punishment by scourging and by death. Criminals capitally condemned were executed in four different ways; by strangling, burning, slaying with the sword, and by stoning.

The Great Sanhedrin was a court of appeal from the inferior Sanhedrins of twenty-three judges, established in the other towns.

The Sanhedrin was probably confined to its judicial duties—it was a plenary court of justice, and no more—during the reigns of the later Asmonean princes, and during those of Herod the Great and his son Archelaus. To the despotism of the two latter there was no check, except an appeal to Rome. When Judæa became a Roman province the Sanhedrin either, as is more likely, assumed for the first time, or recovered its station as a kind of senate or representative body of the nation; possessed itself of such of the subordinate functions of the government as were not actually administered by the Roman procurator; and probably, on account of the frequent changes in the person of the high priest, usurped, in some degree, upon his authority. At all events, they seem to have been the channel of intercourse between the Roman rulers and the body

of the people. It is the Sanhedrin, under the name of the chief priests, scribes, and elders of the people, who take the lead in all the transactions recorded in the Gospels. Jesus Christ was led before the Sanhedrin, and by them denounced before the tribunal of Pilate. Whether they had lost or retained the power of inflicting capital punishment, has been debated with great eruditiqn; and like similar questions, is still in a great degree uncertain.

The body of the people, at least all above the lowest order, seem to have addicted themselves to one or other of the two great prevailing sects—the Pharisees and the Sadducees. The multitude, though not actually enrolled among the former, were entirely under their sway, and zealously adhered to their faction. In all places of public resort the Pharisees were always seen with their phylacteries, or broad slips of parchment, inscribed with sentences of the law, displayed on their foreheads and the hems of their garments; even in the corners of the public streets they would kneel to pray; and in the temple or synagogues they chose the most conspicuous stations, that their long devotions might excite the admiration of their followers. They fasted rigorously, observed the Sabbath with the most scrupulous punctuality, and paid tithes even upon the cheapest herbs. In private societies they assumed the superiority to which their religious distinction seemed to entitle them; they always took the highest places. But their morals, according to the unerring authority of Jesus Christ, were far below their pretensions: they violated the main principles of the law, the justice and humanity of the Mosaic institutions, while they rigidly adhered to the most minute particulars, not merely of the law itself, but of tradition likewise. Still they were the idols of the people, who reverenced them as the great teachers and models of virtue and holiness. The Sadducees were less numerous and less influential: for besides the want of this popular display of religion, they were notoriously severe in the execution of the national statutes. Denying all punishment for crime in a future life, their only way to discourage delinquency was by the immediate terrors of the law; and this they put in force, perhaps with the greater rigour, because their disbelief of future rewards and punishments was represented by their enemies as leading necessarily to the utmost laxity of morals. This effect it would probably have on many of the weak or licentious; but the doctrine of the Sadducees, which fully recognised the certain punishment of guilt in this world by Divine Providence, is not justly chargeable with these consequences. It is singular that this notorious severity in the administration of the law is strongly exemplified in the Christian history. The first persecution of the apostles took place

when the Sadducees were in possession of the high priesthood, and probably formed a majority of the Sanhedrin;* and the high priest who put James to death, was, in all probability, of that sect.

Besides these two great sects, there was a considerable party attached to the persons of the Herodian family; who probably thought it the best interest of the country to remain quietly under the government of native princes, and the protection of the Roman emperors. This faction most likely comprehended what may be called the Grecian party; rather inclined to Grecian habits and customs, than strongly attached to the national institutes and usages.

At a considerable distance from the metropolis, in some highly cultivated oases amid the wilderness on the shores of the Dead Sea, were situated the chief of the large agricultural villages of the Essenes. According to Philo, their number was about 4000. Almost in every respect, both in their rules and in the patient industry with which they introduced the richest cultivation into the barren waste, the Essenes were the monastic orders of the Jews. Among groves of palm-trees of which, according to the picturesque expression of Pliny, they were the companions, and amid fertile fields won from the barren wilderness, they passed their rigid and ascetic lives. They avoided populous cities, not from hatred of mankind, but from dread of their vices. In general, no woman was admitted within their domains. Some of the inferior communities allowed marriage, but only associated with their wives for the procreation of children; the higher and more esteemed societies practised the most rigid celibacy, and entirely forswore all communication with the other sex. Wonderful nation, says the Roman naturalist, which endures for centuries, but in which no child is ever born. They were recruited by voluntary proselytes, or by children whom they adopted when very young, and educated in their discipline. Among the Essenes all pleasure was forbidden as sin: the entire extinction of the passions of the body was the only real virtue. An absolute community of goods was established in their settlements: even a man's house was not his own; another person might enter and remain in it as long as he pleased. The desire of riches was proscribed; every lucrative employment, commerce, traffic, and navigation were forbidden. They neither bought nor sold; all they had was thrown into a common fund, from which each received the necessaries of life; but for charity, or for the assistance of the poor or the stranger, they might draw as largely as they would on this general revenue. They were all clothed alike in white garments, which they did not

* Acts v. 17.

change till they were worn out: they abhorred the use of oil; if any one were anointed against his will, he scrupulously cleansed himself. Their lives were regulated by the strictest forms; they rose before the sun, but were forbidden to speak of any worldly business, and devoted all the time till break of day to offering up certain ancient prayers, that the sun might shine upon them. After this they received their orders from the superior, and went to work, according to his commands, at the labour or craft in which they were skilled; but their artisans might only work on articles used in peace, by no means on swords, arrows, or military weapons; though they carried arms, when they travelled, to defend themselves against robbers. Having worked till the fifth hour, eleven o'clock, they assembled for refreshment. First, however, they washed, and put on a linen garment; they then went into a room which no one might enter into who was not of their sect. After that, they entered the common refectory as if it were a sacred place; there in silence waited till grace was said; then each received his portion, from the baker and the cook, of bread, salt, and hyssop; another grace closed the meal: then, putting off their sacred garment, they returned to their toil till evening, when they again assembled to supper. No noise or tumult was heard; they spoke only by permission and in turn: on other occasions, if ten were met, one could not speak without the consent of the nine. In company they were to avoid spitting either before them or to the right hand. They observed the Sabbath with the strictest precision, not even lighting a fire, or performing the necessities of nature. At all other times they concealed their excrements with scrupulous care, digging a pit a foot deep, lest the holy light should be defiled. They then washed themselves with great care. On the Sabbath they all met in their synagogues, where the elders interpreted the sacred writings, explaining them chiefly by parables.

In their religious opinions they differed from their countrymen; though they sent their gifts to the temple, they offered no sacrifices there. They were strict predestinarians. They believed that the body was mortal, the soul immortal: that the soul, emanating out of the noblest and purest air, is imprisoned in the body, where it is subjected to severe trials: when released from its corporeal bonds, it escapes as it were a long servitude, and soars back rejoicing to its native element. They believed, with the Greeks, in a delightful region beyond the ocean, in which the souls of the good dwelt for ever. There rain, and snow, and parching heat were unknown, but the air was continually refreshed with balmy and gentle breezes from the sea. The souls of the wicked were doomed to a cold and gloomy place of everlasting punishment. They were great students of their sacred books, and especially of the prophetic writings. Many

were endowed, according to Josephus, with that gift. They studied likewise the nature and cure of diseases, and the medicinal properties of herbs and minerals. Their morals were rigid in every respect. They were bound, by solemn vows, to worship God and to be just to men; to keep inviolable faith; if entrusted with authority, to abstain from all wrong and from splendid apparel; to love truth and hate liars; to communicate only to the members of the society the tenets of the sect; to preserve their sacred doctrinal books, and the names of the angels. They paid the highest veneration to age: many of them, from their temperate habits, lived to more than 100 years. They abstained from all oaths, considering an oath as bad as perjury. They abhorred slavery, as an infringement of the natural liberty of men. In their civil constitution, they were all equal, as regards their rights, but divided into four classes; of which the superior class looked down so much on those beneath them, that if touched by one of a lower order, they were defiled, and washed themselves.

There were stewards who managed the common stock, and officers who took care of all strangers who might enter their towns. No one was admitted into the society without the strictest probation; the proselyte received a small pick-axe, linen garments, and a white dress, and so commenced his year of noviciate. After having given satisfactory proof of continence and temperance for that period, he was admitted to closer intimacy, and to wash in the holy water: yet for two years longer he remained on trial, and only at the end of that time was admitted to the common refectory. Whoever was guilty of any great crime was expelled from the society—a fearful doom! for having sworn that he would receive no food but from his own sect, the outcast fed, like a beast, on the grass of the field, till at length he perished with hunger. Sometimes, if at the last extremity the criminal showed sincere repentance, he was readmitted, from compassion, within the society. But this awful fate was inflicted with great reluctance; for justice was administered with the utmost care; and no verdict could be given unless a hundred were present; it was then usually irrevocable.

The Essenes were cruelly persecuted by the Romans, who probably entered their country after the capture of Jericho. They were tortured, racked, had their bones broken on the wheel, in order to compel them to blaspheme their lawgiver, or eat forbidden meats. They did not attempt to appease their tormentors; they uttered no cry, they shed no tear; and even smiled in the worst agony of torment; and in steadfast reliance on the immortality of their souls, departed, rejoicing, from life. These were usually called practical Essenes; there was another class in Egypt, called the Therapeutæ or Contemplative. These were mystics; they have been claimed by some Roman Catholic

writers as primitive Christian monks, but, though doubtless the prototypes of the monastic or eremitical life, they were as certainly Jews.

The origin of this singular people, the Essenes, is involved in obscurity. Some have deduced them from very high antiquity, but without the slightest ground for their opinion; others derive them from the Rechabites, mentioned in the latter period of the monarchy. In some respects they may seem to have been formed in imitation of the schools of the prophets, some of which, if not all, bound themselves to a severe and abstemious life; and not only does Josephus inform us that many of the Essenes pretended to the gift of prophecy, but we meet with Essene prophets in several parts of the later Jewish history. The main principles of their tenets seem evidently grounded on that wide-spread Oriental philosophy, which, supposing matter either the creation of the Evil Being, or itself the Evil Being, considered all the appetites and propensities of the *material* body in themselves evil, and therefore esteemed the most severe mortification the perfection of virtue. The reverence for the names of the angels points to the same source, and there is one ambiguous expression in the account of Josephus, which, taken literally, would imply that they worshipped the sun.

On this complete alteration in the civil state of Judæa, P. Sulpicius Quirinius, who had passed through all the offices of the Roman magistracy, and attained the consulate, was appointed to the prefecture of Syria. The subordinate administration of Judæa was entrusted to Coponius, a man of equestrian rank. Quirinius is by some supposed to have acted formerly as co-adjutor to the Syrian prefect, Saturninus, having been appointed for the special purpose of conducting the general census of the population in this region. This is what is incorrectly called the general taxation, in our common translation of St. Luke's Gospel, which, in fact, was only a registry. Quirinius had now the more invidious office of taking a second census, of property as well as of persons, in order to regulate the taxation exacted by the Roman government from the subject provinces. The proud spirit of the Jews submitted in sullen reluctance to this last mark of subjection. The prudence of Joazar, who, in what manner it is unknown, had resumed the office of high priest, repressed all dangerous indications of discontent; but the fiercer spirits found a leader in Judas, called the Galilean, though born in Gamala, a city of Gaulonitis. He was a man of eloquence, which he employed on the popular subjects—the sovereignty of God over his chosen people—the degradation of subjection to a foreign yoke—the unlawfulness of paying tribute. Multitudes crowded around him: the high-spirited—the adventurous—those who were full of burning zeal for their country and their law—unhappily also the fierce

and licentious. With his confederate, Sadoc, a Pharisee, Judas formed a fourth sect, in addition to those of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. The watchword of his party was—We have no lord and master but God. But the days were past when a similar war-cry had rallied the whole nation under the banner of the Maccabees, and won the independence of Judæa at the point of the sword. The circumstances of the times were widely different; the national character was altered for the worse; the power of the oppressor, who wielded all the forces of the western world with Roman vigour and ability, irresistible; and the God, in whose name and under whose protection they had been accustomed to triumph, was now about to withdraw his presence. A kingdom *not of this world*, was to rise out of the ruins of the temporal sovereignty, which had so long remained among the heirs and successors of David. Judas himself perished—his followers were dispersed; but to the influence of their tenets, in support of which numbers endured the most horrible tortures and death with the martyr's fortitude, Josephus attributes all the subsequent insurrections, and the final ruin of the city and the temple. The Gaulonites were the doctrinal ancestors of the zealots and assassins (Sicarii) of later days. The sons of Judas were true to their father's precepts, and, as we shall see hereafter, shared his fate.

Quirinius, having completed the sale of the confiscated goods which belonged to Archelaus—deposed Joazar, who had become unpopular, from the pontificate, and substituted Ananus, the son of Seth—retired to Syria. Coponius remained as governor of the province. No other incident of his administration is related, but a singular story of a wanton profanation of the temple by some Samaritans, who stole in on one of the nights during the Passover, and strewed the sacred pavement with dead men's bones.

Coponius was succeeded by M. Ambivius, during whose government died Salome, the sister of Herod, leaving Jamnia and her other territorial possessions to Livia, the wife of Augustus. M. Ambivius was followed by Annius Rufus. This rapid succession of provincial governors took place at the close of the reign of Augustus; his successor, Tiberius, pursued a different policy. During his reign of twenty-three years, Judæa had only two rulers, Valerius Gratus (A. C. 16), and Pontius Pilate (A. C. 27). This was avowedly done by Tiberius on principles of humanity, and implied a bitter sarcasm on the rapacity of Roman prefects—"a rapid succession of rulers," observed the shrewd tyrant, "only increases the oppressions and exactions of the provinces. The governor who anticipates but a short harvest, makes the most of his time, and extorts as much as he is able in the shortest possible period. A governor who expects to

remain longer in office, pillages on a more gradual, and therefore less oppressive system—it is even possible that his avarice may be satiated." He compared a Roman province to the poor wounded man in the fable, who lay by the way-side covered with flies; and when a kind-hearted traveller offered to drive them away, declined his service, as those were already glutted, and would only be replaced by a more hungry swarm. As if the governors of Judæa had exemplified the justice of the imperial pleasantry, the Jews petitioned Tiberius for a diminution of the burthens by which they were overwhelmed. The decision was left to Germanicus, who was then in the East; but whether any inquiry took place is uncertain. The government of Gratus is remarkable only for the perpetual changes which he made in the appointment to the high priesthood. He deposed Ananus, and substituted Ismael, son of Fabi—then Eleazar, son of Ananus—then Simon, son of Camith—and lastily, Joseph Caiaphas, the son-in law of Ananus.

During this period Judæa enjoyed tranquillity, but the Jews of Rome were exposed to a dreadful calamity. The rapid progress of foreign superstitions, as they were called, particularly among the women of high rank, alarmed the vigilance of the government. A young libertine, Decius Mundus, had bribed the priests of the Egyptian Isis, and by their means, in the character and habit of the god Anubis, had debauched the wife of Saturninus, Paullina, a woman of rank and virtue, but strangely infatuated by her attachment to the Egyptian religion. Mundus boasting of the success of his profligacy, the affair was detected. Mundus was banished, the priests crucified, the temple razed, and the statue Isis thrown into the Tiber. Just at this juncture, some Jews were discovered to have obtained so great an ascendancy over the mind of Fulvia, a noble matron, as not only to have made her a proselyte, but to have extorted from her large sums of money, as offerings to the temple, which they had converted to their own use. The Jews were involved in the same sentence with the Egyptians; they were expelled from Rome, perhaps from Italy; 4000 were drafted into the army, and sent to Sardinia, where the greater part fell victims to the unwholesome climate. Philo attributes this persecution to the intrigues of Sejanus, who apprehended that the attachment of the Jews to the person of the Emperor might stand in the way of his daring designs; and adds, that Tiberius, having discovered this after the death of Sejanus, issued an edict more favourable to that people.

Up to this period the Roman prætor seems to have resided in Cæsarea, and avoided all collision between his troops and the turbulent zealots of the capital. Pontius Pilate determined to transfer the winter quarters of his army from Samaria to Jerusalem. The Romans had hitherto so far respected the prejudices

of their subjects, as not to introduce their standards, on which appeared not only the offensive *image* of the eagle, but likewise that of Cæsar, within the walls of the city. The troops entered the gates by night, and in the morning the people were shocked and surprised at beholding the effigy of the Emperor publicly displayed in their streets. They abstained from all violence, but a numerous deputation set out to Cæsarea, and for many days entreated Pilate to remove the standards. Pilate treated the affair as an insult on the Emperor, and, weary of their importunity, concealed some troops, with which he surrounded and hoped to disperse them. When the soldiers appeared, the Jews with one accord fell on the ground, declaring that they were ready to die rather than sanction the infringement of their law. Pilate had the prudence to withdraw the obnoxious emblems.*

The refractory spirit of Jerusalem broke out on other occasions. Pilate seized some of the revenue of the temple, and applied it to the useful and magnificent design of building an aqueduct, which was to bring a supply of water to the city from the distance of 200 stadia—about 25 miles. The populace rose, and interrupted the workmen. Pilate, having addressed some of his soldiers in the common garb of the country, with their swords concealed, commanded them to mingle with the people, and when they began their usual obstruction to his works, to fall upon and disperse them. The soldiers executed their commission with greater cruelty than Pilate had intended, and committed dreadful havoc among the unarmed multitude.

Such was the man, not naturally disposed to unnecessary bloodshed, but, when the peace of his province appeared in danger, stern, decided, and reckless of human life—on all other occasions by no means regardless of ingratiating himself in the popular favour, before whose tribunal Jesus Christ was led. Pilate was awed perhaps by the tranquil dignity of Jesus, or at least saw no reason to apprehend any danger to the Roman sovereignty from a person of such peaceful demeanour—he probably detected the malice, though he might not clearly comprehend the motive, of the accusation brought forward by the priests and populace. Still, however, he shrunk from the imputation of not being "Cæsar's friend," and could not think the life of one man, however innocent, of much importance in comparison with the peace of the country, and his own favour at Rome. In this dilemma he naturally endeavours to avoid the responsibility of decision, by transferring the criminal to the tribunal of Herod, to whose jurisdiction, Christ, as a Galilean, belonged, and who happened to be at Jerusalem for the celebration of the Passover.

* It is difficult to decide whether the account given by Philo, of the hanging up certain bucklers in Herod's palace, is a version of the same story or a different one.

At length, however, finding the uproar increasing, he yields without much further scruple, and the Roman soldiery are permitted to become the willing instruments of the Jewish priesthood, in the crucifixion of that man in whom Pilate himself could find no fault. We leave to the Christian historian the description of this event, and all its consequences—inestimable in their importance to mankind, but which produced hardly any *immediate* effect on the affairs of the Jewish nation. Yet, our history will have shown that the state of the public mind in Judæa, as well as the character of Pilate, the chief agent in the transaction, harmonise in the most remarkable manner with the narrative of the Evangelists. The general expectation of the Messiah—the impatience of the Roman sovereignty, fostered by the bold and turbulent doctrines of Judas the Galilean—the extraordinary excitement of the more fanatical part of the people, which led them to crowd round the banner of each successive adventurer, who either assumed or might assume that character—the rigid prudence of the chief priests, lest the least indication of revolt should compromise the safety of the city and the temple, and expose the whole nation to the jealous resentment of the Roman governor—these circumstances of the times sufficiently account for the reception which such a teacher as Jesus of Nazareth met with in Jerusalem. Appearing, as he did, with doctrines so alarming to the authority of the priesthood—so full of disappointment to the fanatic populace—so repugnant to the national pride, as implying the dissolution of the Mosaic constitution, and the establishment of a new and more comprehensive faith—and, above all, openly assuming the mysterious title, the Son of God—it excites less astonishment, than sorrow and commiseration, that the passions of such a people should at once take arms, and proceed to the most awful violence against a Teacher, whose tenets were so much too pure and spiritual for their comprehension, whose character was so remote from their preconceived notions of the expected Messiah.

St. Luke relates another characteristic act of violence committed during the administration of Pilate, of which the Jewish records take no notice,—the massacre of certain Galileans while they were offering sacrifice. Some have supposed that these might be followers of Judas the Gaulonite.

An act which displayed the same vigilant jealousy of popular commotion, and the same reckless disregard of human life, led to the recall and the disgrace of Pilate. The Samaritans had, hitherto, remained in peaceful submission to the Roman government; they are stated occasionally to have shown their old enmity against the Jews, by waylaying those of the northern provinces who passed on their way to the passover at Jerusalem. Now, however, the whole province was thrown into a state of

excitement by an impostor, who promised to discover certain vessels, according to his statement (grounded, doubtless, upon some old tradition), buried by Moses on Mount Gerizim. Multitudes appeared in arms at a village named Tirabatha, at the foot of the mountain. Pilate, with his usual vigilance and decision, ordered some troops to station themselves on the road, attacked the village, slew the leaders, and dispersed the rest.

The Samaritan senate carried their complaints before Vitellius, the president of Syria, the father of that Vitellius who afterwards obtained the empire. Vitellius sent immediate orders to Pilate to withdraw to Rome, and there answer to the charges which were made against him.

Vitellius then, in person, visited Jerusalem; he was received with great magnificence, and was present during the celebration of the Passover. He remitted the tax on the sale of the fruits of the earth. He likewise conferred a benefit on the nation, which was considered of signal importance. By a remarkable accident, the custody of the high priest's robes of office had passed into the hands of the Romans. Hyrcanus had been accustomed to lay them up in the Baris, the castle near the temple. This usage was continued by his successors. Herod having converted the Baris into the strong fortress called Antonia, it afterwards became the chief place of arms to the Roman garrison. The Jews, tenacious of ancient customs, did not think of removing these important vestments. They thus fell into the power of the foreign rulers, who, as the high priest could not officiate without them, might impede or prevent the performance of the temple ceremonies. They were kept in a stone building, and sealed by the seal of the high priest, from whence they were taken with great ceremony, seven days before the feast, and purified; after they had been used, they were replaced with the same care. Vitellius gave up the robes to the high priest, and they were transferred to a treasury within the temple. Vitellius degraded Caiaphas from the high priesthood, and substituted Jonathan, son of Ananus, or Annas. He then returned to Antioch.

During this period, the two other sons of Herod had reigned in peace over their respective provinces; Herod Antipas, as Tetrarch of Galilee, in Sepphoris, his capital; Philip, in the district beyond the Jordan. Both had endeavoured to ingratiate themselves with the reigning emperor by the costly flattery of founding or ornamenting cities to be called after his name. Philip called Paneas, Cæsarea; and Bethsaida, Julias. Antipas called Betharampha, Julias, after the wife of the emperor, and founded Tiberias on the lake of Gennesareth. The city having been built over an ancient cemetery, Herod was obliged to use force and bribes to induce the people to settle there. Philip was

a prince of great justice and humanity; wherever he went, the divan of justice followed him; and directly any appeal was made to his tribunal, a court was formed, and the cause decided. He died about this time, without issue; his territory was annexed to the province of Syria.

Herod had seduced and married Herodias his niece, the wife of Herod Philip, a son of Herod the Great, by Mariamne, daughter of Simon the high priest, not Philip the Tetrarch. It was on her account that he put to death John the Baptist. This marriage led him into danger, as well as into crime. His repudiated wife was a daughter of Aretas, king of Arabia. This prince took arms, to avenge the wrong and insult offered to his daughter, and in a great battle, the whole army of Herod was cut off. Herod sent to intreat the interference of Tiberius, who gave orders to Vitellius to chastise the insolence of Aretas. Vitellius set his troops in motion to advance on Petra, the Arabian capital. His march lay through Judæa, but the heads of the people sent an earnest request that he would not display his standards, which were adorned with images, within their territory. Vitellius complied; he sent his army across the Jordan, and himself, with Herod and his friends, went up a second time, to witness the Passover at Jerusalem. He deposed the high priest, Jonathan, and substituted his brother Theophilus. On the fourth day of the festival, intelligence arrived of the death of Tiberius, and the accession of Caligula. Vitellius dismissed his troops to their quarters, and returned to Antioch.

The accession of Caligula was an event of the greatest importance to another branch of the Herodian family—Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, one of the two unfortunate princes, the sons of Herod the Great, by Mariamne the Asmonean. The early life of Agrippa had been a strange course of adventure and vicissitude. On his father's execution, he was sent to Rome, where he enjoyed the favour of Antonia, the widow of the elder Drusus, the brother of Tiberius. Antonia entertained a sincere friendship for Berenice, the mother of Agrippa, and under her protection, the young Idumean prince attached himself to the person of Drusus, the son of Tiberius. Agrippa inherited the profusion, but not the wealth, of the Herodian race. On his mother's death, he speedily dissipated his whole property, and found himself overwhelmed with debts. His associate, Drusus, died; and Tiberius issued orders that none of the youth's intimate companions should be admitted into his presence, lest they should awaken the melancholy recollection of his beloved son. Agrippa, in the utmost distress, retreated to his native land, and took up his residence at Malatha, an insignificant village in Idumæa. There he was in such a state of destitution, that he began to entertain designs of ridding himself of his

miserable life by suicide. At length, he had recourse to his sister Herodias, the incestuous wife of Herod Antipas. Through her interest, he obtained a welcome reception at Sepphoris, where the Ethnarch of Galilee held his court. From Antipas he obtained a yearly allowance, and the government of Tiberias. But Herod, during the conviviality of a banquet, having cast some reflection on his pensioner, the indignant Agrippa withdrew from Galilee, and retired to the protection of Pomponius Flaccus, the Prefect of Syria, into whose good graces he insinuated himself with hereditary address. At Antioch he met his step-brother, Aristobulus, but there was not much fraternal amity between them, and Aristobulus seized the opportunity of supplanting his rival in the favour of the Roman Prefect. Agrippa received a bribe, to secure his interest with Flaccus, from the inhabitants of Damascus, who were engaged in a dispute about their borders with the Sidonians. Detected in this discreditable transaction, through the jealous vigilance of his brother, he was forced to leave Antioch in disgrace, and retired to Ptolemais in a state of the lowest indigence. There, through his freedman, Marsyas, he tried in vain all the money-lenders, for he had neither bondsman nor security to offer, till at last, a freed slave of his mother lent him 17,500 drachms on a promissory bond for 20,000. With this sum he got to Anthedon, intending to sail for Rome. But he was suddenly arrested by Herennius Capito, Prefect of Jamnia, for a debt of 300,000 drachms, which he had borrowed at Rome of the Imperial exchequer. Agrippa promised to settle the debt, but his vessel slipping her cables by night, he escaped to Alexandria. There his wife, Cypros, prevailed on the Jewish Alabarch to lend him 200,000 drachms. The prudent Alabarch, however, advanced only five talents, promising that the rest should be forthcoming on his arrival in Italy. With this money, having sent his wife back to Palestine, Agrippa set sail for Rome. On his landing at Puteoli, he despatched a letter to Tiberius, then at Capreæ. The emperor sent to congratulate him on his arrival, invited him to Capreæ, and entertained him with great courtesy, till a despatch arrived from Herennius Capito, relating his dishonourable evasion from Anthedon. He was forbid the imperial presence, and retired in disgrace to Rome. But his mother's friend, Antonia, still protected him. She lent him a sum sufficient to discharge his debt to the imperial treasury, and Agrippa was reinstated in the favour of Tiberius. The emperor recommended him to attach himself to the person of his grandson, the younger Tiberius; but the Jewish prince, with better fortune or judgment, preferred that of Caius Caligula. In this state of advancement, he borrowed a million drachms of Thallus, a Samaritan freedman of Cæsar, and repaid his debt to Antonia. Unfortunately, one day when he was riding with

Caligula in a chariot, he expressed aloud his earnest petition to Providence, that Tiberius might speedily be removed, in order to make room for a more worthy successor. The speech was overheard by Eutychus, a freedman, the driver of the chariot. Eutychus, punished for a theft, hastened to revenge himself by laying a charge against his master. The dilatory Tiberius, according to his custom, postponed the examination of the accuser, who remained in prison; till Agrippa, imprudently, or having forgotten the whole affair, urged on the inquiry, and the fact was clearly proved. Tiberius was already offended at the court paid by Agrippa to the young Caius; and suddenly, in the public circus, commanded Macron, the captain of his guard, "to put that man in chains." Macron, surprised at the sudden change, delayed the execution of the command; till Tiberius returning to the same spot, he inquired against whom the order was directed. The emperor sternly pointed to Agrippa, and, notwithstanding his humble supplications, the heir of the Asmonean princes, clad as he was in the royal purple, was put in fetters like a common malefactor. The day was excessively sultry, and a slave of Caligula passing by with a vessel of water, Agrippa entreated for a draught. The slave complied, and Agrippa promised that when he should be released from his chains, he would repay the kindness through his interest with Caligula—a promise which, to his honour, he faithfully kept. Even in this fallen condition, Antonia did not desert the son of her friend Berenice; she obtained for him some mitigation of the discomforts and privations of his prison. At length his release arrived. Immediately on the death of Tiberius, Marsyas, his faithful freed-slave, hastened to his master's dungeon, and communicated the joyful intelligence, saying in the Hebrew language, "The lion is dead." The centurion on guard inquired the cause of their rejoicing; and when he had extorted the information from Agrippa, anxious to propitiate the favour of a prisoner, whose advancement he foresaw, he ordered his chains to be struck off, and invited him to supper. While they were at table, a rumour reached the prison that Tiberius was still living. The affrighted centurion bitterly reproached Agrippa with betraying him into so serious a breach of discipline, and ordered him immediately to be reloaded with his chains. That night Agrippa passed in the most anxious state of suspense and apprehension. With the morning the news was confirmed, and shortly after Caligula entered Rome in imperial state. On the very day of his entry, but for the prudence of Antonia, he would have commanded the release of his friend. A short time after he sent the order for his liberation, received him at his court, and conferred on him the vacant tetrarchate of Philip, with the title of king. He presented him likewise with a chain of gold,

of the same weight with that of iron with which he had been fettered.

Agrippa remained that year in Rome; during the next, the second of Caligula's reign, he arrived in Palestine with royal pomp, to take possession of his dignity. But if the good fortune of Agrippa excited the general wonder, it aroused the bitterest jealousy in the mind of Herodias, the wife of Herod, the tetrarch of Galilee. She saw the splendour of her husband eclipsed by the beggarly spendthrift, who, although her own brother, had been dependent on their charity. The evil passions of this woman were as fatal to the prosperity as to the virtue of Herod. Her insatiable and envious ambition would not allow him to rest till he had obtained a royal title which should set him on a level with the upstart Agrippa. Herod, whose character is described as cool and crafty, (he is designated in the Gospel, as "that fox Herod,") was carried away by her perpetual urgency, and, in an inauspicious hour, he undertook a journey to Rome, in order to solicit the title of king. Agrippa instantly dispatched a messenger to counterwork the intrigues and outbid the bribery of Herod. The messenger made such good speed as to arrive at Baiæ before the tetrarch. Agrippa's letter to Caligula accused Herod of former intrigues with Sejanus, and secret intelligence with the Parthians. It charged him particularly with having laid up a great store of arms, in case of a revolt. Directly Herod appeared, the emperor closely questioned him upon the plain fact whether he had furnished his palace with large quantities of warlike stores. The tetrarch could not deny the charge, and Caligula immediately deprived him of the ethnarchate, which he added to the dominions of Agrippa, and ordered him into banishment. Lyons, in Gaul, was the place of his exile; and thus, in the same remote province, two sons of the magnificent Herod were condemned to waste their inglorious lives by the summary sentence of the Roman emperor.

On account of her relationship to Agrippa, Caligula was inclined to exempt Herodias from the disgrace of her husband; he offered to restore her to all the possessions which she could claim as her own. In a nobler spirit than could have been expected from such a woman, Herodias rejected his mercy, and determined to share the fortunes of her banished husband.

Up to the reign of Caligula, the Jews had enjoyed, without any serious interruption, the universal toleration, which Roman policy permitted to the religion of the subject states. If the religion had suffered a temporary proscription at Rome under Tiberius, it was as a foreign superstition, supposed, from the misconduct of individuals, to be dangerous to the public morals in the metropolis. Judaism remained undisturbed in the rest of

the empire; and, although the occasional insolence of the Roman governors in Judæa might display itself in acts offensive to the religious feelings of the natives, yet the wiser and more liberal, like Vitellius, studiously avoided all interference with that superstition which they respected or despised. But the insane vanity of Caligula made him attempt to enforce from the whole empire those divine honours which his predecessors condescended to receive from the willing adulation of their subjects. Everywhere statues were raised and temples built, in honour of the deified emperor. The Jews could not submit to the mandate without violating the first principle of their religion, nor resist it without exposing their whole nation to the resentment of their masters.

The storm began to lower around them: its first violence broke upon the Jews in Alexandria, where, however, the collision with the ruling authorities first originated in the animosities of the Greek and Jewish factions, which divided the city. This great and populous city, besides strangers from all quarters, was inhabited by three distinct races, the native Egyptians, Jews, and Greeks. The native Egyptians were generally avoided as of an inferior class; but the Jews boasted of edicts from the founder of the city, and from other monarchs of Egypt, which entitled them to equal rank and estimation with the descendants of the Macedonian settlers. They were numerous: Philo calculates that in Egypt they amounted to a million of souls; they were opulent, and among the most active traders of that great commercial metropolis; it is probable that they were turbulent, and not the peaceful and unoffending people described by their advocate, Philo—at all events they were odious to the Greek population. The Roman prefect at this period was Flaccus Aquilius. For the five last years Flaccus had administered the affairs of this important province and the municipal government of this unruly city, with equal vigour and discretion. His attention to business, his perfect acquaintance with the usages, interests, and factions of the whole country; his dignity on the tribunal of justice; his prudence in suppressing all clubs and assemblies of the lower orders, which were held under the pretence of religion, but were acknowledged to be dangerous to the public peace, excited universal admiration. He had introduced a system of good and equal laws into the city, while by constant reviews of the military forces, he had both improved the discipline of the army, and overawed the turbulent and disaffected by the display of his power. The death of Tiberius, according to Philo, wrought a total change in this wise and upright character; Flaccus had attached himself to the party of the younger Tiberius, and apprehended the resentment of the new emperor. He became careless of

business, remiss in all the great duties of his station, his vigorous mind seemed paralysed. The death of his friend, Macro, who alone repressed the violence of Caligula, deprived him of his last hope of maintaining himself in the imperial favour; he determined, therefore, to ingratiate himself with the people of Alexandria, in order that their good report might plead his cause; and commend the wisdom of his government with the emperor. With this view he relaxed the sternness of his police, and allowed the Grecian party to proceed to every outrage and insult on the hated Jewish population. The accidental arrival of king Agrippa was the signal for this collision of the two factions. On his way to Palestine, where he was going to take possession of his kingdom, Agrippa, to avail himself of the Etesian winds, sailed direct to Alexandria. He arrived unexpectedly in the evening, and landed in the night, that he might avoid all unnecessary display. According to Philo, the sight of a Jew honoured with a royal title, and surrounded by guards, whose armour glittered with gold and silver, exasperated the envious Alexandrians. They insulted him; wrote pasquinades against him, probably alluding to the beggarly condition in which he had before appeared in Alexandria; brought him on the stage, and even proceeded to a more offensive practical jest.

There was a poor idiot, named Carabas, who used to wander naked about the streets, the butt of idle and mischievous boys. Him they seized, and placed on a lofty seat near the Gymnasium, dressed him in an old mat for a robe, put a paper crown on his head, and a cane in his hand for a sceptre; boys, with sticks for halberds, went before him to represent his body-guard; and, to complete the parody on the royal state of Agrippa, some did him homage, some presented petitions, some addressed him on affairs of state, and called him by a word which signified "Lord" in the Syrian language. Flaccus, though outwardly he showed all possible respect to Agrippa, secretly connived at their insulting proceedings, and even fomented them. This, however, is the most improbable part of Philo's story, for if it was the main object of Flaccus to secure the favour of Caligula, no man of his prudence would unnecessarily have offended his acknowledged friend and favourite. Agrippa, probably, soon withdrew from the inhospitable city, bearing with him a decree of the Jews, in which they offered to Caligula all the honours compatible with their law. This decree Flaccus had promised to forward, but had treacherously withholden from the knowledge of the emperor. Encouraged by the apparent connivance of the prefect, the Greek faction assembled in the theatre, and demanded, with loud cries, that the statue of the emperor should be placed in all the Jewish proseuchæ, their oratories or places of prayer.

They then proceeded to carry their own demands into execution: they cut down the trees which surrounded those picturesque places of worship, burned some, and profaned the rest by erecting images within them; in the most considerable they determined to place a great statue in a chariot drawn by four horses. Not having a chariot ready, they seized an old one which had before belonged to Cleopatra, an ancestress of the celebrated Egyptian queen of that name. A few days after their oratories had thus been violated, Flaccus issued an edict, in which the Jews were called strangers, thus depriving them at once of their boasted rights of citizenship. Philo would persuade us that the Jews had not given the slightest provocation, and bore all these repeated outrages with the utmost meekness. This is not probable; and the next measure of the governor seems as if it had been intended to separate the two conflicting parties, and so secure the peace of the distracted city. Alexandria was divided into five quarters, named from the first five letters of the alphabet. Two of these were entirely peopled by Jews, and many of them dwelt scattered about in the other three. They were ordered to retire into one of these districts, which was so much too small to contain them, that they spread about upon the sea-shore, and in the cemeteries. The vacant houses in the quarter from which they had retired were pillaged by the mob; the magazines and shops which were shut on account of a general mourning for Drusilla, the emperor's sister, were broken open: the goods publicly shared in the market-place. Philo complains that great distress was caused by the pledges being taken away from the brokers, whence it appears that the Jews had already taken up the profession of money-lenders. But this was not the worst. Cooped up in one narrow quarter of the city, they began to suffer dreadfully from the heat and unwholesomeness of the air. Pestilential disorders broke out, and though the year was plentiful, they suffered all the miseries of famine, for they were almost besieged in their quarter. Those who ventured out into the market were robbed, insulted, maltreated, pursued with sticks and stones. Bloodshed soon ensued; many were slain with the sword, others trampled to death; some, even while alive, were dragged by their heels through the streets; when dead, their bodies were still dragged along till they were torn to pieces, or so disfigured that they could not be distinguished, if at length recovered by their friends. Those who strayed out of the city to breathe the purer air of the country, or the strangers who incautiously entered the walls to visit and relieve their friends, were treated in the same way, and beaten with clubs till they were dead. The quays were watched, and on the landing of a Jewish vessel, the merchandise was plundered, the owners and their vessel burned, their houses were likewise set on fire, and whole families, men, women, and

children, burned alive. Yet even this was a merciful death compared with the sufferings of others. Sometimes, from want of wood, their persecutors could collect only a few wet sticks, and over these, stifled with smoke, and half consumed, the miserable victims slowly expired. Sometimes they would mock their sufferings by affected sorrow, but if any of their own relatives or friends betrayed the least emotion, they were seized, scourged, tortured, and even crucified.

During all these horrible scenes, Flaccus, who could at once have put an end to the tumult, looked on in calm indifference. He now, according to his accuser, openly took part against them. He sent for the principal Jews, as if to meditate an accommodation, in reality only to find new pretexts for cruelty. The Jews had their Alabarch or chief magistrate, and their council or senate. Flaccus ordered thirty-eight of the most distinguished members of this body to be seized, bound them as criminals, and, although it was the emperor's birth-day, a day of general rejoicing, they were brought into the theatre, and publicly scourged with such cruelty that many of them died instantly of the blows; others, shortly after, of the mischiefs they received. It was thought an aggravation of this cruelty, that as there were different kinds of flagellation, according to the rank of the criminal, these distinguished men were condemned to that usually inflicted on the basest. Those who escaped with life, were thrown into prison; others of this miserable race were seized and crucified. It was the morning spectacle of the theatre to see the Jews scourged, tortured both with the rack and with pullies, and then led away to execution; and to this horrible tragedy immediately succeeded farces and dances and other theatrical amusements. Women were occasionally seized and exposed to the public view—sometimes female peasants were taken for Jewesses; when discovered they were let go; if any doubt remained, swine's flesh was brought and the women commanded to eat; those who complied were released, those who refused, treated with every kind of indignity.

As if to justify these cruelties by an apparent dread of insurrection, Flaccus sent a centurion, Castus, to search all the houses of the Jews for concealed arms. The search was conducted with the utmost rigour, even the women's apartments ransacked, but no weapon was found more dangerous than common knives used for domestic purposes.

At length the hour of retribution arrived; all the attempts of Flaccus to secure the favour of Caligula were unavailing; a centurion, Bassus, was sent to arrest him. Bassus proceeded, not with the boldness of a messenger armed with an imperial edict, but as if he had to surprise an independent sovereign in the midst of loyal subjects; it seems to warrant a suspicion, either

that Flaccus entertained some design of revolting, or at least, that his popularity at Alexandria was so great as to render his capture difficult and dangerous. Bassus arrived at night, landed secretly, and found that Flaccus was abroad, at a banquet given by one Stephanio, a freedman of Tiberius. One of his followers mingled with the guests, and finding that the governor was only attended by eight or ten slaves, Bassus surrounded the chamber with his soldiers, and displayed the imperial edict. Flaccus at once saw his fate, and was led away without resistance. It was the feast of Tabernacles: but the sad and persecuted Jews had little inclination for the usual joy and merriment of the season. When the rumour of the apprehension of Flaccus spread abroad, they supposed it to be a deception intended to tempt them to rejoicings, which would be cruelly revenged. When the intelligence was confirmed, they began to praise God, and during the whole night the people were occupied in hymns and songs of thanksgiving. The wrath of Heaven, as they believed, now pursued the miserable Flaccus; he had a tempestuous voyage; on his arrival at Rome he was accused by Lampo and Isidore, two men of the basest character; his property was confiscated, and he himself banished first to Gyara, an island in the Ægean Sea, proverbial for the hard fate of those who were exiled to its shores. By the interest of Lepidus he obtained a commutation of this punishment, and was sent to Andros, where he arrived after a disastrous voyage, and after having been an object of contempt or commiseration in the various towns through which he passed. Philo asserts that he was haunted by bitter remorse for his cruelties towards the Jews. He was soon after put to death by order of Caligula.

Thus Philo describes the persecutions of the Jews in Alexandria, and the conduct of Flaccus; but it may be justly suspected that both the sufferings and the peaceful disposition of his countrymen are highly coloured; and in the character and motives of Flaccus there appears so much inconsistency, as perpetually to remind us that we are reduced to follow the narrative of an advocate, not that of a dispassionate historian.

A deputation from each of the parties in Alexandria arrived in Rome, to lay the whole history of the late disturbances before the emperor. At the head of the Grecian party was Apion, a man of eloquence, and a determined enemy to the Jews; on the other side appeared Philo, the author from whose writings the recent account has been extracted, a person of rank, for he was the brother of the Alabarch, and of unquestioned ability. The reception which the Jewish party met with at first was apparently flattering; Philo alone apprehended an unfavourable event. They presented a memorial, which the emperor seemed to receive with gaiety and urbanity. They then followed the court to Puteoli:

their great object was to obtain the security of their proseuchæ from being desecrated by images. These oratories they possessed in every city where they resided. While they were discussing their hopes of succeeding in this great object of their mission, suddenly a man rushed in with a pale and disordered countenance, and communicated the dreadful intelligence, that an edict had been issued to place the statue of the emperor within the temple of Jerusalem.

The mad vanity of Caligula had been irritated by the resistance of the Jews in Alexandria; other circumstances, combined with evil counsellors, made him determine to triumph over what he considered the disloyal obstinacy of this self-willed people. Capito, a receiver of revenue in Judæa, at first a very poor man, had grown rich in his employment, and apprehended that complaints of his exactions might reach the ear of the emperor. He determined, therefore, that his accusers should appear in an unfavourable light, and, to this end, he persuaded certain Greeks, who lived mingled with the native population in Jamnia, to build a miserable altar of brick in honour of Caius. The Jews, as he expected, rose and demolished the altar; they then carried their complaints before Capito himself, who seized the opportunity of representing the affair in Rome as an act of wanton and unprovoked sedition.

The evil counsellors of Caligula, were Helicon, an Egyptian, a slave by birth, a buffoon by occupation, and Apelles,* a tragic actor, of Ascalon, in Syria. Both these men were born and brought up in hostility to the Jewish race. By their advice the fatal mandate was issued, that a gilded colossal statue of Caligula should be placed in the Holy of Holies, and that the temple should be dedicated to Caius, the present and younger Jupiter. The execution of the edict was intrusted to P. Petronius, who was appointed to succeed Vitellius as prefect of Syria. But before we describe the attempt to enforce this edict in Palestine, it may be well to anticipate the fate of the Alexandrian deputation, which is related by Philo, and is curiously characteristic both of the emperor and of the estimation in which the Jews were generally held. After a long and wearisome attendance, the deputies were summoned to a final audience. To judge so grave a cause, as Philo complains with great solemnity, the emperor did not appear in a public court, encircled by the wisest of his senators; the embassy was received in the apartments of

* If Apelles was instrumental in this transaction he met with just though horrible retribution. Suetonius relates, that as he was standing with Caligula near a statue of Jupiter, the emperor suddenly asked him which of the two was the greater. Apelles hesitated, and Caligula ordered him to be scourged with the utmost violence, praising the sweetness of his voice all the time that he was shrieking in his agony.

two contiguous villas in the neighbourhood of Rome, called after Lamia and Mæcenas. The bailiffs of these villas were commanded at the same time to have all the rooms thrown open for the emperor's inspection. The Jews entered, made a profound obeisance, and saluted Caligula, as Augustus and Emperor—but the sarcastic smile on the face of Caius gave them little hope of success. "You are then," he said, showing his teeth as he spoke, "those enemies of the gods who alone refuse to acknowledge my divinity, but worship a deity whose name you dare not pronounce"—and here, to the horror of the Jews, he uttered the awful name. The Greek deputies from Alexandria, who were present, thought themselves certain of their triumph, and began to show their exultation by insulting gestures; and Isidore, one of the accusers of Flaccus, came forward to aggravate the disobedience of the Jews. He accused them of being the only nation who had refused to sacrifice for the emperor. The Jews with one voice disclaimed the calumny, and asserted that they had three times offered sacrifice for the welfare of the emperor —and indeed had been the first to do so on his accession. "Be it so," rejoined the emperor, "ye have sacrificed *for* me, but not *to* me." The Jews stood aghast and trembling. On a sudden, Caius began to run all over the house, up stairs and down stairs; inspecting the men's and the women's apartments; finding fault, and giving orders, while the poor Jews followed him from room to room, amid the mockery of the attendants. After he had given his orders, the emperor suddenly turned round to them: "Why is it that you do not eat pork?" The whole court burst into peals of laughter. The Jews temperately replied, that different nations have different usages: some persons would not eat lamb. "They are right," said the emperor, "it is an insipid meat." After further trial of their patience, he demanded, with his usual abruptness, on what they grounded their right of citizenship. They began a long and grave legal argument; but they had not proceeded far when Caius began to run up and down the great hall, and to order that some blinds, of a kind of transparent stone, like glass, which admitted the light, and excluded the heat and air, should be put up against the windows. As he left that room, he asked the Jews, with a more courteous air, if they had anything to say to him; they began again their harangue, in the middle of which he started away into another chamber, to see some old paintings. The Jews at length were glad to retreat, and felt happy to escape with their lives. Caius gave them their dismissal in these words: "Well, after all, they do not seem so bad; but rather a poor foolish people, who cannot believe that I am a god."

The instructions to Petronius, the Syrian governor, were distinct and precise; he was to place the statue of Caligula in

the temple of Jerusalem at all hazards. He was to withdraw, if necessary, the two legions which were usually stationed on the Euphrates. Yet he was too prudent and humane not to hesitate; he called a council, where the bigoted attachment of the Jews to their temple, and their formidable numbers, both in Judæa and other countries, were discussed. But it was unanimously agreed that the mandate of the emperor was imperative; and Petronius issued out orders to the Sidonian workmen to make the statue. He then collected his troops, and went into winter-quarters at Ptolemais. He had made known to the priests and rulers of the Jews the designs of the emperor; but no sooner had the intelligence spread, than many thousands of the people assembled from all quarters, without distinction of rank, age, or sex. They covered the country for a great distance like a vast cloud; they were unarmed and defenceless; many of them were clad in sackcloth, and had ashes on their heads—and every mark of the deepest mourning. All with one voice declared their steadfast and deliberate resolution to sacrifice their lives, rather than consent to the profanation of their temple. Petronius sternly rebuked them, and insisted on his own obligation to fulfil the positive commands of his sovereign. They answered, that they were as much bound to respect the ordinances of their God—that no fear of death would induce them to the violation of their law—that they dreaded the wrath of their God more than that of the emperor.

Petronius shrunk from the horrible task of commencing a war of massacre and extermination for such an object; and in order to obtain more certain information on the state of the country, he left his troops at Ptolemais, and himself, with some of his more distinguished officers, moved to Tiberias. Here many of the rulers, and the people by thousands, crowded again into his presence. Once more Petronius urged the power of the Romans, the positive mandate of the emperor, and the uniform obedience of all other nations. The Jews replied with entreaties and supplications, that he would not think of violating their sanctuary with the images of man. "Are ye resolved, then," said the Roman, "to wage war against your emperor?" "We have no thought of war," they replied unanimously; "but we will submit to be massacred rather than infringe our law"—and at once the whole body fell with their faces to the earth, and declared that they were ready to offer their throats to the swords of the soldiery.

For forty days this scene lasted: it was the time for sowing; and the whole land remained uncultivated. Aristobulus, the brother of Agrippa—Helcias, called the Great—and others of the most distinguished men of the nation—appeared before Petronius, and remonstrated with him on the impolicy of

reducing a flourishing province to a desert, from which no tribute could be drawn. The people, they urged, were obstinately determined not to till the soil, and would betake themselves to robbery; so that it was impossible to calculate the dreadful results of his persisting in the odious measure. They entreated that he would forward their representations to Caligula, in hopes that the emperor might yet be persuaded to relent.

The humane Petronius, after holding a council with his friends, resolved to risk the wrath of the emperor, rather than deluge the whole country with blood. According to one account, he determined not to forward the petition of the Jews, but to delay, under the pretence of allowing time for the statue to be finished; and to represent the inconvenience of permitting the province to remain uncultivated, more particularly as the emperor and the court were about to visit Alexandria. But whatever turn he gave to the affair in his despatches to Rome, he assembled the people at Tiberias—declared his determination to suspend the execution of the decree till he should receive further instructions—and promised that he would use all his interest to obtain the total repeal of the edict. He well knew the danger to which he exposed himself by his disobedience to the imperial decree; but he was willing to stand the hazard in order to preserve the Jewish people from the horrors of war. He exhorted them in the mean time to disperse peaceably, and betake themselves to their usual occupations, and to the tillage of their lands. The season had been uncommonly sultry; the customary rains had not fallen. But scarcely had Petronius ended his speech, than the day, which had been till then serene, became overcast, and the showers began to fall. The people saw the mark of the divine approbation with unmingled satisfaction; Petronius himself is said to have been greatly struck by this singular coincidence.

The Jews, however, owed their security rather to the interest of their king with the emperor, than to the humanity of the prefect. Throughout the history of the whole preceding transaction, our two authorities, Philo and Josephus, have differed in many most important particulars. It is scarcely possible to reconcile their narrative of the conduct of Agrippa. According to the former, the despatches of Petronius threw Caligula into one of his most violent paroxysms of fury. Before he had recovered, Agrippa entered, and from his fiery eye and disordered countenance, apprehended that something was wrong. Caligula suddenly turned upon him, and broke out into the bitterest reproaches against his countrymen for their obstinate resistance to his will. The Jewish prince was so appalled, that he trembled in every limb; he fainted away; and would have fallen to the ground, but that his attendants caught him, and removed him from the

imperial presence. Till the next evening he remained without giving signs of life and consciousness. At length he opened his eyes, and then fainted again. The third day he came to himself, and inquired with a shudder whether he was still in the dreaded presence of the emperor. His attendants urged him to rise, to bathe, and take refreshment; he refused all sustenance, except some flour and pure water. He then sat down, and wrote a long letter to Caius; but that which is extant in Philo's work displays too much of the Alexandrian orator to induce us to suppose it genuine. Such is the narrative of Philo—that of Josephus is more creditable to the character of the king. Agrippa having entertained Caligula at a banquet so sumptuous as to excite astonishment even in that age of prodigal luxury and magnificence, the emperor offered to grant any request that he might make. Agrippa, with a feeling worthy of one who had the blood of the Asmoneans in his veins, instead of demanding an accession of wealth or territory, immediately petitioned for the repeal of the fatal edict. The wounded pride of Caligula struggled hard with his attachment to Agrippa, and with the shame of forfeiting the imperial word, which he had given with so much publicity. At last, however, he relented, and the fatal decree was suspended. At the same time the disobedience of Petronius was not to be pardoned. A letter was written, in which he was accused of having preferred the bribes of the Jews to his allegiance to his sovereign; and he was commanded to prepare himself, as about to undergo the most exemplary punishment. But this letter was accidentally delayed, and the news of Caligula's death reached Petronius first. If Philo is to be credited, this event was equally fortunate for the Jewish nation; for Caligula, with his customary irresolution, repented of his lenity, and ordered a colossal statue of bronze to be cast, which he intended, when he should arrive at Alexandria, where he was to be solemnly inaugurated as a god, to have placed by stealth in the Temple of Jerusalem.

It might seem as if the skirts of that tremendous tempest, which was slowly gathering over the native country and the metropolis of the Jewish people, broke, and discharged their heavy clouds of ruin and desolation successively over each of the more considerable, though remote, settlements of the devoted people. The Jews of Babylonia had now their turn. There is something very remarkable in the history of this race, for the most part descendants of those families which had refused to listen to the summons of Zorobabel, Ezra, and Nehemiah, and to return to the possession of their native land. It was, perhaps, natural that men born in a foreign region, and knowing the lovely land of their ancestors only by tradition, or by the half-forgotten descriptions of their departed parents, should hesitate

to abandon their houses, their fields, and their possessions, in the hospitable country to which their fathers had been transported by force, but where they themselves had become naturalised. But the singular part of their history is this, that though willing aliens from their native land, they remained Jews in character and religion; they continued to be a separate people, and refused to mingle themselves up with the population of the country in which they were domiciliated. While those who returned to Palestine were in danger of forming a mixed race, by intermarriages with the neighbouring tribes, which it required all the sternest exercise of authority in their rulers to prevent, the Babylonian Jews were still as distinct a people as the whole race of Israel has been since the final dispersion. They adhered together, though wanting as well the bond of persecution, as the deep religious hope of restoration to the promised land in more than their ancient glory; for this hope was obviously not strong enough to induce them to avail themselves of the present opportunity of return, at the price of their possessions in the Median dominions. Nor did they, like the Jews of Alexandria, become in any degree independent of the great place of national worship; they were as rigid Jews as if they had grown up within sight of the Temple. They still looked to the Holy of Holies at Jerusalem as the centre of their faith; they regularly sent their contributions to its support. The passionate attachment to their native country gave place to a more remote, though still profound, attachment to the religious capital of their people. The Temple became what the Caaba of Mecca is to the Mahometans, the object of the profoundest reverence, and sometimes of a pious pilgrimage; but the land of their fathers had lost its hold on their affections; they had no desire to exchange the level plains of Babylonia, for the rich pastures, the golden corn-fields, or the rocky vineyards of Galilee and Judæa. This Babylonian settlement was so numerous and flourishing, that Philo more than once intimates the possibility of their marching in such force to the assistance of their brethren in Palestine, in case the Roman oppression was carried to excess, as to make the fate of the war very doubtful. Their chief city, Nearda, was strongly situated in a bend of the river Euphrates, which almost surrounded the town. Here, in a place impregnable to the Parthian robbers, the Jews of Mesopotamia had made a sort of treasury, in which they laid up the tribute of two drachms a head, which was received for the service of the Temple, and at stated intervals transferred to Jerusalem. In this city were two orphans, named Asinai and Anilai, who had been bred up as weavers, probably of those rich stuffs for which Babylonia was so long celebrated. On some ill-usage from the master-manufacturer, they fled to a low district between two branches of the river, where there were

rich meadows, and a place where the shepherds used to lay up their stores for the winter. There a number of indigent and discontented youths gathered around them, and they became the captains of a formidable band of robbers. They built a strong fortress, secured by the marshes around, and levied tribute on the shepherds, whom, however, they defended from all other assailants. The satrap of Babylon determined to suppress them, and seized the favourable opportunity of the Sabbath for his attack. Asinai happened to be reposing among a number of his followers, whose arms lay scattered around: he suddenly exclaimed, "I hear the trampling of horses; it must be more than a troop of wild ones in their pastures, for I hear likewise the jingling of the bridles." Spies were sent out, and the whole band determined to sacrifice their respect for the Sabbath to their self-preservation. They attacked and defeated their assailants with great slaughter. Artabanus, the king of Parthia, heard with admiration of their extraordinary valour, and sent to offer terms of accommodation. Anilai was sent to the court, where the king pledging his personal honour for their security, Asinai was persuaded to follow him. The king received them with great courtesy, admired their singular corporal strength and activity, and refused all the secret solicitations of his officers to rid himself by treachery of such dangerous men. He even appointed Asinai to the supreme command in Babylonia, with strict injunctions to suppress all robbers. Asinai conducted himself with equal vigour and prudence, and rose to the highest degree of wealth and power. But wealth and power led to their usual consequences, insolence and injustice. Anilai became enamoured of the wife of a Parthian chieftain, whom he excited to hostilities, and slew. This woman, to the great offence of the Jews, adhered to the Parthian religion. The Jews strongly urged on the brother, Asinai, the imperative necessity of preventing this breach of the law in his own family. Asinai at length strongly remonstrated with his brother, and insisted on the dismissal of the woman. His remonstrances were fatal to himself; for the Parthian woman, apprehending some further exercise of authority, poisoned Asinai; and thus the supreme authority passed into the hands of Anilai. Anilai, with equal bravery, but far less prudence and virtue than his brother, attacked the territory of Mithridates, a Parthian chieftain of the highest rank, and connected by marriage with the king, surprised him by an unexpected attack on the Sabbath, and took him prisoner. Contrary to the advice of his more desperate associates, he refused to put him to death, and released him. The royal wife of Mithridates, furious at the disgrace, instigated her husband to revenge; and they assembled considerable forces. Anilai, disdaining to rely on the strength of his marshes,

advanced a great way into the plains, where his troops suffered grievously from want of water. In this state they were attacked by Mithridates, and totally defeated. But desperate adventurers flocked from all quarters to the standard of Anilai; his losses were speedily restored, and he waged a marauding war, and carried fire and sword into the Babylonian villages. The Babylonians sent to Nearda, the chief settlement of the Jews, to demand the surrender of Anilai. Those in Nearda were unable or unwilling to comply with this order. At length the Babylonians surprised the camp of the robber, when his soldiers were sunk in débauchery and sleep, slew the whole band, and Anilai himself.

The Babylonians were not content with vengeance against the offenders; but began to commit dreadful reprisals on the whole Jewish population. The Jews, unable to resist, fled in great numbers to Seleucia: six years after, many more took refuge from a pestilence in the same city. Seleucia happened to be divided into two factions; one of the Greeks, the other of the Syrians. The Jews threw themselves into the scale of the Syrians, who thus obtained a superiority; till the Greeks came to terms with the Syrians, and both parties agreed to fall upon the unhappy Jews. As many as 50,000 men were slain. The few who escaped fled to Ctesiphon. Even there the enmity of the Seleucians pursued them; and at length the survivors took refuge in their old quarters, Nearda and Nisibis.

The assassination of Caligula delivered the Jews within the Roman dominion from their immediate danger; and delayed the fatal hour which his madness seemed rapidly hastening. Agrippa was in Rome at that critical period, and, during the confusion which ensued, he sustained an important part. His conduct was honourable to his feelings, as well as to his address and influence. He alone paid the last honours to his murdered friend. He then became mainly instrumental in the peaceful re-establishment of that order of things, which, however different from what an ardent lover of the old Roman liberty might have desired, was perhaps the best which the circumstances of the times would admit. He persuaded the Senate to abandon their unavailing resistance to the infuriated soldiery; reassured the weak and unambitious spirit of Claudius; and at the same time dissuaded him from taking those violent measures against the Senate, to which the army were urging him, and which would have deluged Rome with blood.

His services were amply repaid by the grateful emperor. Agrippa received the investiture of all the dominions which belonged to the Great Herod. Judæa and Samaria were reunited with Galilee, Peræa, and the provinces beyond Jordan, in one kingdom: Abilene, the district at the foot of Antilibanus,

was added. Herod, his brother, received the kingdom of Chalcis. This donation of the Jewish kingdom was made with the utmost publicity: the edict which announced it contained a high eulogium on Agrippa; and the act was registered on a brass tablet, in the Capitol. A treaty was formally concluded between the Emperor and Agrippa, in the Forum.

The death of Caligula was the signal for new commotions in Alexandria. The Jews attempted to recover their former rights. Claudius issued a temperate edict, favourable to the Jewish inhabitants of that city, and confirming their privileges. This was followed by a second general decree, which secured the freedom of religious worship to the Jews, throughout the empire: at the same time they were admonished to behave with decency to the religions of other people. Under this decree the inhabitants of Dora were condemned by Petronius, for wantonly insulting a Jewish synagogue, by placing a statue of Claudius within its walls.

Agrippa returned to his kingdom in great splendour. He displayed the greatest respect for the national religion; he hung up in the Temple the golden chain which Caligula had bestowed upon him, as a memorial of the protection of Almighty Providence. He observed the Mosaic law with great exactness; offered sacrifice every day; and abstained from every legal impurity. In all other respects Agrippa aimed at popularity; he remitted the house tax of the inhabitants of Jerusalem. Yet the sterner zealots looked on with jealousy; and while he was absent at Cæsarea, one Simon assembled a number of the people; accused him of violating the law, probably on account of his fondness for theatric exhibitions, and demanded his exclusion from the Temple. Agrippa sent for Simon to Cæsarea; placed him by his side in the public theatre, and mildly inquired whether he saw anything contrary to the law. Simon was silent; upon which Agrippa dismissed him without molestation.

The conduct of Agrippa to Silas, one of his steady followers, though more severe, can scarcely be considered as an exception to the general mildness of his disposition. Silas had steadfastly adhered to his fortunes, and received as a reward the command of his forces. But presuming on his services, he was perpetually reminding the king of his former low condition. His insolence, at last, provoked Agrippa to dismiss him from his employment, and imprison him. Once he relented; but the intractable Silas treated his overtures with the utmost arrogance; and Agrippa left him in confinement. Agrippa exercised his supreme authority in Jerusalem by continually displacing the high priest. He first deposed Theophilus, son of Annas, and substituted Simon, named Cantherus, son of Boethus. Afterwards he offered the dignity to Jonathan, son of Annas, who declined it, and his

brother Mathias was appointed. Before the close of his reign he degraded Mathias, and substituted Elionæus, son of Simon Cantherus.

Agrippa inherited the magnificent taste for building which distinguished the elder Herod. At Berytus, a city which he highly favoured, he built a splendid theatre, where the most costly musical exhibitions were displayed; and in an amphitheatre in the same city, two troops of gladiators, malefactors, of 700 each, were let loose upon each other; and thus horribly fulfilled the sentence of the law.

In Jerusalem he commenced a more useful work. To the north of the city, a new suburb, called Bezetha, had grown up: this he encircled with a wall; and was proceeding to strengthen the whole line of fortifications round the city. But Vibius Marsus, who had succeeded Longinus as prefect of Syria, beheld this proceeding with great suspicion; and, on account of his representations at Rome, Agrippa thought it prudent to desist from the work.

Marsus watched all the motions of the Jewish monarch with the same jealousy. Agrippa, probably with an innocent view of displaying his magnificence, assembled five kings at a great entertainment in Tiberias; Herod, king of Chalcis, his brother; Antiochus, king of Commagene; Cotys, king of the Lesser Armenia; Sampsigeranus, king of Emesa; and Polemon, king of Pontus. Marsus arrived at the same time; and Agrippa, out of respect, went forth to receive him: the imperious Roman sent orders to the several kings to withdraw themselves into their own territories. Agrippa was greatly offended; and sent a letter to Claudius, earnestly entreating the recall of Marsus.

Unhappily, besides his splendour, munificence, and conformity to the law, Agrippa sought other means of ingratiating himself with his Jewish subjects, the persecution of the unoffending Christians. He put to death James, the brother of St. John, and threw St. Peter into prison.

Having completed a reign of three years over the whole of Palestine, Agrippa ordered a splendid festival at Cæsarea, in honour of the emperor. Multitudes of the highest rank flocked together from all quarters. On the second day of the spectacle, at the early dawn, the king entered the theatre in a robe of silver, which glittered with the morning rays of the sun, so as to dazzle the eyes of the whole assembly, and excite general admiration. Some of his flatterers set up a shout—"A present god." Agrippa did not repress the impious adulation which spread through the theatre. At that moment he looked up, and saw an owl perched over his head, on a rope. The owl had once been to him a bird of good omen. While he was in chains at Rome, a fellow-prisoner, a German, had augured, from the

appearance of one of these birds, his future splendid fortune; but he had added this solemn warning, that when he saw that bird again, at the height of his fortune, he would die within five days. The fatal omen, proceeds Josephus, pierced the heart of the king; and with deep melancholy, he said, "Your god will soon suffer the common lot of mortality." He was immediately struck, in the language of the sacred volume, by an angel. He was seized with violent internal pains, and carried to his palace. There he lingered five days in extreme agony; being "eaten of worms," the cause of his intestine disorder. He died in the forty-fourth year of his age, having reigned seven years over part of his dominions, and three over the whole of Palestine. He left one son, Agrippa; an elder, Drusus, had died in his infancy; and three daughters,—Berenice, married to his brother Herod, king of Chalcis, Mariamne, and Drusilla.

The inhabitants of Sebaste and Cæsarea, probably the Greek party, and particularly his own soldiers, expressed the most brutal exultation at the death of Agrippa. They heaped his memory with reproaches, took the statues of his young daughters, carried them to some brothels, and there placing them on the roof, treated them with every kind of indignity. They then made a great feast, to celebrate the *departure* of the king. Claudius heard with much indignation of this ungrateful conduct, and ordered the cohorts in Sebaste and Cæsarea to be removed into Pontus, and their place to be filled by draughts from the legions in Syria. Unhappily, this purpose was not executed. The troops remained with this sentence of disgrace rankling in their hearts, and exasperating them to still greater animosity towards the whole Jewish nation; a chief cause, Josephus adds, of the subsequent disasters.

BOOK XIII.

THE ROMAN GOVERNORS.

Cuspius Fadus — Tiberius Alexander — Ventidius Cumanus — Felix — Porcius Festus — Albinus — Gessius Florus — Commencement of the Revolt—The Zealots—Manahem—Massacre of the Jews in the Provinces —Advance and Defeat of Cestius Gallus.

AT the decease of Herod Agrippa, his son, who bore the same name, was seventeen years old. He was considered too young to bear the burthen of royalty; and Judæa relapsed into a Roman province. Cassius Longinus was appointed to the presidency of Syria; Cuspius Fadus was sent as governor of Judæa. Fadus administered his office with firmness. He found a civil war disturbing the district beyond the Jordan. The inhabitants of Peræa, on some boundary dispute, had attacked the Philadelphians. Fadus seized three of the ringleaders; executed one, named Hannibal, and banished the rest. The easy yoke of Agrippa had permitted the robbers, who perpetually rose up to waste this fertile country, to gain head. Fadus made them feel the vigour of the Roman arm: he cleared the whole country of their bands, and put to death Ptolemy, a noted captain, who had committed great excesses against the Idumeans and Arabians. Apprehending, it may seem, that the high priest possessed too much independent authority, Fadus proceeded to revoke the edict of Vitellius, by which the custody of the pontifical robes had been surrendered. He commanded that they should be replaced in the garrison of Antonia; and Longinus himself appeared in Jerusalem, with a considerable force, to overawe all resistance. The Jews appealed to the emperor, who, at the earnest entreaty of young Agrippa, issued an imperial mandate in favour of the Jews. At the same time Herod, king of Chalcis, petitioned, and obtained the sovereignty over the temple, and the power of nominating the high priest. He displaced Cantherus, who had regained the office, and appointed Joseph, son of Camith.

This was the second year of a grievous famine, which for several years prevailed in Judæa. The metropolis derived great advantage from the bounty of a royal proselyte, Helena, the queen of Adiabene, a district beyond the Tigris. She imported vast quantities of corn from Alexandria, and dried figs from Cyprus, which she distributed among the lower orders. Her

son, Izates, who had likewise adopted the Jewish faith, sent great sums to Jerusalem, for the same charitable purposes. Helena was both the wife and sister, according to the ancient Persian usage, of Monobazus, king of Adiabene. Izates was the favourite son of that monarch, who, apprehensive of the jealousy with which he was looked on by his brothers, sent him to Abenerig, king of Characene, a district on the Persian Gulf, whose daughter he married. In that commercial district there was a Jew merchant, named Ananias, who was accustomed to have free ingress into the women's apartments, probably for purposes of traffic; and there seized every opportunity of teaching the religious tenets of the Jews. Izates became a convert; and, by a singular coincidence, his mother, Helena, at the same time adopted the same opinions. On the return of Izates to Adiabene, his father made him governor of a district named Carrhæ, in which, according to tradition, the remains of Noah's ark were still to be seen. On the death of his father, Helena had the address to secure the succession to the throne for Izates. His brother, Monobazus, assumed the crown till he should arrive; and the rest of the monarch's sons, by different mothers, were thrown into prison, and were even in danger of their lives. Immediately that Izates appeared, Monobazus abdicated the sovereignty; Izates expressed great indignation at the imprisonment of his brethren. Izates was so ardent a convert that he insisted on undergoing circumcision; his prudent preceptor, Ananias, for fear lest the unpopularity of the measure should make the king odious to his subjects, and himself thus be exposed to personal danger, dissuaded him from his design. But a more zealous Galilean insisted that the honour of God was concerned; and the monarch immediately, to the great alarm of Ananias, submitted to the rite. Izates was a king of great prudence and resolution. By his moderation and address he reinstated Artabanus, king of Parthia, on his throne, from which he had been driven by his own satraps; and, afterwards, dissuaded his son, Bardanes, from entering into a war with the Romans. Bardanes immediately declared war on Izates; but he was set aside by his own subjects. The king's brother, Monobazus, and the chief satraps of the kingdom, endured for some time, but with great reluctance, the yoke of a sovereign who had apostatised from the national religion. The first conspired with Abiah, an Arabian king, to invade Adiabene; but Abiah was defeated with great loss. Afterwards they had recourse to Vologeses, king of Parthia; but his invasion was arrested by a rebellion among his own dependants. On the death of Izates, who wore the crown for twenty-four years, his remains, and those of his mother, Helena, were transported to Jerusalem, and buried in a splendid cemetery, which remained till the time of Jerome.

Before the recall of Fadus, the peace of the country was

disturbed by an impostor, named Theudas, who gave himself out as a prophet, and gained a great number of proselytes. Multitudes thronged forth, with all their possessions, to the banks of the Jordan, which Theudas asserted that, like Joshua of old, he would divide in the midst, and carry them through in triumph. Fadus, with his usual vigilance, seized the impostor, cut off his head, and sent it to Jerusalem.

To Fadus succeeded Tiberius Alexander, an apostate Egyptian Jew, the son of Alexander, the Alabarch of Alexandria, and nephew of the celebrated Philo. The only act recorded of his short government was the crucifixion of James and Simon, two sons of Judas the Galilean, who had attempted to disseminate the dangerous doctrines of their father. Notwithstanding, however, the famine, by which the land was still afflicted — the seditious tenets of the Galilean rebels—and the government of an apostate, which must have been singularly odious to the zealous Jews, the province continued in peace until the arrival of Ventidius Cumanus, to supersede Alexander.

At this time Herod, king of Chalcis, died, having once more changed the high priest, and substituted Ananias, son of Nebid, for Joseph, the son of Camith. He left sons; particularly Aristobulus, afterwards appointed, by Nero, to the kingdom of Lesser Armenia; but the kingdom of Chalcis, and the sovereignty of the temple, were assigned to young Agrippa, who assumed the title of king.

During the government of Cumanus, the low and sullen murmurs which announced the approaching eruption of the dark volcano, now gathering its strength in Palestine, became more distinct. The people and the Roman soldiery began to display mutual animosity. To preserve the peace during the crowded festivals in Jerusalem, the Romans mounted a guard in the Antonia, and in the adjacent cloister. One of these soldiers, to show his contempt for the religious rites, indecently exposed his person. The furious populace not only vented their rage on the offender, but uttered the most violent reproaches against Cumanus himself. The governor immediately ordered his whole forces into the Antonia. The affrighted people fled: the narrow streets were choked; and 20,000 perished. The sacrifice was suspended, and the whole city given up to wailing and lamentation.

This disturbance was scarcely appeased when another succeeded. Near Bethhoron, about twelve miles from Jerusalem, a party, half insurgents and half robbers, attacked, in the public road, Stephanas, a slave of the emperor, and plundered his baggage. Cumanus sent a troop of soldiers to plunder the neighbouring villages, and seize the chief persons in them. During this scene of pillage, a soldier found a copy of the law of Moses, and tore it to pieces, uttering the most offensive blas-

phemies. The Jews sent a formal deputation before Cumanus to complain of the insult; Cumanus, by the advice of his friends, ordered the soldier to execution.

The animosities of the populace and the Roman soldiery were not the only conflicting elements in this distracted country; the jealousies of the natives began again to break out. The way by which the Jews of Galilee went up to the temple, led through the territory of Samaria. The Samaritans waylaid and slew many of them. Cumanus, bribed by the Samaritans, refused to take cognisance of any complaints. The Jews, headed by two valiant robber chieftains, took up arms, and set fire to some of the Samaritan villages. Cumanus marched against them; and, with the aid of the Samaritans, defeated them. Jerusalem was in an uproar, and, but for the authority and influence of the chiefs, the whole people would have risen in insurrection. Clad in sackcloth, and with ashes on their heads, the priests and rulers passed through the streets entreating the insurgents to lay aside their arms, lest they should bring fire and sword on the city, and ruin on the temple. With difficulty the tumult was allayed in Jerusalem. But the whole country was in a state of confusion. The Samaritans carried their complaints before Ummidius Quadratus, prefect of Syria. The Jews pleaded the wanton aggression of the Samaritans, and their bribery of Cumanus. Quadratus deferred his judgment, till a short time after, having investigated the affair on the spot, he condemned the Samaritans; but put to death, as seditious persons, all the Jews taken by Cumanus. He then removed his tribunal to Lydda, where he received information that a certain Dortus and others had openly exhorted insurrection against the Romans. He ordered the four ringleaders to be crucified; and sent Ananias, the high priest, with Annas, the captain of the temple, in chains, for trial at Rome. At the same time Cumanus, and Celer, his military tribune, were also sent to Rome, to answer for their conduct before the emperor. From Lydda, Quadratus moved to Jerusalem, and finding peace entirely re-established, he returned to Antioch.

Great interest was made at Rome by Cumanus, Celer, and the Samaritan party; but the influence of Agrippa, then at Rome, predominated. Cumanus was banished; Celer sent to Jerusalem, to be dragged publicly through the streets and beheaded; the ringleaders of the Samaritans were put to death.

In evil hour for himself and for his country, Jonathan, who had succeeded to the high priesthood, exerted his influence to obtain the appointment of Governor of Judæa for Claudius Felix, brother of Pallas, the freed slave and all-powerful favourite of the emperor. According to Tacitus, who is quite at variance with the Jewish historian, Felix was already in Palestine, as

independent governor in Samaria, where he had inflamed the civil commotions, and ought to have appeared with Cumanus as a criminal before the tribunal of Quadratus; but Quadratus, dreading his interest at Rome, placed him by his own side on the seat of justice. Born a slave, Felix was magnificent in his profligacy. He had three wives, all of royal blood. One of these was the beautiful Drusilla, the daughter of King Agrippa I., whom, by the aid of Simon, a magician, (by some, though improbably, supposed the Simon Magus of the Acts,) he had seduced from her husband, *Aziz*, king of Emesa. Aziz had carried his complacency so far as to submit to circumcision in order to obtain the hand of Drusilla, who now gave up her religion to marry Felix. Felix administered the province with the authority of a king, and the disposition of a slave. Supported by the interest of Pallas, says Tacitus, he thought he might commit all crimes with impunity. The land was full of armed robbers, who wasted the country. Felix at first proceeded with vigour and severity against them; but afterwards, for his private ends, entered into a confederacy with some of the most daring. The high priest, Jonathan, assuming the privilege of a friend, like the Christian Apostle, would reason with him *on temperance and righteousness*. His remonstrances, if at the time they produced the same effect, and *made Felix tremble*, were fatal to himself. Felix, weary with his importunity, entered into a secret conspiracy with some of the Sicarii, or assassins, the most extravagant of the school of Judas the Galilean. These were men, some fanatics, some unprincipled desperadoes, who abused the precepts of the Mosaic law, as authorising the murder of all on whom they might affix the brand of hostility to their country and their God. Having bribed Doras, the intimate friend of Jonathan, through his means Felix sent a party of these wretches into the temple. With their daggers under their cloaks, they mingled with the attendants of the high priest. They pretended to join in the public worship, and suddenly struck dead the unsuspecting pontiff, who lay bleeding on the sacred pavement. From this period, says the indignant Josephus, God hated his guilty city, and disdaining any longer to dwell in his contaminated temple, brought the Romans to purify with fire the sins of the nation.

The crime remained unrevenged and unnoticed. The assassins, emboldened by their impunity, carried on their dreadful work. No man was secure. Some from private enmity, others on account of their wealth, as they pursued their peaceful occupations, were struck dead by men who passed by, apparently unarmed, and as peacefully disposed as themselves. Even the temple was not a place of safety; the worshipper did not know but that the man who knelt by his side was preparing to plunge his dagger to his heart.

Such was the state of the city; the country was not much more secure. The robbers multiplied and grew more bold. Nor were these the worst; in every quarter arose impostors, and pretenders to magic, who, asserting their miraculous powers, led the people into desert places, and harangued them on the impiety of obedience to the Roman government. Felix in vain scoured the country with his horse; as fast as some were seized and crucified, others arose, and the fanatical spirit of the people constantly received new excitement. The most formidable of these men was a Jew of Egyptian birth. He assembled in the desert, probably that of Quarantania, between Jerusalem and Jericho, as many as 30,000 followers. He led them to the Mount of Olives, and pointing to the city below, assured them that its walls would fall down and admit his triumphal entrance. Felix marched out to attack him: the Egyptian escaped; but many of his followers were killed, many taken, the rest dispersed.

In the mean time Claudius died, having promoted Agrippa from the kingdom of Chalcis to the more extensive dominion—the Tetrarchate of Philip, Gaulonitis, Trachonitis, Batanea, and Paneas, to which was afterwards added part of Galilee and Peræa. On the whole, the government of Claudius was favourable to the race of Israel; but rather as subjects of his friend Agrippa, than as Jews. At one time he closed their synagogues, and expelled them from Rome—probably on account of some tumult caused by their persecutions of the Christians. Agrippa appointed Ismael, son of Fabi, to the pontificate, vacant since the death of Jonathan—though in this interval, probably, a kind of illegitimate authority had been resumed by that Ananias, son of Nebid, who had been sent in chains to Rome by Quadratus, and had been released through the influence of Agrippa. It was that Ananias who commanded St. Paul to be struck, when he was addressing the people. St. Paul either did not know, or did not recognise his doubtful title.

Up to this period, according to the representation of the Jewish annalist, the pontificate had remained almost entirely uncontaminated by the general license and turbulence which distracted the nation. The priests were in general moderate and upright men, who had endeavoured to maintain the peace of the city. Now the evil penetrated into the sanctuary, and feuds rent the sacred family of Levi. A furious schism broke out between the chief priests and the inferior priesthood. Each party collected a band of ruffians, and assailed the other with violent reproaches, and even with stones. No one interfered to repress the tumult: and the high priests are said to have sent their slaves to levy by force the tithes which belonged to the inferior class, many of whom in consequence perished with hunger. Even the worst excesses of the Sicarii seem to have been authorised by the

priesthood for their own purposes. The forty men who, with the connivance of the priests, bound themselves by a vow to assassinate St. Paul, if not of the fraternity, recognised the principles of that sanguinary crew.

It was in Cæsarea that the events took place which led to the final rupture with Rome. This magnificent city had rapidly risen to a high degree of wealth and populousness. It was inhabited by two races—the Syrian Greeks, who were heathens, and the Jews. The two parties violently contended for the pre-eminence. The Jews insisted on the foundation of the city by Herod their king, and on its occupying the site of the old Jewish town called the Tower of Straton; the Greeks appealed to the statues and temples erected by Herod himself, which clearly proved that Cæsarea was intended for a Pagan city. The feud became gradually more fierce; tumults and bloodshed disturbed the streets. The more aged and prudent of the Jews could not restrain their followers. The Jews were the more wealthy; but the Roman soldiery, chiefly levied in Syria, took part with their countrymen. The officers attempted, but in vain, to keep the peace; and when Felix himself came forth to disperse a party of Jews, who had got the better in an affray, they treated his authority with contempt. Felix commanded his troops to charge them. The soldiery were too glad to avail themselves of the signal for license; many of the Jews fell, many were seized, and some of the more opulent houses plundered. After the recall of Felix, a deputation of each party was sent to Rome, to lay the whole case before the emperor. The Jews brought heavy charges against Felix, but the powerful protection of his brother Pallas, who was high in favour with Nero, secured his impunity. The Greeks, by a large bribe to Burrhus, who had been the preceptor of Nero, obtained a decree which deprived the Jews of the rights of equal citizenship. This decree still further inflamed the contest. The Greeks became more and more insulting; the Jews more and more turbulent.

In the rest of the province the administration of the rigid but upright Porcius Festus caused a short interval of comparative peace. Festus kept down all the bands, whether we are to call them robbers or insurgents, and repressed the Sicarii. His soldiers put to death an impostor who had led multitudes into the desert.

At this period King Agrippa resided in Jerusalem, in the palace of the Asmonean princes, which stood on the cliff of Mount Sion, towards the temple. In front of this was the Xystus, an open colonnade, which was connected by a bridge with the temple. Agrippa reared a lofty building in this palace, which commanded a beautiful prospect of the whole city, particularly of the temple courts. Reposing on his couch he might

see the whole course of the religious ceremonies. The priesthood were indignant at the intrusion, and hastily ran up a wall, on the western side of their own court, by which they intercepted not merely the view of the king, but that of the Roman guard which was mounted in the outer western portico. Agrippa and Festus ordered the demolition of this wall. The Jews demanded permission to appeal to Nero; Festus consented, and a deputation of ten, headed by Ismael, the high priest, and Hilkiah, the keeper of the treasury, set off to Rome. There they obtained the interest of Poppea, the profligate empress of Nero, whom Josephus describes as *devout*, as if she had been inclined to the Jewish religion: if so, she was no very creditable proselyte. Through her interest the wall was permitted to stand, but the high priest and treasurer were detained at Rome. Agrippa seized the opportunity of appointing another high priest—Joseph, named Cabi, son of Simon Cantherus. Soon after, he degraded Joseph, and appointed Annas, the fifth son of Annas, in Jewish estimation the happiest of men, for he himself had been high priest, and had seen his five sons and his son-in-law, Caiaphas, successively promoted to that dignity. Annas united himself to the sect of the Sadducees, if he did not inherit those doctrines from his father. The Sadducees were noted for their rigid administration of the law; and while the place of the Roman governor was vacant, he seized the opportunity of putting to death James the Just, and others of the Christians, at the feast of the Passover. But the act was unpopular, and Agrippa deprived him of the priesthood, and appointed Jesus, son of Damnai. Unhappily for this devoted country the upright Festus died in Judæa, and Albinus arrived at his successor. With the rapacious Albinus, everything became venal. At first he proceeded with severity against the robbers, but in a short time began to extort enormous ransoms for their freedom. This was little better than to set a premium on robbery and assassination. In the mean time the taxes were increased, and the wasted country groaned under the heaviest burthens. Two men alone grew rich amid the general distress, the Roman governor, and Ananias, formerly high priest, who, keeping both Albinus and the high priest in pay, committed all kinds of outrages, seizing the tithes of the inferior priesthood, who were again so reduced that many of them died of famine. Ananias was too wealthy a prize to escape the robbers who infested the country. In the open day, and at the time of a festival, they seized the scribe of Eleazar, captain of the guard, who was probably the son of Ananias, carried him off, and demanded as a ransom the release of ten of their companions who were in prison. Ananias persuaded Albinus, no doubt, by a great bribe, to comply. Encouraged by this success, whenever any one of the assassins was taken, they

seized one of the dependants on Ananias, and demanded an exchange.

Agrippa, as if he foresaw the approaching danger, began to prepare a place of retreat. He enlarged the city of Cæsarea Philippi (Paneas), and called it Neronias; but his chief expenditure was made at Berytus, were he built a theatre, and at great cost provided for the most splendid exhibitions. He likewise distributed corn and oil; collected a noble gallery of statues, and copies from the antique; in short, he transferred to that city the chief splendour of his kingdom. This liberality to a foreign city was highly unpopular at Jerusalem; the degradation of Jesus, son of Damnai, and the appointment of Jesus, son of Gamaliel, increased the general discontent. Each of these rival high priests had his party, who attacked each other in the streets; in short, every one who had wealth or power assembled his armed adherents; Ananias, as the richest, got together the strongest band; and two relatives of Agrippa, Saul and Costobar, appeared at the head of their own followers, plundering on all sides without scruple. Albinus aggravated the mischief. Having heard of his intended recall, he brought forth all the malefactors, who crowded the prisons, executed the most notorious, but allowed the rest to pay their ransoms. Thus the prisons were empty, but the whole province filled with these desperate ruffians. The completion of the works in the temple added to the multitude of the idle and unemployed—eighteen thousand workmen were discharged. The more prudent of the people dreaded the letting loose this vast number of persons, without employment, on society; and with no less forethought they apprehended the accumulation of vast treasures in the temple, which had hitherto been for the most part profitably employed on the public buildings, and would now serve no purpose, but to excite the rapacity of the Romans. They petitioned that the eastern gate might be raised to a greater degree of magnificence. Agrippa, who was entrusted by the emperor with the command over the temple, refused their request, but permitted them to pave the city with stone. He afterwards deposed Jesus, son of Gamaliel, and appointed Matthias, the last legitimate high priest of Jerusalem.

Nothing was wanting to fill the measure of calamity which this fruitful and once happy land was to exhaust, but the nomination of a governor like Gessius Florus, who made the people look back with regret to the administration of the rapacious Albinus. Albinus at least dissembled his cruelties and exactions. Relying on the protection of the empress, who was attached to his wife Cleopatra by long friendship and kindred disposition, Florus made an ostentatious display of his oppressions. Without compunction, and without shame, as crafty as he was cruel, he laid deliberate schemes of iniquity,

by which, at some distant period, he was to reap his harvest of plunder. He pillaged not only individuals, but even communities, and seemed to grant a general indemnity for spoliation, if he was only allowed his fair portion of the plunder. Many villages and towns were entirely deserted, the inhabitants left their native country to fly beyond the reach of his administration. Cestius Gallus, a man of a congenial spirit, commanded in Syria. The fear of Florus, as long as Cestius remained in Syria, prevented the Jews from appealing to his tribunal; they would not have been suffered to arrive there in safety. But when Cestius, during the days preceding the Passover, visited Jerusalem, three millions of suppliants, that is, the whole population assembled for the great annual feast, surrounded him, and entreated his interference. Florus stood by the side of Cestius, turning their complaints into ridicule. Cestius, however, promised that he would use his interest with Florus to treat them with greater moderation, and Florus, without further reproof, was permitted to escort his colleague in iniquity, on his way to Antioch, as far as Cæsarea.

In the mean time wild and awful prodigies, thus the Jewish annalist relates, had filled the timid with apprehensions of the approaching desolation. But the blind and desperate multitude neglected all these signs of Almighty wrath. A comet, which had the appearance of a sword, hung above the city for a whole year. While the people were assembled at the feast of unleavened bread, at the sixth hour of the night, a sudden light, as bright as day, shone about the altar and the temple, and continued for about half an hour. A cow led forth to sacrifice, brought forth a calf. The inner gate on the eastern side of the temple was made of brass, and of such immense weight, as to require twenty men to close it in the evening. It was fastened by strong iron bolts, let into the stone door-posts. Suddenly this gate flew open, and it was with much difficulty that the assembled guard could close it. This the vulgar considered a good omen, as indicating that God had opened the gate of blessing, but the wise more sadly interpreted it as a manifest sign of the insecurity of the temple, and that it prefigured the opening of the gate of the Holy Place to the enemy. A few days after this festival, a still more incredible circumstance occurred; such, says Josephus, as would appear a fable, had it not been attested by eye-witnesses, and justified by the subsequent events. Before sunset, chariots and armed squadrons were seen in the heavens; they mingled and formed in array, so as to seem to encircle the city in their rapid and terrific career. And on the Pentecost, when the priests on duty entered by night into the temple, they said that they heard a movement and a noise, and presently the voice as it were of a great host,

which said, "Let us depart hence." But more alarming still! while the city was yet at peace and inprosperity, a countryman named Jesus, son of Ananus, began suddenly to cry aloud in the temple—*A voice from the east! a voice from the west! a voice from the four winds! a voice against Jerusalem and against the Temple! a voice against the bridegrooms and the brides! a voice against the whole people.* Day and night in the narrow streets of the city he went along repeating these words with a loud voice. Some of the leaders seized him, and had him severely beaten. He utterred no remonstrance, no entreaty for mercy, he seemed entirely regardless about his own person, but still went on reiterating his fearful burthen. The magistrates then apprehended him, and led him before Albinus, the Roman governor; there he was scourged till his bones could be seen; he uttered neither shriek of pain, nor prayer for mercy, but raising his sad and broken voice as loud as he could, at every blow cried out, *Woe, woe to Jerusalem.* Albinus demanded who he was and whence he came? he answered not a word. The Roman, at length, supposing that he was mad, let him go. All the four years that intervened before the war, he paid no attention to any one, and never spoke, excepting the same words, *Woe, woe to Jerusalem.* He neither cursed any one who struck him, nor thanked any one who gave him food. His only answer was the same melancholy presage. He was particularly active during the festivals, and then with greater frequency, and still deeper voice, he cried, *Woe, woe to the city and to the temple.* At length, during the siege, he suddenly cried out, *Woe, woe to myself!* and was struck dead by a stone from a balista.

It is not improbable that the prophecies of the approaching ruin of Jerusalem disseminated by the Christians, might add to the general apprehension. Mingled as they were with the mass of the people, their distinct assurances that their divine teacher had foretold the speedy dissolution of the state, could scarcely remain unknown, especially when, in obedience to the command of Christ, they abandoned Jerusalem in a body, and retreated to Pella, a town beyond the Jordan.

There was another sign, which might have given warning to the political sagacity or to the humanity of the Romans, upon the nature of the approaching conquest, as showing how immense a population they were thus driving to desperation, and what horrible carnage would be necessary, before they could finally subdue the rebellious province. When Cestius Gallus was at Jerusalem, at the time of the Passover, he inquired the number of Jews present from all quarters. The priests counted the lambs sacrificed, and found 255,600. None but Jews, and those free from legal impurities, might sacrifice. Reckoning at a low

average of ten to each lamb, the numbers were 2,556,000. Josephus supposes that three millions would not have been an immoderate calculation.

The fatal flame finally broke out from the old feud at Cæsarea. The decree of Nero had assigned the magistracy of that city to the Greeks. It happened that the Jews had a synagogue, the ground around which belonged to a Greek. For this spot the Jews offered a much higher price than it was worth. It was refused, and to annoy them as much as possible, the owner set up some mean shops and buildings upon it, and rendered the approach to the synagogue as narrow and difficult as he could. The more hot-headed of the Jewish youth interrupted the workmen. The men of greater wealth and influence, and among them, John, a publican, collected the large sum of eight talents, and sent it as a bribe to Florus, that he might interfere and stop the building. Florus received the money, made great promises, and immediately set out from Cæsarea for Sebaste, in order to leave full scope for the riot. On the following day, a Sabbath, while the Jews were crowding to the synagogue, a man overset an earthen vessel in the way, and began to sacrifice birds upon it. It has been conjectured that this was a particularly offensive jest. The heathens generally represented the ancestors of the Jews to have been expelled from Egypt as a race of lepers, and since birds were the first sacrifice appointed in cases of leprosy, it was most likely meant to gall the old wound. However that may be, the more violent Jews, furious at the affront, attacked the Greeks. The Greeks were already in arms, waiting this signal for the affray. Jucundus, the governor, attempted in vain to appease the tumult, till at length the Jews, being worsted, took up the books of their law, and went away to Narbata, about 7½ miles distance. John the Publican, with twelve of the highest rank, went to Samaria to Florus, entreated his assistance, and modestly reminded him of the eight talents he had received. Florus threw them into prison with every mark of indignity.

The news of this outrage and injustice spread to Jerusalem; the city was in a state of violent excitement. It was the deliberate purpose of Florus to drive the people to insurrection, both that all inquiry into his former oppressions might be drowned by the din of war; and that he might have better opportunities for plunder; he seized this critical moment to demand seventeen talents from the sacred treasury under pretence of Cæsar's necessities. The people assembled around the temple with the loudest outcries. The name of Florus was passed from one to another with every epithet of hatred and contempt. Some carried about a basket, entreating alms for the poor beggar, Florus. Neglecting entirely the tumult in

Cæsarea, Florus advanced with all the force he could collect against Jerusalem. To his disappointment, the people, instead of maintaining their seditious demeanour, endeavoured to excite his clemency by the most submissive and humiliating conduct. They crowded forth, received his army with acclamations, and hailed the Procurator himself as a public benefactor. But Florus was too keen-sighted to be imposed upon by these unmerited marks of popularity. He chose to remember nothing but the insults and contumely with which his name had been treated. He sent forward Capito with fifty horse, commanding the people to disperse; they obeyed, and retreating to their houses, passed the night in trembling expectation of his vengeance.

Florus took up his quarters in the palace. In the morning his tribunal was erected before the gates. The high priest and the leaders of the people (probably the Sanhedrin) were summoned to attend. Florus demanded the surrender of all those who had insulted his name, and added, if the heads of the people refused or delayed, he should proceed against them as responsible for the offence. The priests represented the general peaceable disposition of the city, and entreated his forbearance, throwing the blame on a few hot-headed youths, whom it was impossible to detect, as all had repented, and none would confess their guilt. At these words Florus broke out into the most violent fury; he gave the signal to his troops to plunder the upper market, and put to death all they met. The soldiery were but too ready instruments of his cruelty. They cleared the market, then broke into the houses, pillaged them, and put to death the inhabitants. The narrow streets were crowded with fugitives; many who escaped the sword were trampled to death. Unoffending citizens were seized, carried before Florus, scourged and crucified. Of men, women, and children, for neither age nor sex was spared, there fell that day 3600. Florus paid no regard to the sacred rights of Roman citizenship; some freemen of the first distinction, for many of the Jews had attained even the equestrian rank, were scourged and executed with their meaner countrymen.

Agrippa was absent in Egypt, but his sister Berenice was in Jerusalem, in pursuance of a religious vow. She sent repeated messages to Florus, entreating him to stay the fury of his soldiers; and even herself, in her penitential attire, with her hair shorn and with naked feet, stood before his tribunal. The Roman was deaf to her entreaties; he had no ear but for the accounts of wealth, which was brought in every hour, in great masses. Even in the presence of Berenice, her miserable countrymen were scourged and hewn down. She herself was obliged to take refuge in one of the royal residences, and dared not go to rest,

lest the soldiers should force their way through her feeble guard.

The next day multitudes assembled in the scene of the massacre, the upper market-place; and among the wailings for the dead were heard but half-suppressed execrations and menaces against the cruel Florus. The chief heads of the city with the priests were in the greatest alarm; they tore their robes, rushed among the people, addressed them individually with the most earnest entreaties not again to provoke the anger of the governor. The populace, partly out of respect, partly out of fear, quietly dispersed.

Florus and his satellites alone were grieved at this pacification; he determined, if possible, to renew these profitable tumults. He sent for the priests and leaders, and commanded them, as the last proof of their submission, to go forth and receive, with the utmost cordiality, two cohorts of troops who were advancing from Cæsarea. The priests assembled the people in the temple, made known the orders of Florus, and exhorted them to obedience. The more turbulent did not disguise their seditious intentions. Then all the priesthood, the Levites, the musicians and singers in their sacred vestments, fell upon their knees and supplicated the people, that they would not bring down certain ruin on the whole city, or give excuse to the rapacious plunderer to profane the Holy Place, and pillage the sacred treasures of God. The priests of the highest rank, with robes rent and ashes on their heads, went about, calling on the most influential by name, and urging with the most solemn vehemence, that however degrading the submission to the commands of Florus, it was a trifling sacrifice, if it might avert the desolation of the city, and all the horrors of war: that it would be the height of madness to allow themselves to be borne away by a few of the factious or misguided populace, whom they, the rather, ought to overawe with their authority.

They succeeded in allaying, for the time, the enraged multitude; the more turbulent were silenced, as menaces were mingled with entreaties; and the chief priests led forth the whole populace in peaceful array. The procession, in obedience to their admonitions, welcomed the cohorts with apparent gladness. The cohorts, who had received their secret instructions from Florus, advanced in sullen silence, not condescending to return the greetings. The more violent Jews took fire, and broke out into audible imprecations against Florus. The troops turned upon them; struck them with their staves; the horsemen rode over them, and trampled them down; many were bruised, many wounded. At the gates there was a violent rush to obtain entrance. Those behind pressed on those before; the horsemen came trampling on, and forcing their way through the dense

mass; numbers fell, pushed down by their own people, or under the hoofs of the horses; their bodies were so crushed and mangled, that when they were taken up for burial, they could not be distinguished by their friends.

The soldiery still kept on, advancing, and driving the multitude before them, or riding over them, all through the suburb of Bezetha. Their object was to press forward, and gain possession at the same time of the Antonia and the temple. At this moment Florus sallied from the palace, and attempted to force his way to that part of the castle which joined the temple, but without success. For the people blocked up the narrow streets, so that his men could not cut their way through the living masses, and were themselves beaten down by stones and missiles from the roofs of the houses. They retreated to their quarters. The insurgents, apprehending that the enemy might force their way from the Antonia to the temple, cut off the porticoes and galleries which connected them. This bold measure made Florus despair of succeeding in his main object, the plunder of the sacred treasury, during the confusion. He suspended the attack, sent for the chief priests and rulers, and proposed to evacuate the city; but offered to leave a guard of sufficient force to preserve the peace. They entreated him to leave only one cohort, and that, not the one which had been engaged against the people. On these terms, Florus retired unmolested to Cæsarea.

But Florus did not yet despair of inflaming the province and commencing an open war on more advantageous terms. He sent to his superior officer, Cestius Gallus, an artful representation of the tumults, in which all the blame was laid on the untractable and rebellious spirit of the Jews, whose unprovoked and wanton insults on the Roman authority had called for instant and exemplary justice. The Jews on their part were not remiss. The rulers and Berenice sent the most touching accounts of the terrible rapacity and cruelty of Florus and his troops. Cestius summoned a council; in which it was resolved that he should repair in person to Jerusalem, to examine into the causes of the revolt, to punish the guilty, and confirm the Roman party in their allegiance.

In the mean time he sent forward Neopolitanus, a centurion, to prepare for his approach. At Jamnia, Neopolitanus met with Agrippa, then on his return from Egypt, and communicated to him the object of his mission. Before they left Jamnia, a deputation of the priesthood and heads of the people appeared to congratulate Agrippa on his return. Agrippa artfully dissembled his compassion, and even affected to reprove the turbulent conduct of his countrymen. About seven or eight miles from Jerusalem, Neopolitanus and Agrippa were met by a more mournful procession. The people were preceded by the wives of

those who had been slain; who, with wild shrieks and outcries, called on Agrippa for protection; and recounted to Neopolitanus all the miseries they had undergone from the cruelty of Florus. On the entrance of the king and the Roman into the city, they were led to the ruined market-place, and shown the shops that had been plundered, and the desolate houses where the inhabitants had been massacred. Neopolitanus having passed through the whole city, and found it in profound peace, went up to the temple, paid his adorations there in the court of the Gentiles, exhorted the people to maintain their loyal demeanour, and returned to Cestius.

Agrippa, on his part, declined to countenance an embassy which they proposed to send to Nero; he assembled the whole multitude before the Xystus, and taking his seat in a lofty part of the palace, with Berenice by his side, commenced a long harangue. He enlarged on the prospect of a milder government than that which had recently afflicted them, when the real state of the province should reach the ears of the emperor. He urged that their hopes of independence were vain: if they could not resist part of the Roman forces under Pompey, how could they expect to make any effectual struggle when the Romans wielded the power of the whole universe; he adduced the example of all other nations, Greeks, Germans, Gauls, Africans, Asiatics, who were held in submission by a few Roman troops: finally, he dwelt on the horrors of war, and the danger of destruction which they would bring on the city and the Holy Place. He ended in tears, and his sister wept aloud. The people, with one voice, cried out, that they had taken arms, not against the Romans, but against Florus. Agrippa replied, that the refusal of tribute, and the demolition of the galleries which united the Antonia with the temple, were overt acts of war against Rome. He exhorted them forthwith to discharge their tribute, and repair their buildings. The people obeyed, the king and Berenice joined eagerly in urging forward the reconstruction of the porticoes. Chief persons were sent out to collect the arrears of tribute, and forty talents were speedily brought in. The war seemed at an end; and Agrippa might entertain the lofty satisfaction of having by his influence averted inevitable ruin from his country, profanation and sacrilege from the temple of his God. The cornfields and vineyards of Judæa might yet escape the trampling havoc of armed squadrons; the city at its festivals receive its gay and cheerful inhabitants; the temple resound with the uninterrupted music and psalmody of the whole united nation. Vain hope! the fire was only smothered, not extinct. In an evil moment, Agrippa attempted to persuade the people to render the usual allegiance to Florus, until the emperor should send another governor in his place. At the sound of that name, all influence

and authority fell, as it were by magic, from the person of Agrippa. The populace rose, began to assail him, first with insulting language, afterwards with stones; they even ordered him to leave the city. Despairing, at the same time, of being of any farther use, and indignant at this treatment, Agrippa, having sent certain of the leaders to Florus, in order that he might nominate some of them to collect the tribute, retreated to his own kingdom, and left the ungrateful city to its fate.

Still the more prudent of the higher orders entertained hopes of quelling the tumult, and averting the storm. But every day the breach became more inevitable. There was an important fortress named Masada, which stood on the brow of a hill, at no great distance from the Dead Sea, near the fertile spot called the gardens of Engaddi. It was a place of great strength, originally built by Jonathan the Maccabean, and fortified at great expense by Herod. Some of the bolder and more zealous of the war party, contrived to obtain entrance into this post, put the Roman garrison to the sword, and openly unfolded the banner of revolt. In the city a still more decisive measure was taken. It had been the custom to receive the gifts and sacrifices of foreign potentates in the temple; and since the time of Julius Cæsar, according to the policy of Rome, offerings had been regularly made, in the name of the emperor, to the national God of the Hebrews. Eleazar, the son of Ananias the chief priest, who then commanded the guard in the temple, had the ambition of becoming the head of the war faction. He persuaded the lower orders of the officiating priests to reject the imperial offerings, and to make a regulation that from that time no foreigner should be allowed to sacrifice in the temple. This was a direct renunciation of allegiance. The Roman party, or rather that party which was anxious to preserve peace, made a strong but unavailing effort. The chief priests, joined by the heads of the Pharisees, who as yet had maintained great influence over the populace, met in frequent council. They agreed to assemble the people in the quadrangle of the temple, which was before the great eastern gate. They addressed them in strong language, representing the honour and wealth that the temple had long obtained by the splendid donations of foreigners. That this act amounted to an open declaration of war; that it was not merely inhospitable, but impious, to preclude strangers from offering victims, and kneeling in worship before God; that they would consider such a decree an act of inhumanity against an individual; how much greater then must it be against the emperor and the whole Roman people; above all, they must take heed lest, by prohibiting others to sacrifice, they bring upon themselves the same prohibition; and thus, having as it were outlawed the rest of the world, be themselves condemned

to a more fatal outlawry. They then brought forward those who were thought best acquainted with the precedents and customs of the temple worship. The learned in the law unanimously declared that it was the ancient and immemorial usage to receive the offerings of strangers. The violent faction paid not the least attention to argument or remonstrance; the lower order of priests openly refused to officiate. The pacific party made one effort more. They sent one deputation, headed by Simon, son of Ananias, to Florus; another to Agrippa, headed by his relatives, Saul, Antipas, and Costobar, entreating them to march instantly on Jerusalem, or all would be lost. These were glad tidings to Florus, who saw, in quiet and ferocious delight, the progress of the mutiny. He did not condescend to reply. Agrippa, still anxious to preserve the city and temple, sent immediately 3000 horse from Auranitis, Batanea, and Trachonitis, commanded by Darius and Philip the son of Jacimus.

On the arrival of these troops, the chiefs of the people made themselves masters of the upper city; the insurgents, under Eleazar, who now appeared openly as the head of the war faction, occupied Acra and the temple. The two parties began to assail each other with missiles and slings; bands occasionally met and fought hand to hand; the royal troops had the advantage in discipline, but the insurgents in courage. The temple was the great object of the struggle. For seven days affairs remained in this state, neither party obtaining any positive advantage. The following day was the festival of wood-carrying, in which it was the custom of every individual among the Jews to contribute a certain supply of wood for the fire of the altar, which was never allowed to go out. The insurgents refused to admit the more distinguished of the opposite party; while they themselves received a great accession of strength. With the meaner people, who were permitted to enter the temple, stole in a great number of the Zealots, called the Assassins. These desperadoes infused new daring as well as strength. They made a vigorous attack on the upper city, the royal troops gave way; the victorious insurgents set fire to the house of Ananias, the chief priest, to the palaces of Agrippa and Berenice, and to the public archives, in which the bonds of the debtors were registered. In this proceeding all the debtors eagerly took their side, and assisted in cancelling their debts by destroying the records. This measure was as politic as it was daring; it annihilated at one blow the influence of the wealthy, who being generally their creditors, the poorer people, before this, had been entirely in their power. Some of the priests and heads of the people concealed themselves in the sewers; others, for the time more fortunate, secured the upper towers of the palace, and closed the gates. Among the latter were Anarrias and his brother, Hezekiah, and those who

were obnoxious, as having been deputed to Agrippa. Flushed with their victory, the insurgents retired to rest.

The next day they attempted a much more daring enterprise. A feeble garrison still held the important fortress, the Antonia, which, if better manned, might long have resisted the attacks of undisciplined soldiers. In two days the insurgents carried this citadel, put the garrison to the sword, and burnt the keep. They then turned against the palace, where the miserable remains of the royal party had taken refuge. They divided themselves into four troops, and made a simultaneous attempt to scale the walls. The few defenders, distracted by these separate attacks, dared not venture on a sally, but contented themselves with striking down the assailants as they climbed singly up the battlements. Many of the insurgents fell. Night and day the conflict lasted; the besiegers expecting that the royal troops would speedily be reduced by famine—the besieged, that their tumultuary assailants would grow weary of the attack.

In the mean time a new leader arose, who had hereditary claims on the ardent attachment of the Zealots. Judas, the Galilean, had been the first who had openly declared the impiety of owning any king but God, and had denounced the payment of tribute to Cæsar, and all acknowledgment of foreign authority, as treason against the principles of the Mosaic constitution. These doctrines, after having long fermented in secret, and only betrayed themselves in local tumults, or temporary insurrections, were now espoused, as it were, by the whole nation. Judas himself, not long after his outset on his career, and his two elder sons, during the government of Tiberius Alexander, had fallen martyrs to their opinions. All eyes were now turned on Manahem, a younger son, who they hoped would maintain the lofty principles of his father with better success. Manahem suddenly appeared in the conquered fortress of Masada, plundered the armoury of Herod, and, girt with a resolute and confident band, approached Jerusalem. The gates flew open, and he entered the city in royal pomp; he was admitted at once as the captain of their forces, and gave orders to press the siege of the palace. The palace still bravely held out; the assailants had no battering engines; and, when they attempted to mine the walls, they were beaten down by stones and javelins from above. They began, therefore, a mine at a considerable distance, and when they got under one of the towers, they carried in a great quantity of wood, and set it on fire. The flames caught the timbers of the foundations, and the tower fell with a tremendous crash. The insurgents were already rushing to the assault, when they found themselves checked by a second wall, which the besieged had built within. During this consternation of the assailants, the garrison sent to demand terms. The

insurgents readily granted safe passage to the troops of Agrippa and to the Jews, who marched out, leaving the few Roman soldiers in the most desperate condition, without a hope of cutting their way through the countless multitudes of their assailants, and, even if they should submit to the disgrace of surrendering on conditions, almost certain that the conditions would not be kept. They retreated to the three strong towers which Herod had built, and called Hippicos, Phasaelis, and Mariamne. Manahem and his followers broke into the palace, slew the few who had not made good their retreat, plundered the baggage, and set fire to their encampment.

The following morning Ananias was discovered, with his brother, Hezekiah, in an aqueduct leading to the palace: they were put to death without remorse. The towers were surrounded, so as to prevent any chance of escape. Manahem grew intoxicated with success; he already assumed all the state of a king, and maintained his authority with the most unsparing bloodshed. The death of Ananias was an unpopular measure—but probably this, as well as other sanguinary acts, might have been pardoned; but Eleazar did not patiently endure that the supreme authority, for which he had so subtly plotted, and so resolutely dared, should thus be wrested at once from his hands. His partisans began to murmur, that they had only changed a Roman tyrant for one home-born: that Manahem, though he had no claim or title to this superiority, had insolently gone up to worship in the temple, in royal attire, and surrounded by his guards. The populace rose on the side of Eleazar, and began to stone the adherents of Manahem. His followers fled. Many were slain outright, many in places of concealment. A few with Eleazar, the son of Jair, a relation of Manahem, made good their retreat to Masada. Manahem himself was taken, having fled to a part of the city called Ophlas; he was dragged forth, and put to death with great cruelty. Many of his partisans, one Absalon in particular, shared his fate. Thus fell Manahem, who, if he had united discretion with his courage, might have given the insurgents what they felt the want of during the whole war—an acknowledged leader, who might have concentred the resources, and consolidated the strength of the revolt.

Many of the populace had taken part against Manahem, in hopes that by his death the tumult might be suppressed; but this was not the intention of Eleazar and his party. They pressed vigorously the siege of the towers. At length Metilius, the Roman commander, found himself constrained to demand terms. The garrison offered to surrender on condition that their lives were spared; their arms and everything else were to be at the mercy of the conquerors. The treaty was accepted, and solemnly ratified. Gorion, son of Nicomedes—Ananias, son of Sadoc—

and Judas, son of Jonathan, on the part of the insurgents—swore to the execution of the conditions. Metilius led out his soldiers. While they retained their arms, no movement was made; directly they had piled their swords and bucklers, the followers of Eleazar fell upon and slew them, unresisting, and wildly appealing to the faith of the treaty. All fell, except Metilius, who had the un-Roman baseness (the word may be excused) to supplicate for mercy, and even agreed to submit to circumcision. After this treacherous and horrid deed, the last faint hope of accommodation was quenched, as it were, in blood. The more moderate foresaw the inevitable ruin; they did not conceal their profound sorrow; the whole city, instead of resounding with triumph, was silent, dejected, and melancholy. It was an aggravation of the general terror and depression, that this atrocious massacre was perpetrated on a Sabbath!

On that very day and hour, by a coincidence which Josephus considered providential, a dreadful retribution for the crimes of their countrymen was, as it were, pre-exacted from the Jews of Cæsarea. The Greeks, now tolerably certain that to satiate their own animosity would be to please rather than offend the Romans, or, perhaps, under secret instructions from Florus, suddenly rose, and massacred the Jews almost to a man—in one hour, 20,000, an incredible number! were said to be killed. Not a Jew appeared in Cæsarea. The few who fled were seized by Florus, and sent to the galleys.

By this act the whole nation was driven to madness. Committed by the enormities of their brethren in Jerusalem—thus apparently proscribed everywhere else for slaughter—they determined, if mankind thus declared war upon them, to wage unrelenting war upon mankind. They rose, surprised, and laid waste all around the cities of Syria, Philadelphia, Sebonitis, Gerasa, Pella (where probably as yet the Christians had not taken refuge), and Scythopolis. They made a sudden descent upon Gadara, Hippo, and Gaulonitis; burnt and destroyed many places, and advanced boldly against Cedasa, a Tyrian town, and the important places of Ptolemais and Gaba, and even against Cæsarea itself. Sebaste and Ascalon offered no resistance—at least to the inroad on their territory; Anthedon and Gaza they razed to the ground. The hamlets around these cities were pillaged, and an immense slaughter took place.

The Syrians took the alarm; and either for security, or out of old animosity, committed dreadful havoc on the Jewish inhabitants of their towns. Every city was, as it were, divided into two hostile camps. The great object was to anticipate the work of carnage. The days were passed in mutual slaughter, the nights in mutual dread. All agreed that the Jews were to be put to the

sword without mercy—but how to treat the numerous proselytes to Judaism? Should they respect their Syrian blood, or punish their conformity to the Jewish faith? The fatal wealth of the Jews even then, as in after ages, was at once their pride and their ruin. Many were put to death from the basest motives of plunder; and he who could display the greatest heap of Jewish spoil, was considered a hero. The streets were strewn with unburied bodies—aged men and infants—women with the last covering of modesty torn off; the whole province bewailing the present calamities, and trembling with foreboding apprehensions of still worse.

So far the Jews had confined their attacks to foreign troops or settlers; but making an inroad into the domain of Scythopolis, they met with unexpected resistance from the Jewish inhabitants, who had taken arms with those of Syrian race, and united with them in defence of their common territory. But the Scythopolitans mistrusted their fidelity, and, dreading lest they should make common cause with the assailants during the attack, desired them to retire with their families into an adjacent grove. Suspecting no danger, the Jews at once complied, and two days they remained in quiet, encamped under the trees. The third night the perfidious Scythopolitans attacked them unawares, put them all to the sword, and seized all their property. Thirteen thousand perished. This barbarous act clearly proved to all the Jews, that no course remained but to unite hand and heart with their revolted countrymen. A particular incident which occurred during this massacre was well suited to spread from mouth to mouth, as a tale which might excite the revengeful spirit of the most lukewarm, and drive the most cautious to insurrection, as his last hope. There was a certain Simon, the son of Saul, a Jew of distinction in Scythopolis, who during the Jewish attack upon the city, had fought against his countrymen with the most consummate bravery. He had slain many, and broken squadrons by his single strength. On that fatal night, when the Scythopolitans surrounded their Jewish brethren, he saw that all resistance to such numbers was vain. He cried aloud—"Men of Scythopolis, I acknowledge the justice of the penalty I am about to pay for having wielded arms against my countrymen, and put my trust in you. The blood of my own brethren calls for vengeance. It shall be satisfied; but no enemy, like you, shall boast of my death, or insult my fall." He then with wild and glaring eyes looked round on his family. He had a wife, children, and aged parents. He first seized his father by the hoary hair, and pierced him with his sword; his mother next willingly bared her bosom to the blow. Then fell his wife and children, who crowded round him, eager to die by his hand rather than by that of the enemy. Last of all, he mounted upon their

bodies, so as to make himself as conspicuous as possible, and drove his sword into his entrails.

The rest of the Grecian cities followed the example of Scythopolis. In Ascalon 2500 were put to the sword, in Ptolemais 2000, and as many thrown into prison. In Tyre many were killed; in Hippo and Gadara they put to death the most dangerous, and threw the rest whom they suspected into prison. Of the Syrian cities, Antioch, Sidon, and Apamea alone showed real humanity, and forbade the death, or even the imprisonment, of their Jewish fellow-citizens. In these towns, indeed, the Jews were less numerous, and therefore less formidable; yet the exception is not the less honourable to the inhabitants. The citizens of Geraza not merely abstained from injuring those who remained in the city, but escorted those who chose to leave it into the mountains. The dominions of Agrippa were not without disturbance. Agrippa himself had gone to Antioch to Cestius Gallus, and left the administration of his kingdom to Varus, a relation of Soemus, the tetrarch of the district about Lebanon. It happened that Philip, the son of Jacimus, the commander of Agrippa's troops in Jerusalem, had escaped the massacre committed by the partisans of Manahem. He was concealed for four days by some relatives, Babylonian Jews, then at Jerusalem. On the fifth, by putting on false hair, he escaped, and arrived at length at a village of his own near the fortress of Gamala. There, while he was thinking of summoning his friends, he was seized with a fever, and as he lay ill, he sent letters to the children of Agrippa and to Berenice, announcing his escape. Varus was jealous of the influence of Philip with Agrippa. He accused the bearer of forgery, and declared that Philip had certainly perished at Jerusalem. A second messenger arrived, and him also Varus made away with; for a report had reached him from Cæsarea, that Agrippa had been put to death by the Romans, on account of the revolt of his countrymen, and he began to entertain hopes, being of royal blood, that he might secure to himself the vacant kingdom. He intercepted, therefore, all communication from Philip, and, to ingratiate himself with the Cæsareans, he put to death many Jews. He then determined to make an attack on Ecbatana, or Bathura—a town probably in Batanea. With this view he sent twelve Jews of Cæsarea to accuse them of meditating an insurrection against Agrippa, and to demand seventy of the chief citizens to answer the charge. The Cæsarean Jews found the town perfectly quiet, and the seventy citizens were sent with the utmost readiness. Varus, without trial, ordered them all to be put to death, and advanced upon the town. One, however, had escaped, and gave the alarm. The inhabitants immediately seized their arms, leaving their great possessions in flocks and

herds, and fled to the fortress of Gamala. Thence they sent to Philip, entreating him to come to their assistance. On his arrival, there was a general outcry that he should put himself at their head, and instantly lead them to battle against Varus and the Greeks of Cæsarea. The more prudent Philip restrained their impetuosity, and by his influence preserved the peace of Gamala, and kept the whole district faithful to the Romans till the commencement of the war. Agrippa sent to supersede Varus; his great connections rendered it dangerous to inflict a more severe punishment.

The Alexandrian Jews were not exempt from the general calamities of the nation: but they are less worthy of compassion, as they seem in a great degree, by their turbulence and rashness, to have brought the persecution upon their own heads. At a public assembly of the Alexandrians, to despatch an embassy to Nero, many of the Jews, whether to maintain a contested right or not, thronged into the amphitheatre with the Greeks. An outcry immediately arose against the intruders, as enemies and spies. They were attacked; some were killed in their flight; others were taken, and dragged along as if to be burnt alive. The whole Jewish population rose, and at first assailed the Greeks with stones. They then surrounded the amphitheatre with lighted torches, and threatened to burn the assembly to a man. They would have executed their purpose, but for the immediate intervention of Tiberius Alexander, the governor—the same who had before governed in Judæa, and who was by birth a Jew—the nephew of Philo. Alexander acted with humane consideration; he sent for the more influential of the Jews, ordered them to put an end to the affray, and warned them against bringing the Roman soldiery upon their heads. The more seditious mocked at his admonitions, and heaped personal abuse upon his name.

Alexander immediately ordered his troops out; besides his two legions, he had 5000 soldiers, recently come from Libya. He gave them leave not merely to kill, but also to pillage and burn houses. The troops immediately forced the Delta, the quarter in which the Jews lived. The Jews made resistance; but once routed, the slaughter was horrible. The houses were stripped, or set on fire full of inhabitants who had taken refuge in them; neither age nor sex was spared: the whole place was like a pool of blood: 50,000 bodies were heaped up for burial. The few who remained sued for mercy. Alexander gave the signal for the cessation of the carnage; and such was the influence of the commander, and the discipline of the troops, that he was instantly obeyed by the soldiery. The more vindictive animosity of the Alexandrian populace was not so easily arrested; they could only be dragged by force from the dead bodies.

In Palestine one thing only was wanting to plunge the whole nation headlong into the revolt. They had already to stimulate them, on one hand, the remembrance of the galling oppression of their successive governors—the desperate conviction that they were already committed by the events in Jerusalem—the horrible proofs that in every city every man's hand was armed against them, and every heart steeled against their sufferings: on the other, the bold and lofty tenets of Judas the Galilean, in whose sense their older sacred Scriptures might be made to speak without much violence of interpretation—the universal belief in the immediate coming of the triumphant Messiah, which was so widely diffused as to be mentioned by Suetonius and by Tacitus as a great cause of the war,—all these motives could not but operate in a most powerful manner. That which was wanting, was a bright gleam of success, to break the gloom that lowered all round the horizon, and animate the timid and desponding with the hope of possible victory. This was given by the imbecility of Cestius Gallus, the prefect of Syria. Cestius had under his command the 12th legion, complete in its numbers, about 4200 strong: besides these he had 2000 picked men; six cohorts of foot, about 2500; and four troops of horse, about 1200. Of allies he had from Antiochus 2000 horse and 3000 foot, all archers: from Agrippa as many horse, but less than 2000 foot; Sohemus followed with 4000 more, a third of which were horse, the rest archers. With this army, of nearly 10,000 Roman troops, and 13,000 allies, Cestius advanced to Ptolemais. Many volunteers crowded forth from the Syrian cities, and Agrippa and Sohemus attended on his march. His first exploit was against the town of Zebulun, called Andron, which divided the territory of Ptolemais from the Jewish province of Upper Galilee. The inhabitants fled to the mountains. The city, in which was abundance of wealth and provision, was pillaged by the soldiers; and its noble buildings, said to be as handsome as those of Tyre, Sidon, or Berytus, were burned to the ground. After having wasted the adjacent district, Cestius returned to Ptolemais. The Syrians, particularly those of Berytus, lingering behind to plunder, the Jews rose upon them, and cut off about 2000.

Cestius advanced to Cæsarea: from thence he sent forward part of his army to Joppa, with orders, if they could take the city, to garrison it; if the inhabitants were prepared for resistance, to await the arrival of the rest of the army. Part marched inland, part by the sea coast. They found the city open; the inhabitants neither attempted to fly nor to resist. They put them all to the sword, and pillaged the town. The number slain was 8500. With the same savage cruelty the cavalry wasted Narbatene, a district near Cæsarea; killing, and plundering, and burning on all sides.

Cestius sent Gallus, the commander of the twelfth legion, into Galilee, with sufficient force to subjugate that province. Sepphoris opened its gates: the other cities followed the example of the capital. The insurgents fled to a mountain opposite to Sepphoris, called Asamon. There, favoured by the ground, they at first made a gallant resistance, and killed 200 of Gallus's men: at length the Romans gaining the upper ground, and surrounding them, they were broken and dispersed: 2000 were slain. Gallus, having subdued the province, returned to Cæsarea.

Cestius advanced to Antipatris, dispersed a small band at the tower of Aphek, and burned their camp. From Antipatris he marched to Lydda, which was deserted, the inhabitants having gone up to Jerusalem for the Feast of Tabernacles. Fifty men, who came forth to meet him, were put to death; the city was burned. He then ascended the hills near Bethhoron, and encamped at Gabao, fifty stadia, rather more than six miles, from Jerusalem. No sooner did the Jews hear that the war was approaching their gates, than they flew to arms; they broke off the festival; they paid no more respect to the Sabbath. It is possible, they called to mind that it was near this very place, in the passes about Bethhoron, that, in the days of old, the *Lord cast down great stones* on the Canaanites, when, as their histories declared, the sun stayed his course at the command of Joshua. In the same mountain country, Judas, the Maccabean, had discomfited the immense army of Nicanor. Now they poured forth by thousands; they fell upon the Roman van; broke it; and rushing in, began so great a slaughter, that if the horse and some light troops had not made a circuit, and charged them in the rear, the whole army of Cestius might have been destroyed. Notwithstanding this advantage, they retreated; having killed 515, of which 400 were horse. Their own loss was but twenty-two. Their most distinguished men in the battle were strangers; Monobazus and Cenedæus, relations of the King of Adiabene; Niger, of Peræa; and Silas, a Babylonian, who had quitted the service of Agrippa. The Jews made good their retreat; and as the Romans ascended the hill of Bethhoron, Simon, son of Gioras, a man who will afterwards make an eminent figure in the history, hung on their rear, and cut off their stragglers, and beasts of burthen, many of which he carried safe to the city. Cestius remained quiet for three days, the Jews keeping watch on the hills, waiting for his troops to move. At this juncture, Agrippa determined to make a last effort to avert the war. He sent a deputation to persuade his countrymen to surrender, offering, in the name of Cestius, an amnesty for all that had passed. The leading insurgents dreaded the effect of these proposals on the people. They suddenly attacked the deputation; slew one, named Phœbus, wounded the other, Borcæus, with

sticks and stones; and drove back those who appeared to take any interest in their fate. Cestius seized the opportunity of this dissension to advance on Jerusalem: he encamped at Scopas, within seven stadia, not quite a mile, to the north of the walls. Three days he suspended his attack, in hopes of receiving an offer of surrender: in the mean time his horse scoured the villages around for provision and forage: on the fourth the Romans advanced to the attack. The insurgents had not only to repel the enemy, but to watch a formidable party within the walls, whom they suspected of being but lukewarm in the cause. They were struck with consternation at the order and discipline of the Roman army as it came slowly on to the attack. They abandoned the outer walls, and fled into the temple and the other fortified places within the city. Cestius passed through the new suburb of Bezetha, and burned it as he proceeded: he then advanced against the upper city, and encamped opposite to the palace. Had he then rushed at once to the assault, the city would have fallen. But, as Josephus asserts, with no great probability, the general, Tyrannius Priscus, and several of the commanders of cavalry, bribed by Florus to prolong the war, dissuaded him from the attack.

It is more probable that he entertained hopes of the surrender of the city by means of a powerful party within the walls; for many of the chief persons, at the persuasion of Ananus, the son of Jonathan, invited Cestius to continue the attack, and promised to open the gates. But the irresolute Cestius, either from anger or mistrust, delayed and lost time. The conspiracy was detected by the insurgents; Ananus and his followers were thrown headlong from the walls: the rest were assailed with stones, and driven to their houses. The war faction manned all the towers, and beat down with missiles all who approached the walls. For five days the Romans made only uncombined and desultory attacks: on the following, Cestius, with the flower of his army and his archers, made a vigorous assault on the north side of the temple. The Jews defended themselves from the cloisters with the most resolute valour; continually repulsed the enemy; till at length, galled by the showers of missiles, the Romans recoiled. But they retreated to make a more dangerous attack. They formed what was called a testudo: those in the van fixed their shields firmly against the wall; the next rank did the same; till the shields, fitting over each other like the shell of a tortoise, formed an iron penthouse over their heads, under which the soldiers began to mine the walls, and attempted to set fire to the gates.

The besieged were in the most dreadful consternation; many endeavoured secretly to make their escape from the devoted city. The peaceful party took courage, and began to muster in

considerable force, in order to open the gates, and admit Cestius as their deliverer. A short time, an hour or less, might have made the Romans masters of the city: "but God, I conceive," says the Jewish historian, "on account of our sins, abhorring his own sanctuary, would not permit the war to end thus."

Cestius, ignorant of the state of affairs within the town, both of the despondency of the insurgents and the strength of the Roman party, suddenly called off his troops, and, to the universal surprise, retreated entirely from the city. The insurgents passed at once from the lowest depression to the wildest courage: they sallied from all quarters, and cut off many stragglers, both horse and foot. Cestius passed the night in his former encampment, at Scopos (the watch-tower). On the following day he continued to retire. The further he retreated, the more bold became the enemy: they harassed his rear; coming along cross roads, they took his files in flank. The Romans dared not turn to make head; for they thought that countless multitudes were pouring behind them; and while the heavily-accoutred legionaries continued their slow and sullen march, the light-armed Jews flew about with the utmost rapidity: assaulting, retreating; now on one side, now on the other; dashing down where they saw an opening, and starting off when they met resistance. The road was strewn with the dead; every one who, for an instant, quitted the ranks, was cut off. Nor did the loss fall only on the common soldiers. Priscus, the captain of the sixth legion, Longinus, a tribune, and Æmilius, a prefect of horse, were slain; till at length, with great loss of men, and still more of baggage and munitions, the army reached its former quarters at Gabao. There, with his usual irresolution, Cestius lost two days in inactivity: the third, when he saw the whole country in arms, and the Jews swarming on all the heights, he determined on retreat.

That he might retire with greater expedition, he commanded the soldiers to throw away everything that might impede their march. All the mules and beasts of burthen were killed, except those which bore arrows and the military engines; the latter, he apprehended, might be of future use, and dreaded lest they should fall into the hands of the enemy. The Romans then entered the fatal pass down to Bethhoron. The Jews, who had preserved some respect for their close and serried ranks while they were in the open plain, no sooner saw them entangled in the defile, than they attacked them on all sides: some hastened to block up the outlet of the pass; some from behind drove them headlong down the ravine: and at the end of the defile, incalculable multitudes showered darts upon them, till the whole squadron seemed clouded over with missiles. The legionaries stood wavering, uncertain how to act. The cavalry were in a still more perilous condition: they could not form in ranks; the

steep sheer sides of the mountains were impracticable for their horses. At one moment they found themselves on the verge of frightful precipices, hanging over rugged, and, it seemed, bottomless ravines. Flight and resistance were alike hopeless: they began to utter wild cries of despair, and to groan aloud in the agony of their hearts: the shrill battle-cry of the Jews answered; their savage shouts of exultation and fury rang from rock to rock. The whole Roman army must have fallen, had not night come on, which enabled the greater part to make its way to Bethhoron; while the Jews crowned every hill, and blocked up every pass around.

Cestius, despairing of being able openly to force his way, began to think of securing his personal safety by flight. He selected four hundred of his bravest men, distributed them about the defences of the camp, with orders to mount guard; and in the morning to display all their ensigns, that the Jews might suppose the whole army was still stationary. He then retreated in silence thirty stadia, not quite four miles. At the break of day, the Jews discovered that the camp was deserted: enraged at the manœuvre, they rushed to the assault, and slew the four hundred to a man. They then pursued Cestius with the utmost rapidity. The Romans, who had got the start of several hours during the night, hastened their retreat, which bore every appearance of a rout. All the military engines, the catapults, battering-rams used in besieging cities, were abandoned, and fell into the hands of the Jews; who afterwards employed them with dreadful effect against their former masters. The conquerors continued the pursuit as far as Antipatris; and at length finding that they could not overtake them, they turned back to secure the engines, strip the dead, and collect their immense booty. With hymns of victory they re-entered the capital; having suffered hardly any loss on their own part, and having slain of the Romans and their allies 5300 foot, and 380 horse. The Roman arms had not received so disgraceful an affront, nor suffered so great loss, since the defeat of Varus in the forests of Germany; and this not by a fierce and unconquered people among woods and morasses never before penetrated by civilised man; but in a province which had long patiently endured the Roman yoke, and had received for its sovereigns either native kings or foreign prefects, with the humblest submission to the imperial will.

BOOK XIV.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE WAR.

Vespasian—Josephus—Affairs of Galilee—John of Gischala—Affairs of Jerusalem—Ananus the Chief Priest—Simon, Son of Gioras—Battles near Ascalon.

JUDÆA was now in open rebellion against Rome. It was a mad and desperate revolt, for to declare war against Rome, was to defy the whole force of the civilised world. The insurgents neither had, nor could hope for, allies; the rest of the Roman provinces were in profound peace, and little likely to answer the call or follow the example of a people they despised, in assertion of their independence. In Europe the only unsubdued enemies of the Romans were the wild tribes in the north of Britain, or in the marshes of Germany. In Asia, the only independent kingdom, the Parthian, was not in a state to make war of aggression. Philo, in his oratorical invective against Caligula, throws out hints of the formidable numbers of his countrymen in Babylonia, and of the multitudes who were scattered throughout almost all the cities in the eastern dominions of Rome. But the foreign Jews, though, as Josephus hints in one place, solicited by ambassadors, either took no interest in the fate of their countrymen, or were too sadly occupied in averting the storm of public detestation from their own heads, or in bewailing its consequences, in the unprovoked carnage of their own friends and families.* They were trembling in the agony of personal apprehension, or gathering up for burial the bodies of their murdered countrymen.

The state of the country offered scarcely better grounds for any reasonable hope of permanent resistance. The fortified places were not all in the power of the insurgents; they had no organised or disciplined force; no warlike engines, except those captured from the enemy; no provisions of any kind for a long war. Worse than all, they were divided among themselves.

* Immediately on the defeat of Cestius, the inhabitants of Damascus hastened to wreak their vengeance on the Jewish residents. They were obliged to proceed with caution, for fear of their wives, who *were almost all attached to the Jewish religion!* At last they contrived to take them at advantage, in some confined space, and, attacking them unarmed, massacred 10,000.

In every city there was an interested, or a timid, or a prudent party, anxious to purchase peace at any cost. They had no acknowledged leader. The representative of the Herodian house, Agrippa, openly espoused the Roman party. The rest were either undistinguished as soldiers, or strangers, and robber chieftains. Their only trust was in their own stubborn patience and daring valour, in the stern fanaticism with which they looked upon themselves as the soldiers of their God, and in the wild hope that heaven would work some miraculous revolution in their favour

Yet, however frantic and desperate the insurrection, why should the Jews alone be excluded from that generous sympathy, which is always awakened by the history of a people throwing off the galling yoke of oppression, and manfully resisting to the utmost, in assertion of their freedom? Surely if ever people were justified in risking the peace of their country for liberty, the grinding tyranny of the successive Roman Procurators, and the deliberate and systematic cruelties of Florus, were enough to have maddened a less high-spirited and intractable race into revolt. It is true that the war was carried on with unexampled atrocity; but on the other hand insurrectionary warfare is not the best school for the humaner virtues; and horrible oppression is apt to awaken the fiercer and more savage, not the loftier and nobler passions of our nature. And, it must be borne in mind, that we have the history of the war, only on the authority of some brief passages in the Roman authors, and the narrative of one to whom, notwithstanding our respect for his abilities and virtues, it is impossible not to assign the appellation of renegade. Josephus, writing to conciliate the Romans, both to his own person, and to the miserable remnant of his people, must be received with some mistrust. He uniformly calls the more obstinate insurgents, who continued desperately faithful to that cause which he deserted, by the odious name of robbers; but it may be remembered that the Spanish guerillas, who were called patriots in London, were brigands in Paris. It is true that the resistance of many was the result of the wildest fanaticism. But we must not forget in what religious and historical recollections the Jews had been nurtured. To say nothing of the earlier and miraculous period of their history, what precedents of hope were offered by the more recent legends of the daring and triumphant Maccabees. It is, moreover, true that the Son of Man had prophesied the destruction of Jerusalem, and that the New Testament appears to intimate that the measure of wickedness in the Jewish people, having been filled up in the rejection of Christ, they were doomed from that time to inevitable ruin. But we must avoid the perilous notion of confounding the Divine foreknowledge with the necessary causation

of events. According to the first principles of the Mosaic constitution, national guilt led to national ruin. But still the motives which actuated many in the fatal struggle, that led to the accomplishment of the Divine predictions, may have been noble and generous. It was the national rejection of Christ, not the resistance to Rome, which was culpable. The Jew, though guilty of refusing to be a Christian, might still be a high-minded and self-devoted patriot. Although we lament that the gentle and pacific virtues of Christianity did not spread more generally through the lovely and fertile region of Palestine, yet this is no reason why we should refuse our admiration to the bravery, or our deepest pity to the sufferings, of the Jewish people. Let us not read the fate of the Holy City, in that unchristian temper which prevailed during the dark ages, when every Jew was considered a personal enemy of Christ, and therefore a legitimate object of hatred and persecution, but rather in the spirit of Him, who, when he looked forward with prophetic foreknowledge to its desolation, nevertheless was seen "to weep over Jerusalem."

The astonishment of the Romans at the revolt of this comparatively small province, and at the news of the total defeat of a Roman prefect, at the head of his legionaries, was not unmingled with consternation. The emperor Nero was then in Achaia. The first intelligence of the affair was brought by Costobar and Saul, two brothers, related to the Herodian family, who, with Philip, the son of Jacimus, the general of Agrippa, had made their escape from Jerusalem. The two former were despatched, at their own request, to the emperor, by Cestius, who instructed them to lay the whole blame of the war on Florus. Nero, according to Josephus, affected to treat the affair lightly. He expressed great contempt for their revolt, but great anger at the misconduct of Cestius; yet he could not help betraying visible marks of disturbance and terror. The importance really attached to the affair may be judged by the selection of the most able and distinguished military commander in the empire. Vespasian had been bred to arms from his youth; he had served with great fame in the German wars; had reduced the unknown island of Britain into a Roman province, and obtained the honours of a triumph for the emperor Claudius, without his own personal exertion or danger. Nero repressed his resentment against Vespasian, who was in disgrace for not having sufficiently admired the fine voice and style of singing of the theatrical emperor. He committed the province of Syria to his charge. With his characteristic despatch, Vespasian immediately sent his son, Titus, to Alexandria, to conduct the fifth and tenth legions; he himself travelled, with all speed, by land to Syria, and collected all the Roman troops, and forces from the neighbouring tributary kings.

In the mean time the insurgents were not inactive. Some of the more prudent hastened, as Josephus says, to desert the sinking ship. Those who still *Romanised* were brought over, some by persuasion, some by force. They called a general assembly in the temple, and proceeded to elect their governors and commanders. Their choice fell on Joseph, the son of Gorion, and Ananus, the chief priest, who were invested with unlimited authority in the city. Eleazar, the son of Simon, who had taken so active a part in originating and conducting the first insurrection, and in the death of Manahem, was passed over. He was suspected, not without grounds, of aiming at kingly power, for he went about attended by a body-guard of Zealots. But Eleazar, probably as commanding within the temple, had made himself master of the spoil taken from the Romans, the military chest of Cestius, and a great part of the public treasures. In a short time, the want of money, and his extreme subtlety, won over the multitude, and all the real authority fell into his hands. To the other districts they sent the men whom they could best trust for courage, and fidelity to their cause. To Idumæa, Jesus, son of Saphus, one of the chief priests, and Eleazar, the son of Ananias, also a chief priest. Niger of Peræa, who had hitherto commanded in that district, was directed to receive his orders from them. To Jericho was sent Joseph, son of Simon; to Peræa, Manasseh; to Thamna, John the Essene: for even among these peaceful hermits were found men who would fight for their freedom. The toparchies of Lydda, Joppa, and Emmaus were added to his command. John, the son of Ananias, had the toparchies of Gophni and Acrabatene. Joseph, the son of Mathias, was entrusted with the command of Upper and Lower Galilee, with particular charge of the strong city of Gamala.

Galilee was the province on which the storm would first break, and the confidence of the insurgents in the ability and zeal of Joseph, the son of Mathias, may be fairly estimated from their committing this important frontier to his charge. As long as the passes and hill fortresses of Galilee were defended, the southern region, and Jerusalem itself, might have time to organise their forces, and fortify their strongholds. Joseph, the son of Mathias, is better known as the celebrated Josephus, the historian. He was a man of illustrious race, lineally descended from a priestly family, the first of the twenty-four courses—an eminent distinction. By his mother's side he traced his genealogy up to the Asmonean princes. His father, Mathias, was of upright character, as well as of noble birth; he resided in Jerusalem, where the young Joseph grew up with a brother, named Mathias, with great reputation for early intelligence and memory. At fourteen years old (he is his own biographer) he was so fond of letters that the chief priests used to meet at his father's house to

put to him difficult questions of the law. At sixteen he determined to acquaint himself with the three prevailing sects, those of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. For though he had led for some time a hardy, diligent, and studious life, he did not consider himself yet sufficiently acquainted with the character of each sect to decide which he should follow. Having heard that a certain Essene, named Banus, was living in the desert the life of a hermit, making his raiment from the trees, and his food from the wild fruits of the earth, practising cold ablutions at all seasons, and, in short, using every means of mortification to increase his sanctity; Josephus, ambitious of emulating the fame of such an example of holy seclusion, joined him in his cell. But three years of this ascetic life tamed his zealous ambition; he grew weary of the desert, abandoned his great example of painful devotion, and returned to the city at the age of nineteen. There he joined the sect of the Pharisees. In his twenty-sixth year he undertook a voyage to Rome, in order to make interest in favour of certain priests who had been sent there, to answer some unimportant charge by Felix. They were friends of Josephus, and his zeal in their favour was heightened by hearing that, with religious attachment to the law, they refused, when in prison, to eat any unclean food, but lived on figs and nuts. On his voyage he was shipwrecked, like St. Paul, and in great danger. His ship foundered in the Adriatic; six hundred of the crew and passengers were cast into the sea; eighty contrived to swim, and were taken up by a ship from Cyrene. They arrived at Dicæarchia (Puteoli), the usual landing-place, and Joseph, making acquaintance with one Aliturus, an actor, a Jew by birth, and, from his profession, in high credit with the empress Poppea, he obtained the release of the prisoners, as well as valuable presents from Poppea, and returned home. During all this time he had studied diligently, and made himself master of the Greek language, which few of his countrymen could write, still fewer speak with a correct pronunciation.

On his return to Jerusalem, he found affairs in the utmost confusion; great preparations were making for the war, and the insurgents were in high spirits. He united himself to the party who were for peace, and strongly urged the rashness and peril of the war; apprehensive that these unpopular doctrines had made him an object of suspicion to the more violent, and dreading lest he might be seized and put to death, he retired, after the capture of the Antonia, into the Inner Temple. After the murder of Manahem, he stole forth from thence, and joined himself to a considerable body of the chief priests and leading Pharisees, who pretended to enter into the insurrectionary measures that they might save the lives of those who capitulated in the palace, yet looked with anxious eagerness for the

advance of Cestius, who, it was expected, would easily suppress the revolt.

On the disastrous retreat of Cestius, and the barbarous massacre of the Jews in the Syrian cities, many of the more peaceful party joined heart and hand with the insurgents, others pursued a more temporising policy, and outwardly uniting in defensive measures, still cherished a secret inclination to submission. To which of these parties Joseph the son of Mathias belonged, it is not quite so easy to decide; without his having acquired some confidence with the war faction, he would scarcely have been entrusted with the command in Galilee; yet he undertook that post with the approbation and at the request of the more moderate. Josephus, with his two coadjutors, Joazar and Judas, hastened to their government. The province of Galilee was divided into two districts, called Upper and Lower Galilee; it contained all the territory which had belonged to the northern tribes of Naphtali, Zebulun, Issachar, and half Manasseh, reaching to the district of Ptolemais on the north, and Samaria on the south. The Jordan was the eastern limit. The people were a bold, hardy, and warlike race; considered somewhat barbarous by the inhabitants of the metropolis, and speaking a harsh and guttural dialect of the Syro-Chaldaic language, which was the vernacular tongue of Palestine. The country was remarkably rich, abounding in pasture, corn-land, and fruit-trees of every description. The population was very great. They lived in cities, which were numerous and large, and in great open villages, the least of which, says Josephus, contained 15,000 inhabitants. In many of these cities there was a mingled population of Syrians and Jews, rarely on an amicable footing, often forming fierce and hostile factions. Sepphoris was the capital, but that rank was disputed by Tiberias on the Sea of Galilee.

The measures of Josephus were prudent and conciliatory, yet by no means wanting in vigour and decision. His object was to promote union, and to organise the whole country on one regular system. He endeavoured to acquire the confidence and attachment of the people. In order to interest and pledge all ranks to the common cause, as well as to secure the public peace, he appointed a sort of Sanhedrin of seventy, and seven judges in each city; all less important causes were to come before the latter tribunal; cases of murder before himself and the Sanhedrin. Yet he acknowledges that he kept the seventy about his person as a kind of hostages. In all respects he endeavoured to maintain the strictest character for probity and justice, particularly laboured in those lawless times to protect the chastity of the females from insult or outrage, refused all presents for the administration of justice, and declined all opportunities of enriching himself, though he confesses that he secured a con-

siderable share in the confiscated property of the Syrian inhabitants in the cities, when they were expelled or massacred by the Jews. As he could not suppress the robbers, he obliged them, as far as he could, to give up their profession, and enroll themselves as regular troops. Having thus provided that the war, if commenced, should be that of an orderly and united people, not the desultory conflict of insurgents and robbers, he proceeded to fortify, with the greatest strength and expedition, the most defensible towns, among many others, Jotapata, Tarichea, Tiberias, Itabyrium on Mount Tabor, and certain caves near the lake of Gennesareth. To the wealthy inhabitants of Sepphoris, who seemed to enter zealously into the cause, he granted the privilege of building their own fortifications, and gave permission to John, the son of Levi, afterwards the celebrated John of Gischala, to strengthen that city. The others he superintended in person. He then raised an army of 100,000 men, armed them with weapons obtained from all quarters, and proceeded to introduce the Roman discipline. He appointed centurions and decurions, regularly exercised the whole force in military manœuvres, and thus organised an effective army of 60,000 foot, and, according to the text of Josephus, from which probably a cypher has fallen, 250 horse. Besides these he had 4500 mercenaries, on whom he placed his chief reliance, and a body guard of 600.

Such were the general results of the administration of Josephus: but all these vigorous and prudent measures were perpetually interrupted and rendered abortive, partly by the internal dissensions of the province, but chiefly by the machinations of his subtle enemy, John of Gischala. While Josephus invariably represents himself as the most upright, incorruptible, and patriotic of men, no colours are too dark for the character of his antagonist. John of Gischala surpassed all men of high rank in craft and deceit, all of every class in wickedness. He was at first a poor adventurer, his poverty stood in the way of his advancement, but by his readiness in falsehood, and by the singular skill with which he glossed over his falsehoods, so as to make all men believe them, he deceived his nearest friends; affecting humanity, yet most sanguinary for the slightest advantage; lofty in his ambition, but stooping to the basest means to obtain his end. He began as a single robber, but gradually collected a powerful and select banditti, for he would only admit men distinguished either for strength, bravery, or warlike skill. His force at length amounted to 4000, and with these he long wasted Galilee. Such was the man who counterworked all the measures of Josephus, and inflamed the dissensions of the province, already too little disposed to lasting union.

For though the cities of Galilee seem generally to have

submitted to the administration of Joseph and his coadjutors, so as to permit their walls to be put in a state of defence, yet each had its separate interests and inclinations, and was distracted by violent factions. Sepphoris, though entrusted with building its own walls, and, as Josephus says in one place, hearty in the cause, yet inclined to the Roman party: the inhabitants had sworn fealty, and given hostages from the chief families of the city to Cestius; these were still at Cæsarea. On the arrival of Josephus in his province, he found the territory of Sepphoris threatened with an attack by the rest of the Galileans on account of their dealings with the Romans. This danger was averted by Josephus, and the Sepphorites united, as was before said, in the common cause. Tiberias was distracted by three factions. This city belonged to Agrippa, and one faction, consisting of the more opulent and respectable burghers, headed by Julius Capellus, was desirous of preserving their allegiance to the king. A second, of the lowest class, headed by Jesus, son of Saphia, was clamorous for war. A third was headed by Justus, who afterwards wrote a history of the war. Justus, according to his rival Josephus, only regarded his own interests. He had endeavoured to excite a feud between Tiberias and Sepphoris, asserting that on account of the manifest defection of the latter to the Roman party, Tiberias might justly be considered the capital of Galilee. He had meditated an attack on the Sepphorite district, but as yet had only carried his plundering bands into the lands of Gadara and Hippos. Josephus, after settling affairs at Sepphoris, went to Bethmaus, within half a mile of Tiberias. He sent for the senate, who came readily to parley with him; he opened his commission from the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem, and demanded the demolition of a palace built by Herod the Tetrarch, and adorned with "graven images" of living creatures. The party of Agrippa opposed this measure; but the war faction, headed by Jesus, son of Saphia, were ready for any work of destruction. Besides, they were not a little tempted by the hope of plunder, for the roof of the palace was gilded. They proceeded to plunder the furniture, and then to burn the palace to the ground. Flushed with their success, they rose on the Syrians, massacred all they could find, and at the same time seized the opportunity of revenging themselves on all their fellow-citizens who had been their enemies before the war.

Josephus seems to have been anxious to remain on terms with Agrippa. He assumed great indignation at the plunder of the palace, of which he had authorised the demolition, gathered up the wrecks of the furniture, consisting of candlesticks of Corinthian brass, royal tables, and uncoined silver, and committed them to the custody of Capellus, the head of Agrippa's party. Josephus then proceeded to Gischala. At the commence-

ment of the insurrection, John had rather inclined to the Roman faction. Upon this the inhabitants of Gadara, Gebara, Sogana, and other towns, had assaulted and burnt Gischala. John, however, had rallied his forces, recovered the town, and fortified it more strongly than before. As yet, John and Josephus were on good terms. Josephus admired the activity of John, and John was anxious to obtain every possible advantage from the governor of the province. He first proposed to Josephus that he might be permitted to carry off large quantities of corn stored up by the Romans in Upper Galilee; the sale of this, he stated, would enable him to complete his fortifications. Josephus answered, that he should keep that corn either for the Romans, the owners, (a suspicious answer !) or for the use of the province entrusted to him by the Sanhedrin of Jerusalem. John then demanded and obtained a monopoly of oil sold in Syria. For the Jews in the Syrian towns would not use the unclean oil prepared by the heathen, and were obliged to obtain it from their own country. John drove a thriving trade; for four Attic drachms he bought four measures of oil, which he sold again at the same sum for half a measure. This money he employed in undermining the power of Josephus, and industriously propagated reports, which accused him of intending to betray the province to the Romans. Whether or not the suspicions of John had any substantial grounds, strong circumstances combined to throw a shade on the popularity of Josephus. Certain youths of a village called Dabarittæ, in the great plain, waylaid and plundered Ptolemy, the agent of king Agrippa. With their spoils, consisting of embroidered robes, silver vessels, and six hundred pieces of gold, they went to Josephus, then at Tarichea. Josephus rebuked them for the robbery, and committed the property to the custody of one of the chief citizens of Tarichea, to be restored to the owners. The robbers, deprived of their booty, raised loud outcries against the governor, whom they accused of being in a treasonable league with the king. One hundred thousand armed men assembled (Josephus is somewhat prone to large numbers) and thronged the circus of Tarichea; some cried out to depose, some to burn him. With this intent, they surrounded his house; all his friends, except four, fled: Josephus suddenly awoke from sleep; he was neither confounded by the noise of his assailants, nor the desertion of his friends. He rent his robes, poured ashes on his head; with his hands behind him, and his sword suspended around his neck, he went out to face the tumult. The Taricheans were moved with compassion; the ruder countrymen continued their clamour, ordered him to bring forth the plunder, and confess his treasons. Josephus answered with an effrontery, and readiness of falsehood, which might have done credit to his mendacious rival, John of Gischala. "Men of Tarichea, ye are

quite in error if ye suppose that I retain these treasures with any design of restoring them to king Agrippa. The fact is, that seeing the walls of your town in a ruinous and dismantled state, I have kept them to be spent in fortifying your loyal city." This bold address threw the Taricheans, to the number of 40,000, on his side. The strangers, particularly those of Tiberias, continued the tumult for some time, but at length sullenly withdrew, with the exception of 2000 (600) of the most desperate. These men, when Josephus retired again to rest, surrounded his house, and threatened to break down the doors. Josephus had recourse to a stratagem still more daring. He mounted the roof of the house, and making a sign that he wished to address them, he began with saying that from the height he could not distinguish their demands, but if they would depute some of their leaders, he was ready to treat with them. No sooner were those few admitted, than he ordered them to be dragged into the inner part of the house, and scourged till their bowels were laid open. The mob began to grow impatient, when the doors were opened, and their leaders were turned out among them in this bloody and mangled state. The mob, supposing that he would not have ventured on such a step, without a great force concealed, dispersed in consternation.* The secret enemy of Josephus, John of Gischala, had prompted this outrage, but as there was no open breach between them, John, pretending to be ill, sent to demand permission to visit Tiberias, for the benefit of the warm baths in that city. There, partly by persuasion, partly by bribes, he induced the inhabitants to renounce their allegiance to the governor. Silas, who commanded in the city under Josephus, sent immediate intelligence of the state of affairs. Josephus travelled night and day, and suddenly appeared in Tiberias. John, pretending that he was confined to his bed, excused himself from paying his respects to the governor. Josephus assembled the people of Tiberias in the circus. He had begun to address them, when he was suddenly interrupted by a loud outcry from the spectators; turning round, he saw a band of armed men, with their swords drawn, who were placed by John to assassinate him; he leaped from his rostrum, which was about six feet high,

* This transaction, as indeed the whole narrative of his administration in Galilee, is related with such extraordinary variations in the Life of Josephus, and in the History of the Jewish War, as to leave a very unfavourable impression, if not of the writer's veracity, at least of his accuracy. It is impossible to keep the same order of events, and in this affair the War gives the number of armed men at 2000, the Life at 600. In the former, those admitted into the house are called the more distinguished and the rulers, and are sent in to treat on terms of agreement; in the other, some of the men are sent in to receive the money, which he was accused of appropriating. In the one, all those admitted are scourged; in the other, one ringleader, who has his hand cut off and hung about his neck.

rushed to the beach, seized a boat, and, with two of his followers, pushed out into the lake and escaped.

His soldiers, in the mean time, attacked the band of John, but Josephus, apprehensive of a civil war, sent orders to his troops to abstain from bloodshed, and resisted all the urgent entreaties of his other Galilean friends, who were eager to make an example of the treacherous city. John fled to Gischala, where Josephus did not think it prudent to attack him, but contented himself with expelling those who espoused his party from every city in Galilee.

In the mean time, Sepphoris began again to waver. The inhabitants sent to Jesus, who commanded a noted troop of banditti, 800 strong, on the borders of Ptolemais, offering him a large sum to make war on Josephus. Jesus thought it more prudent to earn his wages by stratagem than by open force. He sent to request an interview with Josephus, that he might salute him, and immediately began his march with his whole troop. One of his followers, however, deserted, and put Josephus on his guard. Thus forewarned, Josephus proceeded to the interview, having occupied all the roads with his own forces, and gave orders that Jesus alone, and his immediate followers, should be admitted within the gates, which were to be closed immediately on their entrance. Jesus entered boldly, but Josephus instantly ordered him to throw down his arms, or he was a dead man. Trembling, he obeyed. Josephus took him apart, informed him that he was aware of his treacherous designs, but offered him pardon if he would repent and swear to be faithful to him in future. Jesus complied, and Josephus having severely threatened the Sepphorites, departed to quell new disturbances. On his way he encountered two officers of the king, from Trachonitis, who wished to join him with some horse; these men the Jews would have forced to submit to circumcision. Josephus interfered, and asserted the right of every man to worship God according to his conscience. Gamala now demanded the presence of the indefatigable governor. After the departure of Philip, Agrippa's general, a certain Joseph, son of a female physician, persuaded the people to revolt. They forced some to enter into their views, others they put to death. They fortified the city, with the approbation of Josephus, and all Gaulonitis, a district which skirted Upper Galilee, followed their example. Gamala was now threatened by Æquicolus Modius; in the mean time, Neapolitanus, with some Roman troops, pushed towards Tiberias, and Æbutius, a decurion, advanced against Josephus, who lay at Simonias. Æbutius endeavoured to draw him down to the plain, where his cavalry would have given him an advantage. Josephus continued on the hills, and Æbutius withdrew with some loss. Josephus, then, in his turn, made an attack on

some magazines of corn, which he carried off, quietly loading his camels and asses, in the sight of Æbutius, who was fairly out-generalled. Æquicolus Modius failed in his attempt on Gamala.

John of Gischala, meantime, remained quiet in his citadel, but it was only because he was laying a train from a greater distance, which was to explode under the feet of his enemy. He sent his brother, Simon, and Jonathan, son of Sisenna, to Simon, son of Gamaliel, at Jerusalem, to persuade the people that Josephus was forming a dangerous power in Galilee, and to demand his recall. Simon was a man of great character and weight, but ill-disposed to Josephus, and closely allied with John. By bribes they brought Ananus, the chief priest, who, at first, espoused the cause of Josephus, and Jesus, the son of Gamala, into their party. They determined to act with caution, lest Josephus should advance with his numerous and devoted army against Jerusalem. Jonathan and Ananias, two learned and influential Pharisees, and Joazar and Simon, priests, were sent, gradually to alienate the Galileans from their attachment to Josephus, and then, either to put him to death, or bring him alive to Jerusalem. They had troops with them; John of Gischala received orders to render them every support, and Sepphoris, Gabara, and Tiberias, were to hold their troops in readiness at the command of John. Josephus got intelligence of the plot through his father, and also, as he relates, through a remarkable dream, which warned him that he should remain in Galilee, and fight against the Romans. In compliance with the earnest supplications of all the Galileans, who entreated him not to abandon them, he gave up his intention of submitting to the mandate and withdrawing to Jerusalem. With 8000 foot and 80 horse, he posted himself at Chabolo, on the frontier of Ptolemais, under the pretext of making head against Placidus, who had begun to waste Galilee. Four of their cities, Sepphoris, Gamala, Gischala, and Tiberias, acknowledged the authority of the deputation from Jerusalem. The deputies, who had travelled secretly and with expedition, in order to come on Josephus unawares, finding him on his guard, still attempted to proceed by craft rather than by force. They sent a friendly letter informing him that they were come to punish the subtle proceedings of his enemy John, and to force him to obedience. Josephus kept the letter unopened to the evening, when he had a great banquet of his friends, to which he invited the messenger. He then secretly made himself master of its contents, and sealed it up again. He ordered the messenger 20 drachms, as a reward for having brought welcome intelligence. The messenger was delighted. He then plied him with wine, and offered him a drachm with every cup, till the man betrayed the whole plot.

Josephus wrote back a friendly answer, excusing himself from attendance, on account of the necessity of watching Placidus. The deputies, who passed from place to place and found almost every town in favour of Josephus, and enraged against John, sent a more peremptory message, requiring his attendance at Gabara, to make good his charge against John of Gischala. Josephus expressed his readiness to wait upon them, but not at Gabara or Gischala, where he apprehended treachery. They determined to send messengers throughout Galilee to excite the malcontents. Josephus waylaid the roads from Gabara, seized the messengers, and made himself master of all the letters. Upon this he surrounded Gabara with his own Galileans, and boldly entered the town. He first went to repose at an inn; his enemies seized the opportunity to raise the people against him, but failed. Josephus soon after made his appearance in the assembly. The Galileans surrounded the hall with loud acclamations. John and his friends endeavoured, in vain, to make their escape. Josephus publicly read the letters which he had intercepted, the deputies were confounded, the people unanimous in their applause. The mob would willingly have fallen on the whole assembly, who were saved only by the merciful intervention of Josephus. The governor then took horse and rode away to Sogana. From thence he despatched an embassy of 100 men of distinction, escorted by an armed guard of 500, to Jerusalem.

The discomfited deputies retired to Tiberias, John to Gischala. At Tiberias they expected the city to declare in their favour, but Josephus suddenly made his appearance there. They received him with hypocritical courtesy, but requested him to withdraw, on account of the approaching Sabbath, lest there should be a disturbance. He retired to Tarichea; new scenes of trickery followed; the deputies, with Jesus and Justus, the turbulent leaders of Tiberias, endeavoured to raise the town. Josephus again appeared with his soldiers; they got rid of him by a false alarm of Roman troops seen in the neighbourhood. Josephus counteracted this by another plot. They appointed a general fast, during which no one was to appear armed at the proseuchæ. Josephus and his friends concealed their daggers and breastplates under their robes, and when the enemy expected to find them defenceless, they brandished their weapons. The deputation of Josephus, in the mean time, returned from Jerusalem with a favourable answer, confirming him in the government. He summoned an assembly of the Galileans, who, in the same spirit, declared their ready and cheerful submission to his command. Emboldened by this, he began to act with greater vigour; he chastised the unruly inhabitants of Tiberias, got the deputies into his power, and sent them back to Jerusalem.

Tiberias attempted again to revolt, and surrender the city to the troops of Agrippa. Not having his forces in readiness, Josephus had recourse, as usual, to one of his stratagems. He seized 240 vessels, put not above four sailors in each, and commanded them to take their station in sight of the town, and then advanced boldly to the gates. The citizens, supposing the ships full of soldiers, surrendered at discretion. Josephus got the senators to the number of 600, and 2000 of the people, within his power, and sent them to Tarichea. They denounced one Clitus as the ringleader; he was carried to the shore to have his hands cut off; on his earnest supplication, one was spared; the rest of the malcontents were pardoned. After this, Josephus surprised Gischala, and gave it up to pillage. Sepphoris admitted the troops of Gallus into their city. Josephus, with his forces, scaled the walls, but was beaten back, and afterwards defeated in the open plain. The troops of Agrippa soon after made their appearance under the command of Sylla; they were posted near Julias. Josephus endeavoured, by a feigned flight, to betray them into an ambush, and might have succeeded, but his horse unfortunately plunged into a morass, and he was severely hurt in the wrist, and carried to Cepharnome. From thence, feverish symptoms appearing, he was removed to Tarichea.

Thus we have endeavoured to wind our weary way through the intricate politics of Galilee. It is difficult to conceive how all these intrigues, as well as all the masterly and effective warlike preparations of Josephus, could be carried on simultaneously, more particularly if all these transactions must be crowded into the winter of one year, 66-7. Besides the details of armies raised, armed, and exercised; cities fortified and strengthened; the civil administration set on a regular footing; by his own statement, Josephus twice took Sepphoris, four times Tiberias, once Gadara, perhaps Gischala; counteracted the plots, defeated the troops, took and pardoned his subtle antagonist John. Yet we must either, adhering to the usual chronology, admit this improbability, or throw back the whole events of the year which ended in the defeat of Cestius Gallus into the year 65; and adopt almost as incredible a supposition, that, with most unusual inactivity, the Romans left the defeat of Cestius unrevenged, and allowed the Jews a whole year to organise their revolt, and strengthen their territory against invasion.

In the mean time, the insurgents in Jerusalem continued to press their preparations for war, with as great activity and less interruption than those in Galilee. For though the timid and moderate groaned in heart to hear the din of war, the clattering of arms, the gymnasia echoing with the trampling march of all the youth in military exercise; and sadly foreboded the miseries

and ruin to which the joyous city, the place of national festival, the rich, the beautiful, the holy city of Sion was thus self-devoted; though they could not utter their prayers in the temple, nor make their offerings on the altar of Jehovah without awful misgivings that before long the worship might be proscribed, and fire and sword lay waste the courts of the Lord's house; yet they were constrained to suppress or conceal the unpopular weakness, and trembled lest the fierce eye of the Zealot or the Assassin should detect the dangerous or unpatriotic emotion.

In the city, Ananus the chief priest took the lead; arms were fabricated with the greatest activity; the walls strengthened, military engines made, and stores of every kind laid in with the utmost care and expedition. The timid and moderate were not the only enemies with whom Ananus had to contend. The fierce Simon, the son of Gioras, has already appeared, at the head of his daring bandits, rendering good service during the retreat of Cestius. In the toparchy of Acrabatene,* he had betaken himself, not to the regular defence of the country, but to the most lawless ravage. He broke open and pillaged the houses of the opulent; and even inflicted personal violence, scourging and maltreating all who opposed him. Already men began to forebode both his daring ambition, which would not be content with less than the highest station, and his cruelty, which would scruple at no means of obtaining or securing advancement. Ananus sent some troops against him: Simon took refuge with men of a kindred spirit, who held Masada; and from thence he pursued his ravages in Idumæa, till the magistrates of that district were constrained to raise an army, and set a guard in every village.

It was probably soon after the defeat of Cestius, that an unsuccessful expedition was attempted against Ascalon. This strong city, situated about sixty-five miles from Jerusalem, was weakly garrisoned by one cohort of foot and one troop of horse, under a commander named Antonius. The Jews marched out in great force under Niger of Peræa, Silas the Babylonian, and John the Essene. Antonius, undismayed by the number and the daring of the enemy, led out his horse. The Jewish soldiers were all infantry, undisciplined and unused to war. The first furious charge of the cavalry broke their van, which fell back on their main body, threw it into confusion, and the whole army was scattered in small squadrons over the field. The active Roman horse attacked first one band, then another, charging and riding round them,—their mounted archers making dreadful havoc. Numbers were of no avail, or rather stood in the way

* There were two Acrabatenes, which cause great confusion; one, according to Jerome, between Neapolis, Sichem, and Jericho; the other in the south of Judæa, bordering on Idumæa.

of effective defence. The vast and confused multitude could no. fight, and would not fly. Night put an end to the battle, or rather to the carnage. 10,000 men, with Judas and Silas, fell: Niger escaped with the rest to a small tower named Sallæ. The Jews were not cast down by this signal defeat. In the shortest time, not enough for the wounded to get healed, they assembled all their forces, and in still greater pride and indignation again marched out against Ascalon. They had learned as little prudence as humility. Antonius occupied the passes with an ambush, and suddenly surrounding the Jewish army with his horse, after scarcely any resistance cut down 8000 of them. Niger, who showed great courage in the retreat, again escaped, and got possession of a strong tower in a village called Bezedel. The Romans, who had not time for a regular siege, and yet were unwilling to allow so formidable a leader to escape, set fire to the wall. Having seen the tower in flames, they retreated in triumph. Niger, however, leaped down into a deep cavern, which was under the tower; and when his sorrowing companions came, three days after, to find his body, that they might bury it, they heard his feeble voice calling them from below. The Jews were full of joy, and looked on the escape of their champion as little less than a miraculous proof of divine favour.

BOOK XV.

THE WAR.

Vespasian—Siege of Jotapata—Fall of Japha—Mount Gerizim—Capture of Jotapata—Josephus—Surrender of Tiberias—Fall of Tarichea—Massacre—Siege of Gamala—Fall of Itabyrium—Taking of Gamala—of Gischala—Flight of John—Feuds in Jerusalem.

WITH the early spring Vespasian appeared at Antioch, at the head of his powerful army. There Agrippa met him with all his forces. Vespasian advanced to Ptolemais: he was met by a deputation from Sepphoris. The metropolis of Galilee, notwithstanding the authority and the threats of Josephus, again made overtures to join the invader. Vespasian received the deputies with great courtesy, and sent them back with a strong body of 1000 horse and 6000 foot, to defend their city against any attack of the Jews. These troops, under the command of Placidus, took up their position towards the great plain, the foot within the city, the cavalry encamped without the walls. From these quarters they ravaged the surrounding country. Josephus made one strong effort to recover the capital, but was repulsed, and only the more exasperated the Romans, who spread fire and sword over the whole region; they slew all who were able to bear arms, the rest they carried off as slaves.

Titus, with expedition unusual during the winter season, sailed from Achaia to Alexandria. From thence he shipped his troops for Ptolemais, and joined his father. Vespasian was now at the head of three of the most distinguished legions of the Roman army,—the fifth, tenth, and fifteenth. Besides these, he had twenty-three cohorts, five of them from Cæsarea. Ten of these cohorts mustered 1000 men; the rest 600, with 150 horse each. The allied force consisted of 2000 foot, all archers, and 1000 horse furnished by Antiochus, Agrippa, and Sohemus. Malchus, king of Arabia, sent 1000 horse and 5000 foot, the greatest part archers. The whole army amounted to 60,000 regulars, horse and foot, besides followers of the camp, who were also accustomed to military service, and could fight on occasion.

The campaign was now formally opened: the forces of Placidus overspread the whole country. Josephus attempted no resistance in the open field. The inhabitants had been directed to fly to the fortified cities; all who were not expeditious or

fortunate enough to escape were cut off or seized. But these were the unwarlike part of the people: the more active and courageous had all crowded into the cities. The strongest of all these was Jotapata, where Josephus commanded in person. Placidus concluded that if, by an unexpected attack, he could make himself master of that important post, the blow would so terrify the rest, that they would immediately fall. He marched rapidly against it; but the garrison of Jotapata received timely information; and anticipated the assault by a daring sally, for which the Romans were entirely unprepared. The troops of Placidus were repulsed; many wounded, but only seven killed; for the legionaries retreated in good order, and being entirely covered with their defensive armour, seldom received mortal wounds. The Jews were only light-armed troops, who rarely ventured to fight hand to hand, but annoyed the enemy at a distance with their javelins. It was an inspiriting commencement of the campaign.

At length the vast army of Vespasian began to move. Josephus describes the order of march with the accuracy of an eye-witness. He must, indeed, have watched its stern and regular advance with the trembling curiosity of the sailor, who sees the tempest slowly gathering, which is about to burst, and perhaps wreck his weak and ill-appointed bark. The van was preceded by the light-armed allies and their archers, who scattered over the plain to observe any unexpected attack of the enemy, and to examine all the woods or thickets that might conceal an ambuscade. Then came part of the heavy-armed cavalry and infantry, followed by ten of each centenary, carrying the furniture and vessels of the camp. After these the pioneers, who were to straighten the winding roads, level the hills, or cut down the woods which might impede the march of the main army. Then came the baggage of the general and his officers, strongly guarded by cavalry. Next rode the general, with a picked troop of foot, horse, and lancers. After him the horse of his own legion, for to each legion there were 120 cavalry attached. Then the mules which carried the military engines, and the besieging train. The lieutenant-generals, the commanders of cohorts, and the tribunes followed, each with a chosen band of men. Then the eagles, of which each legion had one. The standards were followed by the trumpeters. Behind came the phalanx itself in files of six deep. A centurion, whose business it was to keep order, brought up their rear. Behind them were the servants with the baggage, on mules and other beasts of burthen. After the Romans marched the mercenaries; a strong rear-guard of light and heavy-armed foot and many horse closed the procession. The host passed on in its awful magnificence. Vespasian halted on the frontier

of Galilee, as if to give the revolted province time for repentance, or to strike terror into the more obstinate insurgents. The measure was not without effect; no sooner did the army of Josephus, which was encamped at Garis, not far from Sepphoris, hear of this tremendous invasion, than, before they had seen the enemy, they dispersed on all sides; and Josephus, left almost alone, began to despair of the war. It was idle to think of opposing such an enemy with a few dispirited troops; he gathered, therefore, the wreck of his army, and fled to Tiberias.

Vespasian marched against Gadara; the city was ungarrisoned, and the stern Roman proceeded to make a terrible example, and to wipe out the affront of Cestius in the blood of the enemy. The youth were put to the sword,—not a man escaped; the city, with every village and hamlet in the neighbourhood, was burned to the ground; the few villagers, whose lives were spared, were seized as slaves. The retreat of Josephus to Tiberias filled the city with consternation; they naturally construed it into a proof that he despaired of success. They were not wrong, for the manner in which the war was conducted made him consider resistance hopeless. Yet, though by his own account he could immediately have made terms with the Romans, he determined not to abandon the cause. He sent despatches to Jerusalem, strongly worded, in which he exhorted the people to make their immediate option, either of capitulating at once, or sending a powerful and effective army into the field.

Jotapata was the city in which the greater part, and those the bravest, of the Galilean warriors, had taken refuge. It was strongly situated in a rugged mountainous district. The roads were scarcely practicable for infantry, quite impassable for horse. In four days the pioneers of Vespasian cut a practicable road right through the mountains, and, on the fifth, Jotapata lay open to the army. Josephus contrived to throw himself into the city. This was made known to Vespasian by a deserter; and he became the more eager for the capture of the town, when he heard that the general-in-chief was within the walls. It seemed as though the most prudent of the enemy, had surrendered himself, as into a prison. Placidus and Æbutius, decurions of great merit, in whom Vespasian had the highest confidence, were sent with 1000 horse to surround the walls, and to cut off all possibility of escape.

The next day, May 15th, Vespasian advanced in person with his whole army. During all the day, till late in the evening, the defenders of Jotapata saw, from their lofty battlements, the slow and endless files emerging from the straight and level road which led to the city walls. It was in the strength of their position, their rugged and precipitous mountains, and their dark and impenetrable forests, that they had relied for their security.

To their consternation they saw the woods falling before the axe of the pioneer, like grain before the sickle of the reaper; the lofty crests of their mountains, as it were, bowing down their heads before the resistless invader; and nature itself giving up the custody of her unprotected fortress. Vespasian drew up his whole army on a hill, less than a mile to the north of the city: his object was to strike terror into the defenders by the display of his whole force, which lay encamped on the slope. He was not mistaken in the effect which it produced: the garrison cowered behind their walls; not a man ventured forth. The army, weary with their long march, did not advance to an immediate assault: they proceeded to draw a triple line of circumvallation round the city; and thus every chance of escape was cut off. This, however, instead of striking terror, drove the whole garrison to despair. They felt themselves cooped up, like wild beasts in their lair; they had no course left, but to fight gallantly to the utmost; and their first consternation gave place to the fiercest valour and most stubborn resolution.

The next day the attack began. The Jews, disdaining to be pent up within their walls, pitched their camp before the trenches, and went boldly forth to meet the enemy. Vespasian ordered the bowmen and slingers to gall them with their missiles, and himself with the infantry began to ascend a declivity which led to the least defensible part of the wall. Josephus saw the danger, and with the whole strength of the garrison, made a resolute sally, and drove the assailants down the hill. Great valour was displayed by both parties. On one side fought desperation; on the other, the haughty shame of being defeated by such a foe: the Romans had skill in the use of their weapons; the Jews made up what they wanted in practice and experience with reckless bravery. Night separated the combatants, yet the slaughter was not great on either side: the Romans lost thirteen killed, and many wounded; the Jews, seventeen killed, but six hundred wounded.

On the following day they again attacked the Romans. They had become more resolute, since they found they could make head against their formidable enemies. Every morning added to the fury of the contest; for five days the Romans continued to make their assaults, and the Jews to sally forth or fight from the walls, with equal courage: the Jews had now lost all their terror of the Roman prowess; while the Romans, with their obstinate bravery, persisted in forcing their way to the walls.

Jotapata stood on the summit of a lofty hill, on three sides rising abruptly from the deep and impassable ravines which surrounded it. Looking down from the top of the walls the eye could not discover the bottom of these frightful chasms. It was so embosomed in lofty mountains, that it could not be seen till

it was actually approached. It could only be entered on the north, where the end of the ridge sloped more gradually down; on this declivity the city was built; and Josephus had fortified this part with a very strong wall. Vespasian called a council of war. It was determined to raise an embankment (agger) against the most practicable part of the wall. The whole army was sent out to provide materials. The neighbouring mountains furnished vast quantities of stone and timber. In order to cover themselves from the javelins and arrows of the garrison, the assailants stretched a kind of roof, made with wattles of wicker-work, over their palisades; under this pent-house they laboured securely at their embankment. They worked in three divisions, one bringing earth, the others stone, or wood. The Jews were not idle, they hurled down immense stones and every kind of missile upon the workmen, which, although they did not do much damage, came thundering down over their heads with appalling noise, and caused some interruption to their labours.

Vespasian brought out his military engines, of which he had 160, in order to clear the walls of these troublesome assailants. The catapults began to discharge their hissing javelins, the balistas heaved huge stones of enormous weight, and balls of fire and blazing arrows fell in showers. The Arab archers, the javelin men, and the slingers, at the same time, plied their terrible weapons, so that a considerable space of the wall was entirely cleared: not a man dared approach the battlements. But the Jews, who could not fight from above, began to attack from below. They stole out in small bands, like robbers, came secretly on the workmen, pulled down their breastworks, and struck at them as they stood naked and without their armour, which they had pulled off to work with greater activity. If the besiegers fled, they instantly demolished the embankment, and set fire to the timbers and the wattles. Vespasian, perceiving that the intervals between the different breastworks, under which the separate parties were labouring, gave advantage to the assailants, ordered one to be carried all round, and, uniting all the working parties, effectually prevented these destructive attacks.

The garrison at length beheld this vast embankment completed; it almost reached to the height of their battlements; it stood towering right opposite to them, as if another city had arisen beside their own, and from the equal heights of their respective walls they were to join in deadly conflict for the mastery. Josephus hastily summoned his workmen, and gave orders that the city walls should be raised to a much greater height. The workmen represented that it was impossible, as long as the wall was thus commanded by the enemy, to carry on their labour. Josephus was not baffled; he ordered tall stakes

to be driven on the top of the wall, upon which he suspended hides of oxen newly killed. On this yielding curtain the stones fell dead; the other missiles glided off without damage; and even the fire-darts were quenched by the moisture. Under this covering his men worked night and day, till they had raised the wall twenty cubits, thirty-five feet. He likewise built a great number of towers on the wall, and surrounded the whole with a strong battlement. The Romans, who thought themselves already masters of the city, were not a little discouraged, and were astonished at the skill and enterprise of the defenders; but Vespasian was only the more enraged at the obstinacy of the garrison, and the subtlety of the commander. For the defenders, become confident in the strength of their bulwarks, began to renew their former sallies; they fought in small bands, with the courage of regular troops, and all the tricks and cunning of robbers. Sometimes they crept out and carried off whatever they could lay their hands on; sometimes, unperceived, set fire to the works. At length, Vespasian determined to turn the siege into a blockade; and, as he could not take the city by assault, to reduce it by famine. For, in a short time, the garrison would either desire to capitulate, or, if they were still obstinate in their resistance, would perish from want; at all events, if it was necessary to renew the attack, their men would be enfeebled by privation and suffering. Accordingly, he kept his troops in their quarters, and contented himself with strictly blockading every avenue to the city.

The besieged were very well supplied with grain, and every other necessary, excepting salt; but there was great want of water. There was no spring in the city; the inhabitants were obliged to be content with rain water. But during the summer it rarely, if ever, rains in that region, and, as the summer was the time of the siege, they began to be dreadfully dispirited, and to look forward in horrible apprehension to the period when their supply would entirely fail. Josephus commanded the water which remained to be rigidly measured out. This scanty doling out of that necessary refreshment to men parched with fatigue, and many of them feverish with wounds, seemed worse even than absolute privation; the sense of want seemed to aggravate their thirst; and many began to faint, as if already at the worst extremity of drought. The Romans saw what was going on within the walls; and, as the inhabitants crept along with their pitchers to a particular spot to receive their daily allotment of water, they pointed their engines at them, and struck them down as they passed.

But the fertile mind of Josephus had not exhausted its store of schemes: he ordered a great number of his men to steep their clothes in water and hang them up from the battlements till the

wall ran down with the dripping moisture. The Romans were confounded; for men who could waste so much water out of mere wantonness, could not possibly be in the wretched state of privation they had hoped. Vespasian, weary of thus blockading a city so amply supplied, returned to the assault, the mode of attack to which the Jews wished to drive him. For in their state it was better to perish at once by the sword, than by thirst and famine.

Josephus had another stratagem by which he kept up intelligence with those without the city. There was one narrow and rugged path, down the dry bed of a torrent, which led into the valley to the south. It was so dangerous and seemingly impracticable, that the Romans neglected to guard it. By this way the messengers of Josephus stole out of the city, bearing letters to and from the commander, and everything of small bulk of which the garrison stood in need. These men, in general, crept out on all fours, covered with the skins of beasts, that they might look like dogs. This went on for a long time, till at length the way was detected, and closed up by the enemy.

At this perilous juncture Josephus honestly confessses that he began to think of his own personal safety; and entered into deliberation with some of the chief leaders of the garrison, as to the means of making their escape. Their counsel transpired, and they were environed by all the people of the city, earnestly entreating them not to abandon the wretched town to the fury of the enraged enemy; for, so long as he and the garrison remained, there was some hope of resistance; directly they were gone, the city must inevitably fall; and merciless extermination was the only fate which they could expect. The crafty general endeavoured to persuade them, that his only object in leaving the town, would be to provide more effectually for their safety; that he would raise all Galilee, and so harass the Romans as to force them to break up the siege: that his presence was of no real service, but only made Vespasian the more obstinate in his determination to capture the town. This language but the more inflamed the multitude; the women with their infants in their arms began to wail, boys and old men fell at his feet, and embracing them, besought him to remain and share their fate. "Not," Josephus adds, "from any jealousy lest I should save my life, while theirs were in danger, but because they entertained some hope of saving their own through my means. As long as I remained, they were safe."

Partly moved by compassion, partly feeling that if he did not consent to their entreaties, he might be detained by force, Josephus determined to stand firm to his post, and seized the moment of excitement, to lead his force to a desperate attack. "If then," he exclaimed, "there is no hope of safety, let us die

nobly, and leave a glorious example to posterity." The bravest crowded round him, and some rushed suddenly forth, drove in the Roman guard, and carried their inroads even into the camp; they tore up the hides with which the works had been defended, and set fire to the lines in many places. A second and third day they continued these furious attacks; and for many nights and days kept up, without being wearied, a perpetual alarm.

Vespasian found the heavy-armed legionaries ill-suited to this desultory warfare; from the unwieldy weight of their armour they could not, from their pride they would not, retreat: and, when they turned again in any force, the light-armed Jews in an instant disappeared within their walls. Besides, the valour of the Jews was mere desperation; like a fierce fire, if unresisted it would burn out. He ordered therefore the regular troops to decline these attacks, and to repel the sallies of the besieged with the Arabian archers and Syrian slingers. The engines in the mean time never ceased discharging their showers of bolts and stones; these sorely distressed the Jews, but sometimes getting under the range of the engines, they fiercely attacked the Romans, never sparing their own lives, and new troops continually filling up the places of those who were fatigued or slain.

The Roman general found that he was, as it were, besieged in his turn; and as the embankment had now reached close to the wall, he ordered the battering-ram to be advanced. This was the most formidable of all the besieging artillery used in ancient warfare. It was an immense beam, headed with iron, in the shape of a ram's head, from whence it took its name; it was suspended by cables from another beam, which was supported by strong tall posts; it was drawn back by a great number of men, and then driven forward with so tremendous a recoil, that tower or wall could scarcely ever resist the shock; and the Romans were accustomed to see the bulwarks of the strongest cities crumble as it were to dust, the instant they could bring that irresistible machine to work. As the heavy ram slowly advanced towards the walls, covered with a penthouse of wattles and hides, both for the protection of the engine and of the men who were to work it, the catapults and other engines, with the archers and slingers, were commanded to play with increasing activity, to sweep the walls, and distract the besieged. The battlements were entirely cleared of the defenders, who lay crouching below, not knowing what was about to happen. At the first blow of the ram the wall shook as with an earthquake, and a wild cry rose from the besieged, as if the city were already taken.

The engine went on battering at the same place shock after shock: the wall already began to totter and crumble, when Josephus thought of a new expedient. He ordered a number of

sacks to be filled with straw, and let down by ropes from the walls, to catch the hard blows of the ram, wherever it might strike. The Romans were perplexed, for their blows fell dead on this soft and yielding substance; and in their turn they fastened the blades of scythes on long poles and cut asunder the ropes which held the sacks. Then the engine again began, without interruption, its work, when behold the Jews suddenly broke forth in three parties. They bore in their hands all the lighted combustibles they could find; they swept everything before them, and set fire to the engines, the wattles, and the palisadoes of the besiegers. The Romans, confounded with this unexpected daring, and blinded by the fire and smoke driving in their faces, made less courageous defence than usual. The timbers of the embankment were all dry, a great quantity of bitumen, pitch, and even sulphur had been used as cement. The conflagration spread with the greatest rapidity, and thus one hour destroyed the labour of many days.

The daring exploit of one man among the Jews met with universal admiration: he was a Galilean of Saab, named Eleazar, the son of Samaes. With an immense stone from the wall, he took such a steady aim, that he struck off the iron head of the battering-ram; he then leaped down from the wall, secured his prize, and was bearing it back to the city. He was unarmed, and all the darts and arrows of the enemy were discharged at him. He was transfixed by five arrows; still, however, he pressed on, regained the walls, stood boldly up displaying his trophy, in the sight of all—and then, still clinging to it with convulsive hands, fell down and expired. Two other Galileans, Netiras and Philip of Ruma, greatly distinguished themselves, breaking through the ranks of the tenth legion, and driving in all who opposed them.

Josephus and the rest followed this heroic example, and all the engines and the breast-work of the fifth and of the tenth legions which were driven in, were entirely consumed. Others followed the first rank of the assailants, and heaped the earth over what was destroyed as fast as they could.

Still, towards the evening, the Romans again set up the ram and began to batter the wall at the same place. But while Vespasian himself was directing the assault, he was wounded in the heel by a javelin from the wall, slightly indeed, for the javelin was spent; but the greatest alarm spread through the army. Many gave up the attack to crowd around the general, who was bleeding. Titus showed the most affectionate solicitude; but Vespasian, suppressing the pain of his wound, speedily relieved their fears: and, to revenge the hurt of their commander, the whole army rushed on with a loud shout to the walls: all that night the awful conflict lasted. The Jews fell in great

numbers ; for though the missiles poured around them like hail, they would not abandon the walls, but continued heaving down great stones, and flinging fiery combustibles on the wattles which protected those that worked the ram. They fought at disadvantage, for the light of their own fires made the walls as light as day, and the enemy were thus enabled to take steady aim, while the black engines lay in shadow in the distance, and they could not distinguish when the bolts were about to be discharged. The scorpions and catapults raged more and more fiercely, and swept the walls ; the stones from the other engines shattered the pinnacles and the corners of the turrets, which kept falling with a fearful crash. The stones penetrated right through dense masses of men, making as it were a furrow as they passed, and reaching to the rearmost man. Strange stories are reported of the force of these engines—one man was struck on the head, and his skull hurled, as by a sling, to the distance of three stadia, about three furlongs: a pregnant woman was hit in the lower part, and the child cast to the distance of half a stadium. It was a night of unexampled confusion. The clattering of the bolts, the shouts of the army, the heavy fall of the huge stones, the thundering shocks of the battering-ram, were mingled with the frantic shrieks of women, and the screams of children—the whole space about the walls was like a pool of blood; and men could mount the wall upon the bodies of their slaughtered friends. All this deafening din was echoed back and multiplied by the surrounding mountains. Many fell, many more were wounded, but till the morning watch the wall stood firm ; it then yielded : still, however, those who were well provided with defensive armour laboured with all their might to form new buttresses and bulwarks, wherever a breach was threatened, before the machines, by which the enemy were to mount the breach, could be advanced.

Towards the morning Vespasian allowed his troops a short time for refreshment. In order to repel the besieged from the breach, he made the bravest of his horsemen dismount, and divided them into three parties. They were completely cased in armour, and had long pikes in their hands, to be ready to charge, instantly that the machines for mounting the breach were fixed. Behind these he stationed the flower of the infantry. The rest of the horse were extended all over the mountains, which encircled the town, that none might make their escape : behind the foot were the archers, the slingers, and engineers; and others with scaling ladders, which were to be applied to such parts of the walls as were yet uninjured, to call off the attention of the defenders from the breach. When Josephus discovered this, he selected the old, the infirm, the fatigued, and the wounded to defend those parts of the wall. The bravest he chose to man

the breach; six, of whom himself was one, formed the first line. He addressed them in a few words, enjoining them not to be alarmed at the shout of the legionaries; to kneel down and cover their heads with their bucklers, and retreat a little, till the bowmen had exhausted their quivers; when the Romans had fixed the mounting machines to leap down and fight upon them, remembering that they could now scarcely be thought to fight for safety, for of that they had no hope, but for a brave revenge: finally, to set before their eyes their fathers and children massacred, their wives defiled, and anticipate a just vengeance for these, now inevitable, calamities.

While this was going on, the idle multitude, with the women and children, saw the city still surrounded by triple lines, for the Romans did not withdraw any part of their guards for the approaching conflict—the appalling force standing with their drawn swords before the breach—the whole mountain gleaming with the lances of the cavalry, and the Arabian archers with their bows already levelled—they were seized with universal consternation; one shrill and agonising shriek ran through the whole city, as if the horrors of the capture were not only dreaded, but actually begun. Josephus, lest they should dispirit his men, ordered all the women to be locked up in the houses, and threatened the rest with exemplary punishment if they raised any disturbance. He then took his post in the breach. At once the trumpets of the legions sounded, and the whole Roman host raised one terrific shout. At that instant the sun was darkened with the clouds of arrows. The Jews closed their ears to the noise, and, shrouded under their bucklers, avoided the arrows. The moment that the mounting engines were fixed; the Jews were upon them before the assailants, fighting hand to hand with the most resolute courage; till at length the Romans, who could continually pour new troops upon them, while the besieged had none to supply their place when weary, formed a solid phalanx, and moving on as one man, drove back the Galileans, and were already within the walls. Still Josephus had a last expedient. He had prepared an immense quantity of boiling oil, and, at a signal this was poured down, vessels and all, which burst with the heat, upon the ascending phalanx. The ranks were broken, and the men rolled down, writhing with agony; for the boiling oil, which kindles easily and cools slowly, trickled within their armour. They had not time to tear off their breastplates and bucklers before it had penetrated to the skin; but they leaped about and writhed with anguish, or plunged headlong from the bridges; or, if they attempted to fly, were pierced through their backs, the only part which was not without defensive armour. Yet the steady courage of the Romans was not thus to be repelled. However those behind might pity their suffering companions,

they still pressed forward, and sternly rebuked them for standing in their way, and for impeding braver men in the performance of their duty. But the Jews had still another stratagem. They poured boiled fenngreek, a kind of herb, upon the planks, on which the enemy were mounting the breach, and made them so slippery, that no one could gain a firm footing, either to ascend or retreat. Some fell on their faces, and were trampled down by those who followed; others rolled back upon the embankment. The Jews struck at them as they lay and grovelled; or, the close combat being thus interrupted, discharged their javelins, and heaped darts and stones upon them. At length, about the evening, the general recalled his worsted men, with considerable loss in killed and wounded. Those of Jotapata had six killed, and three hundred wounded.

Vespasian found his troops rather exasperated than disheartened by this obstinate resistance; but yet it was necessary to proceed by more slow and cautious approaches. He gave orders that the embankment should be raised considerably; and that fifty towers should be built upon it, strongly girded with iron, both that the weight might make them more firm, and to secure them against fire. In these he placed his javelin-men, his slingers, and archers, and the lighter engines for the discharge of missiles. These, being concealed by the height and the breastworks of their towers, might take deliberate aim at all who appeared upon the walls. This was a fatal measure to the Jews. The darts and arrows came pouring from above, so that they could not shift and avoid them. They could have no revenge against these invisible foes; for their own arrows could not reach to the height of the towers, and the towers, being solid and compact with iron, could not be set on fire. All they could do was to abandon their walls, and, when any party approached, make a rapid and desperate sally to beat them off. Thus their own loss was considerable—that of the Romans very slight. Still, however, they kept up a manful resistance, and constantly repelled the enemy from the walls.

But now the fall of a neighbouring fortress was a dreadful omen, and a warning of their own approaching fate to the defenders of Jotapata. A city called Japha, at no great distance, emboldened by the vigorous defence of Jotapata, closed its gates against the Romans. Vespasian detached Trajan, by some supposed to have been the father of the emperor, with 2000 foot and 1000 horse, to reduce the place. The city was strongly situated, and surrounded by a double wall. The men of Japha came boldly forth to meet the enemy; but this hardihood was their ruin. They were repulsed, and chased to the walls. The pursuers and pursued entered pell-mell within the outer gates. Those who defended the inner wall instantly closed their gates,

and shut out the flower of their own garrison as well as the enemy. The fugitives, hotly pursued, were cooped up between the two walls, and mowed down with horrible carnage. They rushed to the gates, called upon their fellow-citizens by name, and entreated them to open and let them in—but in vain; to admit them, was to admit the conquering enemy. Totally disheartened, not only by the terror of the foe, but by the apparent treachery of their friends, they had no courage to resist; but either stood still to be tamely butchered, reproaching, as it were, those who looked down from the walls with their miserable end —or, in desperate frenzy, rushed on each other's swords, or fell upon their own: and so they died, execrating their fellow-citizens rather than the enemy. In the flight and in the suburb 12,000 perished; and those who had thus, either out of panic or miscalculating prudence, betrayed their fellow-citizens, obtained only a brief respite; for Trajan, rightly concluding that the garrison must be greatly enfeebled by this loss, formed the blockade of the city—and with courtier-like reserve, as if he already anticipated the imperial destiny of the Flavian family, sent despatches to Vespasian to request that his son Titus might be detached to complete the victory. Titus speedily arrived with 1000 foot and 500 horse. He took the command, and, placing Trajan at the head of the left wing, and himself leading the right, gave orders for a general assault. No sooner had the soldiers fixed the scaling-ladders than the Galileans, after a feeble resistance, abandoned the walls. Titus and his soldiers leaped down into the city, and, the Galileans rallying, a furious conflict ensued; for the citizens blocked up the narrow streets and lanes, and fought desperately, while the women, from the roofs of the houses, hurled down everything on which they could lay their hands. The battle lasted for six hours, when all who could bear arms were slain; and the rest, old and young—part in the public streets, part in the houses—were indiscriminately put to the sword. The women alone and infants were reserved as slaves: 15,000 were killed, 2130 taken.

It is remarkable that the Samaritans, who are generally accused by the Jews as disclaiming their kindred in every period of danger, made common cause in this insurrection. Roman oppression must indeed have weighed heavily, if the indignation it excited could overpower the rooted animosity of Samaritan and Jew, and set them in arms together against the same enemy. The Samaritans had not openly joined the revolt, but stood prepared with a great force on the sacred mountain of Gerizim —for most of their strong cities were garrisoned by the Romans. Vespasian determined to anticipate and suppress the insurrectionary spirit which was manifestly brooding in the whole region. Cerealis was sent with 600 horse, and 3000 infantry, who

suddenly surrounded the foot of the mountain. It was the height of summer, and the Samaritans, who had laid in no provision, suffered grievously from the want of water: some actually died of thirst; others deserted to the Romans. As soon as Cerealis supposed that they were sufficiently enfeebled, he gradually drew his forces up the side of the mountain, enclosing them in a narrower compass, as in the toils of a skilful hunter. He then sent to them to throw down their arms, and promised a general amnesty. On their refusal, he charged them with irresistible fury, and slew the whole, to the number of 11,600.

And now the end of Jotapata drew near. For forty-seven days its gallant inhabitants had resisted the discipline and courage of the whole Roman army, under their most skilful general; they had confronted bravery with bravery, and stratagem with stratagem. They were now worn out with watching, and fatigue, and wounds, and thirst. Their ranks were dreadfully thinned, and the overwearied survivors had to fight all day and watch all night. A deserter found his way to the camp of Vespasian, and gave intelligence of the enfeebled state of the garrison, urging him to make an assault at the early dawn of morning, when the sentinels were apt to be found sleeping on their posts. Vespasian suspected the traitor, for nothing had been more striking during the siege than the fidelity of the Jews to their cause. One man who had been taken, had endured the most horrible torments, and though burnt in many parts of his body, steadily refused to betray the state of the town, till at length he was crucified. Still the story bore marks of probability; and Vespasian, thinking that no stratagem could inflict great injury on his powerful army, prepared for the assault.

A thick morning mist enveloped the whole city, as at the appointed hour the Romans, with silent step, approached the walls. Titus was the first to mount, with Domitius Sabinus, a tribune, and a few soldiers of the fifteenth legion. They killed the sentinels, and stole quietly down into the city. Sextus Cerealis, and Placidus, followed with their troops. The citadel was surprised: it was broad day, yet the besieged, in the heavy sleep of fatigue, had not discovered that the enemy were within the walls; and even now, those who awoke saw nothing through the dim and blinding mist. But by this time, the whole army was within the gates, and they were awakened to a horrible sense of their situation, by the commencement of the slaughter. The Romans remembered what they had suffered during the siege, and it was not a time when mercy and compassion, foreign to their usual character, could arrest the arm of vengeance. They charged furiously down from the citadel, hewing their way through the multitude, who, unable to defend themselves, stumbled, and were crushed in the uneven ways; or were suffo-

cated in the narrow lanes, or rolled headlong down the precipices. Nothing was to be seen but slaughter; nothing heard but the shrieks of the dying and the shouts of the conquerors. A few of the most hardy had gathered round Josephus, and mutually exhorted each other to self-destruction, as they could not slay the enemy, they would not be tamely slain by them. A great number fell by each other's hands. A few of the guard who had been at first surprised, fled to a tower on the northern part of the wall, and made some resistance. At length they were surrounded, and gave themselves up to be quietly butchered. The Romans might have boasted that they had taken the city without the loss of a man, had not a centurion, named Antonius, been slain by a stratagem. There were a great number of deep caverns under the city, in which many took refuge; one of these, being hotly pursued, entreated Antonius to reach his hand to him, as a pledge of accepting his surrender, as well as to help him to clamber out. The incautious Roman stretched out his hand, the Jew instantly pierced him in the groin with a lance, and killed him.

That day all were put to the sword who appeared in the streets or houses; the next, the conquerors set themselves to search the caverns and underground passages, still slaughtering all the men, and sparing none but infants and women: 1200 captives were taken. During the siege and capture 40,000 men fell. Vespasian gave orders that the city should be razed to the ground, and all the defences burnt. Thus fell Jotapata, on the 1st day of Panemus (July).

But among all the dead, the Romans sought in vain for the body of their obstinate and subtle enemy, Josephus. Vespasian, himself, expressed great anxiety for his capture, but all their search was baffled, and they began to fear that the wily chieftain had, after all, withdrawn himself from their vengeance. During the confusion of the massacre, Josephus had leaped down the shaft of a dry well, from the bottom of which, a long cavern led off, entirely concealed from the sight of those above. There Josephus, unexpectedly, found himself among forty of the most distinguished citizens of Jotapata, who had made this their hiding-place, and furnished it with provisions for several days. He lay hid all the day, while the enemy were prowling about, and at night crept out, and endeavoured to find some way of escape from the city; but the Roman guards were too vigilant, and he was obliged to return to his lair. Two days he remained without detection; on the third, a woman who had been with those within the cavern, being captured, betrayed the secret. Vespasian immediately despatched two tribunes, Paulinus, and Gallicanus, to induce Josephus, by a promise of his life, to surrender. Josephus while he lay quiet in his cavern, was suddenly startled by hearing himself called on by name. It was the voice of the

tribune with the message of Vespasian. But Josephus had no great confidence in Roman mercy, and refused to come forth, till Vespasian sent another tribune, Nicanor, with whom he had been well acquainted. Nicanor stood at the mouth of the well, and enlarged on the natural generosity of the Romans, and their admiration of so gallant an enemy; he assured the suspicious Josephus, that Vespasian had no intention against his life, but was anxious to save a man who had displayed such noble self-devotion; and strongly urged that his delay would be of little use, as they might easily take him by force. He even added, that Vespasian would not have employed the friend of Josephus on such a mission, if he had any secret or treacherous design.

The Roman soldiers would have settled the affair in a much more summary manner: they were, with difficulty, restrained by their commander from throwing fire into the cavern, which would either have suffocated those within, or forced them to make their way out. At this moment, Josephus remembered his dream, which had so precisely foretold all the calamities of the Jews, and all which was to happen to the future emperor of Rome. Now, Josephus was an adept in the interpretation of dreams: as a priest he had deeply studied the prophecies of the Holy Books. He was suddenly and, doubtless, most opportunely seized with divine inspiration, which inwardly assured him, that it was the will of Heaven that his country should fall, and Rome triumph, and he himself save his life. So, if he passed over to the Roman party, he would do so, not as a renegade, but as an obedient servant of God.

Saying this within himself, he consented to the terms of Nicanor. But, unhappily, a new difficulty occurred. However satisfactory to his own conscience this determination of humbly submitting to the will of God, the companions of Josephus were not religious enough to enter into his motives. They reproached him with the vulgar desire of saving his life, and with cowardly defection from the laws of his country. They reminded him of his own eloquent exhortations to despise death in such a noble cause; exhortations with which so many had generously complied. They intimated somewhat plainly, that they would assist his failing patriotism, and enable him to obtain all the honours of martyrdom; in short, that their hands and swords were ready to enable him to die, not as a renegade, but as the chieftain of the Jews. At the same time, they showed their zealous interest in his character, by surrounding him with drawn swords, and threatening to put him to death if he stirred. Josephus was in great embarrassment, for he felt that it would be impious resistance to the will of God, if he should thus submit to die. He began (in his own words) to *philosophise* to them. It is not

very probable, that at this perilous instant, Josephus should have the self-command to make, or his fierce assailants the patience to listen to, a long-set speech; but his oration, as it stands in the history, is so curious, that we must insert the chief topics on which he dwelt. "Why, my friends," he began, "should we be so eager for self-murder? why should we separate associates so dear to each other as the soul and body? It is noble to die in war, true; but according to the legitimate usage of war, by the sword of the enemy. If I had supplicated for mercy, I should have deserved to die, but if the Romans freely offer to spare us, why should we not spare ourselves? For what have we been fighting all this time?—to save our lives; and now we are to be such fools as to throw our lives away. It is noble, indeed, to die for our liberty, yes, in battle:—that man is equally a coward who fears to die when death is necessary, and he who chooses to die when there is no necessity. Why do we refuse to surrender? In fear lest the Romans should kill us; and therefore we would kill ourselves. In fear lest we be made slaves? at present, indeed, we enjoy great liberty!" He then entered at large into the common-place arguments against self-murder; the disgrace of abandoning the helm when the bark is in danger; the natural fondness of all animals for life, and their aversion to death; above all, the sin of throwing away the most precious gift of God. "Our bodies are mortal, and made of perishable matter; but the soul is immortal, as a part of the Divinity it dwells within our bodies. He is base and treacherous who betrays that with which he is entrusted by man; how much more he who basely gives up the precious trust which God has confided to him. We punish slaves, even if they desert the service of a cruel master, yet we have no scruple to desert the service of a good and merciful Deity. Know ye not, that those who depart this life according to the law of nature, and pay the debt when it is demanded by God, obtain everlasting glory? their houses and families prosper; their souls remain pure and obedient, and pass away to the holiest mansions in heaven: from whence, in the revolution of ages, they again take up their dwelling in pure bodies. But for those who have madly lifted their hands against their own lives, the darkest pit of hell receives their souls, and God avenges their crime upon their children's children. Hence God and our wise lawgiver have enacted a severe punishment against the suicide: his body is cast forth at sunset without burial; the guilty hand, which dared to separate the soul from the body, is cut off." (Here Josephus seems to have calculated on the ignorance of his audience, and boldly engrafted a Grecian superstition on the Mosaic law.) He concluded with protesting that he had no thought of deserting to the ranks of the

Romans, but that he rather looked forward to their putting him to death, in which case he should die gladly, having affixed the stain of the basest treachery on the enemy. But, unfortunately, these subtle arguments, these sublime doctrines, and magnanimous sentiments, were lost on the dull ears of the obstinate Galileans; they only became more enraged; they ran at him with their swords, they reproached him with his cowardice, and every one of them stood ready to plunge his sword to his heart. He stood, like a wild beast at bay, constantly turning to the man that was rushing at him; one he called familiarly by his name; at another he looked sternly, as if he were still his commander; here he clasped a hand, there he entreated; at all events determined to save his life, if possible. At length his distress so wrought upon them, that some out of respect, some out of attachment, perhaps some out of contempt, dropt their swords; those of not a few, he says, fell out of their hands, others were quietly returned into their sheaths. The wily leader marked his time, and had a stratagem ready on the instant. "If we must die, then, let us not die by our own, but by each other's hands. Let us cast lots, and thus fall one after another, for if the rest perish, it would be the deepest disgrace for me to survive." They all readily agreed, thinking that Josephus would inevitably share their fate. How the lots were cast, we are not informed, or whether among his other soldier-like and noble qualities, the worthy commander had some skill in sleight-of-hand: but it so happened (by good fortune or the will of Providence) that they all, one after another, as the lots came up, offered their breasts to the sword. Josephus found himself left, with one other, to the last. Not in the least inclined that the lot should fall on himself, and with a nice and scrupulous reluctance to embrue his hands in the blood of a fellow-creature, Josephus persuaded this man to accept of the offered terms; and so they both came out together, leaving their dead friends in the cavern. Nicanor immediately led him to Vespasian. The Romans crowded from all parts to see this redoubted chieftain. A great rush and uproar ensued. Some were rejoicing at his capture, others threatening him with vengeance; all pressing forward to get a sight of him: those who were at a distance cried out that he should be put to death; those near him were seized with admiration, and remembrance of his noble actions. Not one of the officers, who had been most furious against him, but inclined to mercy directly they saw him, particularly Titus, who was struck with his dignified fortitude, and vigour of manhood; he was thirty years old at the beginning of the war. The influence of Titus was of great weight with Vespasian to dispose him to

lenity; the prisoner was ordered to be closely guarded, with the design that he might be sent to Nero at Rome.

Josephus instantly demanded to be admitted to a private conference with Vespasian. All, excepting Titus and two friends, retired. Josephus assumed at once the air and language of a prophet: he solemnly protested that nothing would have tempted him to avoid the death which became a noble Jew, but the conviction that he was a messenger of God, to announce to Vespasian that he and his son would speedily assume the imperial dignity: "Send me not to Nero: bind me, and keep me in chains, as thy own prisoner; for soon wilt thou be the sovereign lord of earth and sea, and of the whole human race." Vespasian naturally mistrusted the adroit flatterer; but, before long, permitted himself to be fully persuaded of his prophetic character. Josephus appealed to the inhabitants of Jotapata, whether he had not predicted the taking of the city, and their own capture at the end of forty-seven days. The captives, who could only have been women, as all the men were put to the sword, readily avouched his story; and the prophet, though still kept in chains, was treated with great distinction, and received presents of raiment and other valuable donatives.

This is a strange adventure. It is impossible not to admire the dexterity with which the historian extricates himself from all his difficulties of situation, which, however highly coloured, must have been one of the greatest peril. What secrets that dark cavern may have concealed, can never be known; but we should certainly have read with deep interest the account of these transactions, and indeed of the whole Galilean administration of Josephus, in the work of his rival, Justus of Tiberias, unhappily lost. But, after every deduction for his love of the marvellous, and the natural inclination to paint highly where he was the hero of his own story, the valour and skill displayed in the defence of Jotapata, and the singular address with which he insinuated himself into the favour of Vespasian and his son, give a very high impression of the abilities of Josephus. As to the sincerity of his belief in his own inspiration, it would more easily have obtained credit, if he had shown himself, on other occasions, either more scrupulous or less addicted to stratagem. The prediction itself was far from requiring any great degree of political sagacity. It was impossible to suppose that the bloody Nero would be allowed to burthen the throne much longer: the imperial family was all but extinct. The empire would, in all probability, fall to the lot of the boldest and most ambitious of the great military leaders, among whom Vespasian stood, if not confessedly the first, yet certainly, with few competitors, in the first rank. It was therefore no very bold hazard to designate

him as the future sovereign: at all events, and perhaps Josephus looked no further, the prediction served his immediate turn; and, if it had not eventually proved true, yet the life of the prophet was secure, and his history, if ever written, might have preserved a prudent silence with regard to a prediction which the event had not justified.

The progress of this year's campaign was not according to the usual career of the Roman arms: a powerful army had marched to subdue a rebellious and insignificant province; two months had nearly elapsed, and they were little beyond the frontier. Now, however, they proceeded with greater rapidity. Vespasian returned to Ptolemais, from whence he marched along the coast to Cæsarea. The Greek inhabitants of that city had now, by the massacre of their Jewish competitors, the whole region at their command. They threw open their gates, went forth to receive the Romans with the loudest and most sincere demonstrations of joy; for their vengeance was not yet satiated with Jewish blood. They sent a petition for the execution of Josephus; but Vespasian did not condescend to reply. He took possession of Cæsarea, as pleasant winter-quarters, for two of his legions; for though very hot in summer, the climate of Cæsarea was genial in winter: he fixed on Scythopolis for the station of the other legion, the fifteenth.

Cestius Gallus, during his flight, had abandoned Joppa. A strong body of insurgents had collected from all quarters, and taken possession of the town, where they had built a great number of barks, with which they made piratical excursions, and plundered all the rich merchant vessels which traded between Syria, Phœnicia, and Egypt. Vespasian sent a considerable force against this city. The troops reached Joppa by night; and, the walls being unguarded, entered at once. The inhabitants made no resistance, but fled to their ships, and moored for the night out of the reach of the enemies' darts and arrows. Joppa is a bad harbour: the shore is steep and rugged, forming a kind of semicircular bay, the extreme headlands of which approach each other. These headlands are formed by precipitous rocks and breakers, which extend far into the sea: when the north-wind blows, there is a tremendous surge, which makes the port more dangerous than the open sea. In the morning this wind, called by the sailors of Joppa the black north-wind, began to blow furiously; it dashed the ships against each other, or against the rocks. Some endeavoured to push to sea against the swell; for they dreaded alike the lee-shore breakers and the enemy; but all these, unable to stem the rolling of the swell, foundered. The rest the wind drove towards the city, which the Romans would not let them enter. The shrieks of the men, the crashing of the vessels, made an awful din; many were drowned;

many were seen swimming on broken pieces of wreck; many, to escape drowning, fell on their own swords. The whole shore was strewn with mutilated bodies; those who struggled to the beach were slain by the Romans: 4200 lives were lost. The Romans razed the city, but garrisoned the citadel, lest it should again become a nest of pirates.

At first, vague rumours of the fall of Jotapata reached Jerusalem: not a man had escaped to bear the fatal intelligence. But bad tidings are apt to travel fast; and, as is usual, when the truth became known, it was accompanied with many circumstances of falsehood. Josephus was said to have fallen; and all Jerusalem united in lamenting his loss: his death was a public calamity. There was scarcely a family which had not to deplore some private affliction; they bewailed those who had been their guests (probably at the great festivals), or relations, or friends, or brothers: but all deplored Josephus. For thirty days, wailings were heard in the city; and musicians were hired to perform funeral chaunts. When, however, the news arrived that Josephus was not merely alive, but treated with distinction by Vespasian, sorrow gave place to the fiercest indignation. By some he was called a dastard, by others a traitor; his name was execrated; and to their motives for fierce and obstinate resistance to the Romans was added an eager desire to revenge themselves on the apostate. But they were yet left for some time to exhale their fury in words, and display their bravery, not against the enemy, but against each other.

Vespasian—whether his army had been too severely handled at Jotapata, or whether, as is possible, he wished, in case any effort should be made at Rome to rid the world of the tyrant, to find himself at the head of a powerful and unbroken force—turned aside from the direct road of victory, and declined to advance upon the rebellious capital. He accepted the invitation of Agrippa, who earnestly solicited his presence, in order that he might make a splendid display of his devotion to the Roman cause, and, by the terror of the Roman arms, quell the spirit of revolt in his own dominions. From Cæsarea by the sea, he passed to Cæsarea Philippi, where the army reposed for twenty days. Tarichea and Tiberias, though on the western coast of the Lake of Gennesareth, belonged to the dominions of Agrippa. Evident symptoms of insurrection appeared in both these cities. Titus was ordered to concentrate all the forces on Scythopolis, which is at no great distance from Tiberias: there Vespasian met him; and they advanced to a place on an eminence, within half a mile of Tiberias, named Sennabris. From thence he sent forward a decurion, named Valerian, with fifty horse, to exhort the inhabitants to surrender; for the people were peaceably disposed, but forced into war by a small turbulent party.

Valerian, when he came near the city, dismounted, that his troop might not appear like a body of skirmishers; but before he could utter a word, the insurgents, headed by Jesus, the son of Saphat, charged him with great fury. Valerian, though he might easily have dispersed them, had no orders to fight; and, astonished at the boldness of the Jews, fled on foot, with five of his companions. The captured horses were led in triumph into the city. The senate of Tiberias took the alarm, and fled to the Roman camp: they entreated Vespasian not to act precipitately against a city almost entirely disposed to the Roman interest, and not to visit the crime of a few desperate insurgents on the unoffending people. Vespasian had given orders for the plunder of the city; but partly in compliance with their supplication, partly from respect for Agrippa, who trembled for the fate of one of the fairest towns in his dominions, he accepted their submission. The insurgents, under Jesus, fled to Tarichea. The people opened their gates, and received the Romans with acclamations. As the entrance to the city was too narrow for the army to march in, except in very slender files, Vespasian commanded part of the wall to be thrown down; but he strictly prohibited all plunder or outrage against the inhabitants; and, at the intervention of Agrippa, left the rest of the wall standing.

Not only the insurgents from Tiberias, but from all the adjacent country, assembled in Tarichea, which likewise stood, south of Tiberias, on the shore of Gennesareth. This beautiful lake has been compared by travellers with that of Geneva. In those days the shores were crowded with opulent towns, which lay embowered in the most luxuriant orchards, for which the whole district was celebrated. Such was the temperature of the climate, that every kind of fruit-tree flourished in the highest perfection—nuts, which usually grow in a colder climate, with the palm of the sultry desert, and the fig and olive, which require a milder air. "Nature," says Josephus, "is, as it were, ambitious of bringing together the fruits of different climates, and there is a strife among the seasons of the year, each claiming this favoured country as its own: for not only do fruits of every species flourish, but continue to ripen; the grapes and figs for ten months, and other kinds throughout the year. The water of the lake is remarkably salubrious, milder than that of fountains, and as cool as snow. It abounds in fish of several kinds, peculiar to its waters." This lake had been the chief scene of the miracles and preaching of Jesus Christ. Its blue and quiet waters were now to be broken by other barks than those of the humble fishermen who spread their nets upon its surface; and to reflect, instead of the multitudes who listened to the peaceful teacher, the armour of embattled squadrons and the glittering pride of the Roman eagles. Tarichea had been

carefully fortified by Josephus; not indeed so strongly as the more important town of Tiberias, but still every part that was not washed by the lake had been surrounded with a substantial wall. The inhabitants had a great number of vessels in their port, in which they might escape to the opposite shore, or, if necessary, fight for the naval command of the lake. The Romans pitched their camp under the walls; but while they were commencing their works, Jesus, at the head of the Tiberians, made a vigorous sally, dispersed the workmen, and when the legionaries advanced in steady array, fled back without loss. The Romans drove a large party to their barks: the fugitives pushed out into the lake, but still remained within the range of missiles, cast anchor, and drawing up their barks, like a phalanx, began a regular battle with the enemy on the land.

Vespasian heard that the Galileans were in great force on the plain before the city. He sent Titus with 600 picked horse to disperse them. The numbers were so immense that Titus sent to demand further succours; but before they arrived, he determined to charge the enemy. He addressed his men, exhorting them not to be dismayed by numbers, but to secure the victory before their fellow-soldiers could come up to share their glory. He then put himself at their head, and his men were rather indignant than joyful at beholding Trajan, at the head of 400 horse, make his appearance in the field. Vespasian had likewise sent Antonius Silas with 2000 archers to occupy the side of a hill opposite to the city, in order to divert those who were on the walls. Titus led the attack; the Jews made some resistance, but overpowered by the long spears and the weight of the charging cavalry, gave way, and fled in disorder towards Tarichea. The cavalry pursued, making dreadful havoc, and endeavoured to cut them off from the city. The fugitives made their way through by the mere weight of numbers. When they entered the city, a tremendous dissension arose. The inhabitants, anxious to preserve their property, and dismayed by their defeat, urged capitulation. The strangers steadily and fiercely refused compliance. The noise of the dissension reached the assailants, and Titus immediately cried out, "Now is the time for a resolute attack, while they are distracted by civil discord." He leaped upon his horse, dashed into the lake, and, followed by his men, entered the city. Consternation seized the besieged; they stood still, not attempting resistance. Jesus and his insurgents, at the alarm, fled with others towards the lake, and came right upon the Romans. They were killed endeavouring to reach the shore; the inhabitants without resistance, the strangers fighting gallantly, for the former still cherished a hope that their well-known peaceful disposition might obtain them mercy. At length Titus, having punished

the ringleaders, gave orders that the carnage should cease. Those who had before fled to the lake, when they saw the city taken, pushed out to sea as far as possible. Titus sent information to his father of this signal victory, and gave orders that vessels might instantly be prepared to pursue the fugitives. When these were ready, Vespasian embarked some of his troops, and rowed into the centre of the lake. The poor Galileans in their light fishing-boats could not withstand the heavy barks of the Romans, but they rowed round them, and attacked them with stones—feeble warfare, which only irritated the pursuers! for if thrown from a distance they did no damage, only splashing the water over the soldiers or falling harmless from their iron cuirasses; if those who threw them approached nearer, they could be hit in their turn by the Roman arrows. All the shores were occupied by hostile soldiers, and they were pursued into every inlet and creek; some were transfixed with spears from the high banks of the vessels, some were boarded and put to the sword, the boats of others were crushed or swamped, and the people drowned. If their heads rose as they were swimming, they were hit with an arrow, or by the prow of the bark; if they clung to the side of the enemy's vessel, their hands and heads were hewn off. The few survivors were driven to the shore, where they met with no more mercy. Either before they landed, or in the act of landing, they were cut down or pierced through. The blue waters of the whole lake were tinged with blood, and its clear surface exhaled for several days a fœtid steam. The shores were strewn with wrecks of boats and swollen bodies that lay rotting in the sun, and infected the air, till the conquerors themselves shrunk from the effects of their own barbarities. Here we must add to our bloody catalogue the loss of 6000 lives.

These, however, were the acts of an exasperated soldiery against enemies with arms in their hands. But Vespasian tarnished his fame for ever, by a deed at once of the most loathsome cruelty and deliberate treachery. After the battle, his tribunal was erected in Tarichea, and he sat in solemn judgment on those of the strangers who had been taken captives, and had been separated from the inhabitants of the city. According to his apologist Josephus, his friends encircled the seat of justice, and urged the necessity of putting an end to these desperate vagabonds, who, having no home, would only retreat to other cities, forcing them to take up arms. Vespasian, having made up his sanguinary resolution, was unwilling to terrify the inhabitants of Tarichea by commanding the massacre in their streets; he feared that it might excite insurrection: nor did he wish the whole city to be witness of his open violation of that faith which had been pledged when they surrendered. But his friends

urged that every act was lawful against the Jews, and that right must give way to expediency. The insurgents received an ambiguous assurance of amnesty, but were ordered to retreat from the city only by the road to Tiberias. The poor wretches had implicit reliance on Roman faith. The soldiers immediately seized and blockaded the road to Tiberias; not one was allowed to leave the suburbs. Vespasian in person pursued them into the stadium; he ordered 1200 of the aged and helpless to be instantly slain, and drafted off 6000 of the most able-bodied to be sent to Nero, who was employed in a mad scheme of digging through the Isthmus of Corinth: 30,400 were sold as slaves, besides those whom he bestowed on Agrippa, who sold his portion also. The greater part of these, if we may believe Josephus, were desperate and ferocious ruffians, from Trachonitis, Gaulonitis, Gadara, and Hippos, men who sought to stir up war, that they might escape the punishment of the crimes they had committed during peace. Had they been devils, it could not excuse the base treachery of Vespasian.

This terrible example appalled the whole of Galilee, and most of the towns capitulated at once to avoid the same barbarities; three cities alone still defied the conqueror, Gamala, Gischala, and Itabyrium, the city which Josephus had fortified on Mount Tabor. Though the inhabitants of Gamala, situated on the side of the Lake of Gennesareth, opposite to Tarichea, at no great distance from the shore, might have inhaled the tainted gales, which brought across the waters the noisome and pestilential odours of the late massacre, though probably some single fugitive may have escaped, and hastening to the only city of refuge, have related the dreadful particulars of those still more revolting deeds which had been perpetrated in the stadium of Tarichea; yet Gamala, proud in the impregnable strength of its situation, peremptorily refused submission. Gamala was the chief city of Lower Gaulonitis, and belonged to the government of Agrippa. It was even more inaccessible than Jotapata. It stood on a long and rugged ledge of mountains, which sloped downward at each end, and rose in the middle into a sudden ridge, like the hump of a camel, from which the town had its name of Gamala. The face and both sides of the rock ended in deep and precipitous chasms or ravines; it was only accessible from behind, where it joined the mountain ridge. On this side a deep ditch had been dug right across, so as to cut off all approach. The houses rose one above another on the steep declivity of the hill, and were crowded very thick and close. The whole city seemed as if hanging on a sharp precipice, and threatening constantly to fall and crush itself. It inclined to the south, but on the southern crag, of immense height, was the citadel of the town, and above this was a precipice without a wall,

which broke off sheer and abrupt, and sank into a ravine of incalculable depth. There was a copious fountain within the walls. This impregnable city Josephus had still further strengthened by trenches and water-courses. The garrison was neither so numerous nor so brave as that of Jotapata, but still confident in the unassailable position of their city. It was crowded with fugitives from all parts, and had already for seven months defied a besieging force, which Agrippa had sent against it. Vespasian marched to Emmaus, celebrated for its warm baths, and then appeared before Gamala. It was impossible to blockade the whole circuit of a town so situated. But he took possession of all the neighbouring heights, particularly of the mountain which commanded the city. He then took up a position behind and to the east of the city, where there was a lofty tower. There the fifteenth legion had their quarters, the fifth threw up works opposite to the centre of the city, the tenth was employed in filling up the ditches and ravines. Agrippa ventured to approach the walls to persuade the inhabitants to capitulation. He was struck by a stone from a sling, on the right elbow, and carried off with all speed by the followers. This insult to the native king exasperated the Roman soldiery. The embankments were raised with great expedition by the skilful and practised soldiers. Directly they were ready, the engines were advanced. Chares and Joseph commanded in the city; they had some misgivings of the event, for they were but scantily supplied with provisions and water, still, however, they manned the wall boldly, and for some time vigorously resisted the engineers, who were fixing the machines; but, at length, beat off by the catapults and other engines for throwing stones, they drew back into the city. The Romans immediately advanced the battering-rams in three places, and beat down the wall. They rushed in through the breaches, and broke into the city amid the clang of their trumpets, the clashing of their arms, and the shouting of their men.

The Jews thronged the narrow streets, and bravely resisted the advance of the assailants. At length, overpowered by numbers, who attacked them on all sides, they were forced up to the steep part of the city. There they turned, and charging the enemy with great fury, drove them down the declivities, and made great havoc among them, as they endeavoured to make their way up the narrow streets, and along the rugged and craggy paths. The Romans, who could not repel their enemy, thus hanging as it were over their heads, nor yet break through the throngs of their own men, who forced them on from beneath, took refuge in the houses of the citizens, which were very low. The crowded houses could not bear the weight, and came crashing down. One, as it fell, beat down another, and so all the way down the hill. The situation of the Romans was tremendous.

As they felt the houses sinking, they leaped on the roofs, and fell with the tumbling buildings. Many were totally buried in the ruins; many caught by some part of their bodies, as in a trap; many were suffocated with the dust and rubbish. The Gamalites beheld the hand of God in this unexpected calamity of the foe. They rushed on, regardless of their own lives, struck at the enemy on the roofs, or as they were slipping about in the narrow ways, and, aiming steadily from above, slew every one who fell. The ruins furnished them with stones, and the slain of the enemy with weapons. They drew the swords of the dead to plunge into the hearts of the dying. Many of the Romans who had fallen from the houses killed themselves. Flight was impossible from their ignorance of the ways and the blinding dust: many slew each other by mistake, and fell among their own men. Those who could find the road retreated from the city. Vespasian himself, who had shared in the labours of his men, was deeply afflicted to see the city rolling down in ruins upon the heads of his soldiers. Neglectful of his own safety, he had ascended by degrees, without perceiving it, to the upper part of the city. He found himself in the thick of the danger, with but few followers, for Titus was absent on a mission to the prefect of Syria. It was neither safe nor honourable to fly. With the readiness of an old and experienced soldier, he called to those who were with him to lock their shields over their heads in the form of a testudo. The storm of darts and of the falling ruins crashed about them without doing them any injury. They persevered. The Gamalites, according to Josephus, who now loses no opportunity of flattering his protector, thinking their presence of mind little less than divine, relaxed the fury of their attack. The troops retreated with their faces to the enemy, and did not turn till they were safe beyond the walls. The loss of the Romans was great. The brave centurion, Ælbutius, was particularly lamented. A decemvir, named Gallus, with ten men, in the tumult, crept into a house and concealed himself there. The good citizens, at supper, sat quietly conversing on the exploits of the day; Gallus, who was a Syrian, understood every word they said. At night he broke out, cut all their throats, and came safe off to the Roman camp.

The soldiers were dispirited with their defeat, and with the shame of having left their general in so perilous a situation. Vespasian addressed them in language of approbation and encouragement: he attributed their recent repulse to accident, and to their own too impetuous ardour, which had led them to fight with the frantic fury of their antagonists, rather than with the steady and disciplined courage of Roman legionaries. The Gamalites, in the mean time, were full of exultation at their unexpected success. But before long, pride gave way to melan-

choly foreboding, for their provisions began to fail Their spirits sank, for now they had no hope of being admitted to capitulation. Yet they did not entirely lose their courage and activity. They repaired the shattered walls, and strictly guarded the parts that were still unshaken. When at length the Romans had completed their works, and threatened a second assault, many fled through the sewers, and passages which led into the ravines, where no guard was stationed. The rest of the inhabitants wasted away with hunger in silence; for the scanty provisions that remained were kept for the use of the garrison alone.

In the mean time Itabyrium had fallen. This town had been strongly fortified by Josephus. The ascent to the hill of Tabor is on the north, but extremely difficult.* The level area on the top, three miles and a quarter in circuit, occupied by the troops, was surrounded in forty days by a strong wall. The lower part of the hill had copious fountains, but the town depended on the cisterns of rain water. Against this city Placidus was sent with 600 horse. The hill seemed absolutely inaccessible. But the garrison, endeavouring to out-general the Roman commander, were themselves caught by their own stratagem. Each party pretended a desire to come to terms. Placidus used mild language; and the Itabyrians descended the hill as if to treat, but with a secret design of assailing the Romans unawares. At this unexpected assault Placidus feigned flight, to lure them into the plain. They pursued boldly, when he suddenly wheeled round, routed them with dreadful slaughter, and cut off their retreat to the mountain. Those who escaped fled to Jerusalem. The inhabitants of Itabyrium, distressed for want of water, surrendered.

In the mean time, the garrison of Gamala still made a vigorous resistance, while the people pined away with hunger. At length, two soldiers of the fifteenth legion contrived by night to creep under one of the highest towers, where they began to undermine the foundations. By the morning watch they had got, unperceived, quite under it. They then struck away five of the largest stones, and ran for their lives. The tower came down, guards and all, with a tremendous crash. The rest of the sentinels on the wall fled on all sides. Some were killed as they ran out of the city, among them Joseph, one of the valiant defenders. The whole city was in confusion, men running up and down, with no one to take the command; for the other leader,

* The height of this mountain, according to the numbers as they stand in Josephus, would be three miles and three-quarters. Maundrell ascended it in an hour. The circumference of the town three miles and a quarter. Yet Maundrell states the area on the top to be only two furlongs in length, and one broad. Three miles and a quarter of wall and trench, built in forty days, seems rather beyond credibility.

Chares, lay in the last paroxysm of a fever, and in the agitation of the alarm, expired.

But all that day, the Romans, rendered cautious by their former repulse, made no attempt. Titus had now returned to the camp, and eager to revenge the insult on the Roman arms, with two hundred horse and a number of foot entered quietly into the city. As soon as the Galilean guards perceived him, they rushed to arms. Some catching up their children, and dragging their wives along, ran to the citadel, shrieking and crying; others, who encountered Titus, were slain without mercy. Those who could not make their escape to the citadel rushed blindly on the Roman guard. The steep streets ran with torrents of blood. Vespasian led his men immediately against the citadel. The rock on which it stood was rugged and impracticable, of enormous height, and surrounded on all sides by abrupt precipices. The Jews stood upon this crag, the top of which the Roman darts could not reach, striking down all their assailants, and rolling stones and throwing darts upon their heads. But a tremendous tempest completed their ruin. They could not stand on the points of the rock, nor see the enemy as they scaled the crag. The Romans reached the top, and surrounded the whole party. The memory of their former defeat rankled in their hearts. They slew as well those who surrendered as those who resisted. Numbers threw themselves headlong, with their wives and children, down the precipices. Their despair was more fatal than the Roman sword. 4000 were killed by the enemy; 5000 bodies were found of those who had cast themselves from the rock. Two women alone escaped, the sisters of Philip, Agrippa's general, and they only by concealing themselves, for the Romans spared neither age nor sex; they seized infants and flung them down from the rock. Thus fell Gamala on the 23rd of September.

Gischala alone remained in arms. The inhabitants of this town were an agricultural people, and little inclined to war. But the subtle and ambitious John, the son of Levi, the rival of Josephus, commanded a strong faction in the city, headed by his own desperate bandits. The town, therefore, notwithstanding the desire of the people to capitulate, assumed a warlike attitude. Vespasian sent Titus against it with 1000 horse. The tenth legion moved to Scythopolis, he himself with the other two went into winter quarters at Cæsarea. When he arrived before Gischala, Titus perceived that he might easily take the city by assault. But desirous of avoiding unnecessary bloodshed, and probably well acquainted with the disposition of the people, he sent to offer terms of capitulation. The walls were manned by the faction of John; not one of the people was allowed to approach them, while the summons of Titus was proclaimed.

John answered with the greatest temper and moderation, that the garrison accepted with the utmost readiness the generous terms that had been offered; but that the day being the Sabbath, nothing could be concluded without a direct infringement of the law. Titus not merely conceded this delay, but withdrew his troops to the neighbouring town of Cydoessa.

At midnight, John perceived that no Roman guard was mounted, stole quietly with all his armed men out of the city, followed by many others, with their families, who had determined on flying to Jerusalem. To the distance of twenty stadia, about two miles and a half, the women and children bore on steadily, their strength then began to fail. They dropped off by degrees, while the men pressed rapidly on, without regarding them. They sat down wailing by the way side; and the more faint and distant seemed the footsteps of their departing friends, the more near and audible they thought the hurried trampling of the enemy. Some ran against each other, each supposing the other the foe; some lost their way; many were trampled down by other fugitives. Those who kept up longest, as they began to fail, stood calling on the names of their friends and relations, but in vain. The unfeeling John urged his men to save themselves, and make their escape to some place where they might have their revenge on the Romans. When Titus appeared the next day before the gates, the people threw them open, and with their wives and children received him as their deliverer. He sent a troop of horse in pursuit of John. They slew 6000 of the fugitives, and brought back 3000 women and children to the city. Titus entered Gischala amidst the acclamations of the people; and conducted himself with great lenity, only threatening the city in case of future disturbance, throwing down part of the wall, and leaving a garrison to preserve the peace. Gischala was the last city in Galilee which offered any resistance; and the campaign ended soon after, when Vespasian, having made an expedition against Jamnia and Azotus, which both surrendered and admitted Roman garrisons, returned to Cæsarea, followed by a vast multitude from all quarters, who preferred instant submission to the Romans to the perils of war.

But while the cities of Galilee thus arrested the course of the Roman eagles—while Jotapata and Gamala set the example of daring and obstinate resistance—the leaders of the nation in Jerusalem, instead of sending out armies to the relief of the besieged cities, or making an effort in their favour, were engaged in the most dreadful civil conflicts, and were enfeebling the national strength by the most furious collision of factions. It must be allowed that the raw and ill-armed militia of Judæa, if it had been animated by the best and most united spirit, could scarcely have hoped to make head in the open field against the

experience and discipline of the Roman legions. Their want of cavalry, perhaps, prevented their undertaking any distant expedition, so that it may be doubted whether it was not their wisest policy to fight only behind their walls, in hopes that siege after siege might weary the patience and exhaust the strength of the invading army. But Jerusalem was ill-preparing itself to assume the part which became the metropolis of the nation, in this slow contest; and better had it been for her, if John of Gischala had perished in the trenches of his native town, or been cut off in his flight by the pursuing cavalry. His fame had gone before him to Jerusalem, perhaps not a little enhanced by the defection of his rival, Josephus. The multitude poured out to meet him, as well to do him honour, as to receive authentic tidings of the disasters in Galilee. The heat and the broken breathing of his men showed that they had ridden fast and long; yet they assumed a lofty demeanour, declared that they had not fled, but retreated to maintain a better position for defence—that for Gischala, and such insignificant villages, it was not worth risking the blood of brave men—they had reserved all theirs to be shed in the defence of the capital. Yet to many their retreat was too manifestly a flight, and from the dreadful details of massacre and captivity, they foreboded the fate which awaited themselves. John, however, represented the Roman force as greatly enfeebled, and their engines worn out before Jotapata and Gamala; and urged, that if they were so long in subduing the towns of Galilee, they would inevitably be repulsed with shame from Jerusalem. John was a man of the most insinuating address, and the most plausible and fluent eloquence. The young men listened with eager interest and vehement acclamation: the old sat silent, brooding over their future calamities. The metropolis now began to be divided into two hostile factions; but the whole province had before set them the fatal example of discord. Every city was torn to pieces by civil animosities; wherever the insurgents had time to breathe from the assaults of the Romans, they turned their swords against each other. The war and the peace factions not only distracted the public councils, but in every family, among the dearest and most intimate friends, this vital question created stern and bloody divisions. Every one assembled a band of adherents, or joined himself to some organised party. As in the metropolis, the youth were everywhere unanimous in their ardour for war; the older in vain endeavoured to allay the frenzy by calmer and more prudent reasoning. First individuals, afterwards bands of desperate men, began to spread over the whole country, spoiling either by open robbery, or under pretence of chastising those who were traitors to the cause of their country. The unoffending and peaceful, who saw their houses burning, and their families plundered, thought they could have nothing worse to apprehend

from the conquest of the Romans, than from the lawless violence of their own countrymen. The Roman garrisons in the neighbouring towns, either not considering it their business to interfere, or rejoicing, in their hatred to the whole race, to behold their self-inflicted calamities, afforded little or no protection to the sufferers. At length, an immense number of these daring ruffians, satiated with plunder, by degrees, and in secret, stole into Jerusalem, where they formed a great and formidable troop. The city had never been accustomed to exclude strangers from its walls—it was the national metropolis; and all of Jewish blood had a right to take up their temporary or permanent residence in the Holy City. They thought too that all who entered their gates would strengthen their power of resistance, and that it would be impolitic to reject any who came to offer their lives for the defence of the capital. But even had they not brought sedition and discord in their train, this influx of strangers would rather have weakened than strengthened the defence of Jerusalem; for the provisions which ought to have been reserved for the soldiers, were consumed by an inactive and useless multitude, and famine was almost immediately added to the other evils which enfeebled and distracted the city.

These men, of fierce and reckless dispositions, and already inured to marauding habits, though gathering from all quarters, soon learned to understand each other, and grew into a daring and organised faction. They began to exercise their old calling; robberies, and burglaries, and assassinations, perpetually took place, not secretly, or by night, or of the meaner people, but openly in the face of day, of the most distinguished characters in Jerusalem. The first victim was Antipas, a man of royal blood, and a citizen of such high character as to be entrusted with the charge of the public treasury. They seized and dragged him to prison. The next were Levias, and Saphias, the son of Raguel, both of the Herodian family, with many others of the same class. The people looked on in dismay, but, so long as their own houses and persons were safe, they abstained from interference.

Having gone so far in their daring course, the robbers did not think it safe to proceed farther. They dreaded the families of those whom they had imprisoned, for they were both numerous and powerful; they even apprehended a general insurrection of the people. They sent a ruffian named John, the son of Dorcas, a man ready for the worst atrocities, with ten others like him, and, under their warrant, a general massacre of the prisoners took place. The ostensible pretext of this barbarity was, the detection of a conspiracy to betray the city to the Romans. They gloried in this act, and assumed the titles of Saviours and Deliverers of

their country, for having thus executed condign vengeance on those who were traitors to the common liberty.

The people still cowered beneath the sway of these Zealot robbers. Their next step was even more daring. They took upon themselves the appointment to the Chief Priesthood—that is, probably, to nominate the members of the Sanhedrin. They annulled at once all claim from family descent, and appointed men unknown, and of ignoble rank, who would support them in their violence. Those whom they had raised by their breath, their breath could degrade. Thus all the leaders of the people were the slaves and puppets of their will. They undermined the authority of some who were before at the head of affairs, by propagating false rumours, and by ascribing to them fictitious speeches—so that by their dissensions among each other, they might increase the power of the Zealots, thus united for evil. At length, satiated with their crimes against men, they began to invade the sanctuary of God with their unhallowed violence.

After some time, the populace were at last goaded to resistance. Ananus, the oldest of the chief priests, had been long the recognised head of the other party. He was a man of great wisdom, and in the opinion of Josephus, had he not been cut off by untimely death, might have saved the city. At his incitement, murmurs and threats of resistance spread among the people, and the robber Zealots immediately took refuge in the Temple of God, which they made their garrison and head-quarters. They pretended to proceed according to a mockery of law, which was more galling to the popular feeling than their licentious violence. They declared that the high priest ought to be appointed by lot, not according to family descent. They asserted that this was an ancient usage; but, in fact, it was a total abrogation of the customary law, and solely intended to wrest the supreme power into their own hands. Matthias, the son of Theophilus, was the rightful high priest; but the Zealots assembled, for this purpose, one family of the priestly race, that of Eniachim, and from this chose a high priest by lot. It happened that the choice fell on one Phanias, the son of Samuel, a man not merely unworthy of that high function, but a coarse clown, who had lived in the country, and was totally ignorant even of the common details of his office. They sent for him, however, decked him up in the priestly robes, and brought him forth as if upon the stage. His awkwardness caused them the greatest merriment and laughter; while the more religious priests stood aloof, weeping in bitter but vain indignation at this profanation of the holy office.

The people could endure everything but this. They rose as one man, to revenge the injured dignity of the sacred ceremonies. Joseph, the son of Gorion, and Simon, the son of Gamaliel, went

about, both in private and public, haranguing the multitude, and exhorting them to throw off the yoke of these desperate ruffians, and to cleanse the holy place from the contamination of their presence. The most eminent of the priestly order, Jesus, son of Gamala, and Ananus, remonstrated with the people for their quiet submission to the Zealots, which had now become a name of opprobrium and detestation.

A general assembly was summoned. All were indignant at the robberies, the murders, and sacrileges of the Zealots, but still they apprehended their numbers and the strength of their position. But Ananus came forward and addressed them; and as he spoke, he continually turned his eyes, full of tears, towards the violated temple. He reproached them with their tame endurance of a tyranny, more cruel than that of the Romans; and their abandonment of the temple of their God to profane and lawless men. His long and animated harangue was heard with the deepest interest, and the people demanded with loud outcries, to be immediately led to battle. The Zealots had their partisans in the assembly, and speedily received intelligence of what was going on. While Ananus was organising his force, they began the attack. But Ananus was not less active, and though the people were inferior in discipline, unused to act together in bodies, and unexperienced in the management of their arms, yet they had vast superiority in numbers. Thus a fierce civil war broke out in a city, against whose gates a mighty enemy was preparing to lead his forces. Both parties fought with furious valour; many were slain; the bodies of the people were carried off into their houses; those of the Zealots into the temple, dropping blood, as they were hurried along, upon the sacred pavement. The robbers had always the better in a regular conflict, but the people at length increasing in numbers, those that pressed behind prevented those in front from retreating, and urged forward in a dense and irresistible mass, till the Zealots were forced back into the temple, into which Ananus and his men broke with them. The first quadrangle, that of the Gentiles, being thus taken, the Zealots fled into the next, and closed the gates. The religious scruples of Ananus prevented him from pressing his advantage; he trembled to commit violence against the sacred gates, or to introduce the people, unclean, and not yet purified from slaughter, into the inner court of the temple. He stationed 6000 chosen and well-armed men in the cloisters, and made arrangements that this guard should be regularly relieved.

In this state of affairs, the subtle and ambitious John of Gischala, who had not long arrived in Jerusalem, pursued his own dark course. Outwardly, he joined the party of Ananus; no one could be more active in the consultations of the leaders, or in the nightly inspection of the guards. But he kept up a

secret correspondence with the Zealots, and betrayed to them all the movements of the assailants. To conceal this secret he redoubled his assiduities, and became so extravagant in his protestations of fidelity to Ananus and his party, that he completely overacted his part, and incurred suspicion. The people could not but observe that their closest consultations were betrayed to the enemy, and they began gradually to look with a jealous eye on their too obsequious servant. Yet it was no easy task to remove him; he was much too subtle to be detected, and had a formidable band of adherents, by no means of the lowest order, in the council itself. The people acted in the most unwise manner possible. They betrayed their suspicions of John, by exacting from him an oath of fidelity. John swore readily to all they demanded, that he would remain obedient to the people, never betray their councils, and entirely devote both his courage and abilities to the destruction of their enemies. Ananus and his party laid aside their mistrust, admitted him to their most secret councils, and even deputed him to treat with the Zealots. John undertook the mission, and proceeded into the court of the temple. There he suddenly threw off his character, and began to address the Zealots, as if he had been their ambassador, rather than that of the people. He represented the dangers he had incurred in rendering them secret service, informed them that negotiations were going on for the surrender of the city to the Romans, that their ruin was resolved, for Ananus had determined either to enter the temple by fair means, under the pretext of worship, and with that view had purified the people, or by main force; they must either submit, or obtain succours from some external quarter; and he solemnly warned them of the danger of trusting to the mercy of the people. John, with his characteristic caution, only intimated the quarter from which this succour was to be sought. The chieftains of the Zealots were Eleazar, the son of Simon, the old crafty antagonist of Ananus, and Zacharias, the son of Phalec. They knew that they were designated for vengeance by the adherents of Ananus; their only hope was in driving their own to desperation. The mention of negotiations, according to Josephus, the malicious invention of John, inflamed the whole party of the Zealots to madness. A despatch was instantly sent to call the Idumeans to their assistance, by messengers who were noted for their swiftness of foot and promptitude of action.

The Idumeans, who, since the conquest of Hyrcanus, had been incorporated with the Jews as a people, were a fierce and intractable tribe; some of the old Arab blood seemed to flow in their veins; they loved adventure, and thronged to war as to a festivity. No sooner was the welcome invitation of the Zealots made known through the country, than they flew to arms, and

even before the appointed day, had assembled an immense force, proclaiming as they went, that they were marching to the relief of the metropolis. They were 20,000 in number, under John and James, the sons of Susa, Simon, son of Cathla, and Phineas, son of Clusoth. The messengers of the Zealots had escaped the vigilance of Ananus; and the vast army came suddenly, though not quite unexpectedly, before the walls. The gates were closed, and Ananus determined to attempt expostulation and remonstrance with these formidable invaders. Jesus, the next in age of the chief priests to Ananus, addressed them from a lofty tower on the wall. He endeavoured to persuade them to follow one of three lines of conduct—either to unite with them in the chastisement of these notorious robbers and assassins; or to enter the city unarmed, and arbitrate between the conflicting parties; or, finally, to depart, and leave the capital to settle its own affairs. Simon, the son of Cathla, sternly answered, that they came to take the part of the true patriots and defenders of their country, against men who were in a base conspiracy to sell the liberties of the land to the Romans. This charge the party of Ananus had always steadily disclaimed; with what sincerity it is impossible to decide.

At the words of the son of Cathla, the Idumeans joined in the loudest acclamations, and Jesus returned in sadness to his dispirited party, who now, instead of being the assailants, found themselves, as it were, besieged between two hostile armies. The Idumeans were not altogether at their ease. Though enraged at their exclusion from the city, they were disappointed at receiving no intelligence from the Zealots, who were closely cooped up in the temple, and some began to repent of their hasty march. So they encamped, uncertain how to act, before the walls. The night came on, and with the night a tempest of unexampled violence, wind and pouring rain, frequent lightnings, and long rolling thunders. The very earth seemed to quake. All parties, in this dreadful state of suspense, sat trembling with the deepest awe, and construed the discord of the elements, either as a sign of future calamity, or as a manifestation of the instant wrath of the Almighty. The Idumeans saw the arm of God revealed to punish them for their assault on the Holy City; and thought that heaven had openly espoused the cause of Ananus. Mistaken interpreters of these ominous signs! which rather foreboded their own triumph, and the discomfiture of the Jewish people. Yet they locked their shields over their heads, and kept off the torrents of rain, as well as they could. But the Zealots, anxious about their fate, looked eagerly abroad to discover some opportunity of rendering assistance to their new friends. The more daring proposed, while the fury of the storm had thrown the enemy off their guard, to fight their way through

the bands stationed in the cloisters of the outer court, and to throw open the gates to the Idumeans. The more prudent thought it in vain to resort to violence, because the sentinels in the cloisters had been doubled, and the walls of the city would be strongly manned for fear of the invading army, and they expected Ananus every hour to go the round of the guards. That night alone, trusting perhaps to the number and strength of his doubled party, Ananus neglected that precaution. The darkness of the night was increased by the horrors of the tempest; some of the guard stole off to rest. The watchful Zealots perceived this, and taking the sacred saws, began to cut asunder the bars of the gates. In the wild din of the raging wind and pealing thunder, the noise of the saws was not heard. A few stole out of the gate, and along the streets to the wall. There applying their saws to the gate which fronted the Idumean camp, they threw it open. The Idumeans, at first, drew back in terror, for they suspected some stratagem of Ananus; they grasped their swords, and stood awaiting the enemy, whom they expected every instant to break forth. But when they recognised their friends, they entered boldly, and so much were they exasperated, that if they had turned towards the city, they might have massacred the whole people. But their guides earnestly besought them first to deliver their beleaguered companions. Not only did gratitude, but prudence likewise, advise this course: for if the armed guard in the porticoes were surprised, the city would speedily fall; if it remained entire, the citizens would rally round that centre, speedily collect an insuperable force, and cut off their ascent to the temple. They marched rapidly through the city, and mounted the hill of Moriah. The Zealots were on the watch for their arrival, and as they attacked the guard in front, fell upon them from behind. Some were slain in their sleep: others, awaking at the din, rushed together, and endeavoured to make head against the Zealots, but when they found that they were attacked likewise from without, they perceived, at once, that the Idumeans were within the city. Their spirits sank, they threw down their arms, and uttered wild shrieks of distress. A few bolder youths confronted the Idumeans, and covered the escape of some of the older men, who ran shrieking down the streets, announcing the dreadful calamity. They were answered by screams and cries from the houses, and the shrill wailing of the women. On their side, the Zealots and Idumeans shouted, and the wind howled over all; and the black and flashing sky pealed its awful thunders. The Idumeans spared not a soul of the guard whom they surprised, being naturally men of bloody character, and exasperated by having been left without the gates exposed to the furious pelting of the storm; those who supplicated, and those who fought, suffered the same fate: it was in

vain to appeal to the sanctity of the temple, even within its precincts they were hewn down; some were driven to the very ledge of the rock on which the temple stood, and in their desperation precipitated themselves headlong into the city. The whole court was deluged with human bood, and when day dawned, 8500 bodies were counted. But the carnage ended not with the night. The Idumeans broke into the city, and pillaged on all sides. The high priests, Ananus, and Jesus, the son of Gamala, were seized, put to death, and—an unprecedented barbarity among a people so superstitious about the rites of sepulture, that even public malefactors were buried before sunset—the bodies of these aged and respected men, who had so lately appeared in the splendid sacred vestments of the priests, were cast forth naked to the dogs and carrion birds.

With the death of Ananus all hopes of peace were extinguished, and from that night Josephus dates the ruin of Jerusalem. The historian gives him a high character; he was a man of rigid justice, who always preferred the public good to his own interest, and a strenuous lover of liberty, of popular address, and of great influence over all the lower orders. Though vigilant and active in placing the city in the best posture of defence, yet he always looked forward in eager hope, to a peaceable termination of the contest. In this respect, perhaps, he followed the wisest policy, considering the state of his country, and the strength of the enemy; yet we cannot wonder, that a man with such views, at such a crisis, should be vehemently suspected of traitorous intentions by the more rash and zealous of his countrymen, who preferred death and ruin rather than submission to the tyrannous yoke of Rome. Jesus, the son of Gamala, was likewise a man of weight and character.

The vengeance of the Zealots and their new allies was not glutted by the blood of their principal enemies. They continued to massacre the people, in the words of Josephus, like a herd of unclean animals. The lower orders they cut down wherever they met them, those of higher rank, particularly the youth, were dragged to prison, that they might force them, by the fear of death, to embrace their party. No one complied; all preferred death to an alliance with such wicked conspirators. They were scourged and tortured, but still resolutely endured, and at length were relieved from their trials by the more merciful sword of the murderer. They were seized by day, and all the night these horrors went on; at length their bodies were cast out into the streets to make room for more victims in the crowded prisons. Such was the terror of the people, that they neither dared to lament, nor bury their miserable kindred; but retire into the farthest part of their houses to weep, for fear the enemy should detect their sorrow; for to deplore the dead was to deserve death;

by night they scraped up a little dust with their hands, and strewed it over the bodies; none but the most courageous would venture to do this by day. Thus perished 12,000 of the noblest blood in Jerusalem.

Ashamed, at length, or weary of this promiscuous massacre, the Zealots began to affect the forms of law, and set up tribunals of justice. There was a distinguished man, named Zacharias, the son of Baruch, whose influence they dreaded, and whose wealth they yearned to pillage, for he was both upright, patriotic, and rich. They assembled, by proclamation, seventy of the principal men of the populace, and formed a Sanhedrin. Before that court they charged Zacharias with intelligence with the Romans. They had neither proof nor witness, but insisted on their own conviction of his guilt. Zacharias, despairing of his life, conducted himself with unexampled boldness; he stood up, ridiculed their charges, and, in a few words, clearly established his own innocence. He then turned to the accusers, inveighed with the most solemn fervour against their iniquities, and lamented the wretched state of public affairs. The Zealots murmured, and some were ready to use their swords; but they were desirous of seeing whether the judges were sufficiently subservient to their will. The seventy unanimously acquitted the prisoner, and preferred to die with Zacharias, rather than be guilty of his condemnation. The furious Zealots raised a cry of indignation; two of them rushed forward, and struck him dead, where he stood, in the temple court, shouting aloud, "This is our verdict —This is our more summary acquittal." Then dragging the body along the pavement, they threw it into the valley below. The judges they beat with the flat blades of their swords, and drove them, in disgrace, back into the city.

At length, the Idumeans began to repent of this bloody work; they openly declared that they had advanced to Jerusalem to suppress the treason of the leaders, and to defend the city against the Romans; that they had been deceived into becoming accomplices in horrible murders; no treason was really apprehended, and the Roman army still suspended their attack. They determined to depart; first, however, they opened the prisons, and released 2000 of the people, who instantly fled to Simon the son of Gioras, of whom we shall hereafter hear too much. Their departure was unexpected by both parties. The populace, relieved from their presence, began to gain confidence; but the Zealots, as if released from control, rather than deprived of assistance, continued their lawless iniquities. Every day new victims fell by rapid and summary proceedings; it seemed as if they thought their safety depended on the total extermination of the higher orders. Among the rest perished Gorion, a man of the highest birth and rank, and the greatest zeal for liberty—

incautious language caused his ruin. Even Niger of Peræa, their most distinguished soldier, who had escaped from the rout at Ascalon, was dragged along the streets, showing in vain the scars which he had received for his ungrateful country. He died with fearful imprecations, summoning the Romans to avenge his death, and denouncing famine and pestilence, and civil massacre, as well as war, against this accursed city. Niger was the last whose power they dreaded. After that they carried on their sanguinary work without scruple: none could escape. He who paid them no court, was stigmatised as haughty; he who spoke boldly, as one who despised them; he who merely flattered them, as a traitor; they had but one punishment for great or small offences—death; none but the very meanest in rank and fortune escaped their hands.*

In this state of the city, many of the Roman leaders strongly urged Vespasian to march immediately on Jerusalem, and put an end to the rebellion. The more politic general replied, that nothing would extinguish these feuds, which were wasting the strength of the rebels, or unite their forces, but an attack from the Romans; he determined to allow them, like wild beasts, to tear each other to pieces in their dens. Every day deserters came in; not but that the roads were closely guarded, yet those who had the power to bribe largely, and those alone, were sure to find their way; yet some, such was the attachment to the very soil of Jerusalem, after they had got off, returned of their own accord, only in hopes that they might find burial in the Holy City. Hopes too often baffled; for, so hardened were all hearts become, that even the reverence for that sacred rite was extinct. Both within the city, and in the villages, lay heaps of bodies rotting in the sun. To bury a relative, was death; thus compassion itself was proscribed and eradicated from the heart. Such was the state of the people, that the survivors envied the dead as released from suffering; those who were tormented in prisons even thought them happy whose bodies were lying unburied in the streets. Religion seemed utterly abolished: the law was scorned, the oracles of the prophets were treated with ridicule, as the tricks of impostors. "Yet by these men," says Josephus, "the ancient prediction seemed rapidly drawing to its fulfilment; that when civil war should break out in the city, and the temple be profaned by the hands of native Jews, the city would be taken, and the temple burned with fire."

During all this horror and confusion, John of Gischala steadily pursued his path of ambition: from the most desperate of these desperate men, he attached a considerable party to his own

* Thus writes Josephus—perhaps rather with the vehemence of an orator, than with the cautious accuracy of an historian.

person; and, though suspected by all as aiming at kingly power and watched with jealous vigilance, yet such was his craft and promptitude, that he imperceptibly centred all real authority and influence in his single person. In the public councils, he contradicted every one, and delivered his own sentiments with a sort of irresistible imperiousness. Some were cajoled by his subtlety, others awed by his decision, till at length his adherents almost threw off the mask, and formed, as it were, a body-guard around their leader. Thus the Zealots were divided; in one part John ruled like a king; in the other a kind of democratical equality prevailed. Yet the factions only watched each other, and contending but in occasional shirmishes, combined readily for the persecution of the people, and vied with each other in the quantity of plunder they could extort.

Thus the miserable city was afflicted by the three great evils, war, tyranny, and sedition; a fourth was soon added to complete their ruin. The Sicarii or Assassins, it may be remembered, had seized the strong fortress of Masada, near the Dead Sea. They had hitherto been content to subsist on the adjacent country. Encouraged by the success of the daring robbers who had thus become masters of Jerusalem, they surprised Engaddi during the night of the Passover, dispersed all who resisted, and slew about 700, chiefly women and children. They brought away great quantities of corn, and followed up the blow by wasting the whole region. Other bands collected in other parts, and the province became a scene of plunder and confusion.

It was now the spring—the commencement of a new campaign. The refugees in the camp of Vespasian earnestly besought him to march at once upon the capital; but the wary Roman chose rather to reduce the rest of the country. The first place against which he moved was Gadara, the chief city of Peræa. The more wealthy inhabitants sent a deputation to Vespasian. The opposite party, surprised by the rapid advance of the Romans, after revenging themselves on some of those who had treated for surrender, withdrew, and Gadara received the conqueror with open gates, and with joyful acclamations. Vespasian granted the inhabitants a garrison for their protection, for they had destroyed their walls of their own accord.

Vespasian having despatched Placidus with 500 horse and 3000 foot, to pursue the fugitives from Gadara, returned to Cæsarea. They had taken possession of a large village named Bethanabris, which they armed in their defence. Placidus attacked them, and employing his usual stratagem, a feigned retreat, to allure them from their walls, then faced round, and cut off the greater part. Some forced their way back, and Placidus had well nigh entered the village with them. Before night it was taken and laid waste with the usual carnage. Those

who escaped, raised the country as they passed, and grown again to a considerable body, fled towards Jericho, the populous and strongly fortified city, on the other side of the river. Placidus pursued them to the Jordan, the river was swollen and impassable. They were obliged to turn and fight. It must have been near the place where the waters, of old, receded at the word of Joshua, but now the deep and rapid flood rolled down in unchecked impetuosity. The Romans charged with their accustomed vigour. Multitudes fell, multitudes were driven into the stream, others plunged in of their own accord. Not only the river, but the Dead Sea also, was almost choked with bodies, which lay floating upon its dark and heavy waters. 15,000 were killed, 2500 taken prisoners, with an immense booty from all that pastoral region, asses, sheep, camels, and oxen. Placidus followed up his victory, reduced the whole country of Peræa, and the coast of the Dead Sea as far as Machærus.

In the mean time the state of the Roman empire began to call the attention of Vespasian. Vindex had revolted in Gaul, and Vespasian was anxious to put an end to the war in Palestine, in order that his army might be at liberty for any further service. He advanced from Cæsarea, took successively Antipatris, Lydda, and Jamnia, and blockaded Emmaus, which made resistance. He then moved southward through the toparchy of Bethleptepha, to the frontier of Idumæa, wasting as he went with fire and sword, and leaving garrisons in all the defensible castles. In Idumæa he took two large villages, Betharis and Cephartoba, put to the sword above 10,000 men, and brought away 1000 captives. Leaving there a strong force to waste the country, he returned to Emmaus, passed by Samaria and Neapolis, encamped in Corea, and at length appeared before Jericho, where the troops, which had subdued Peræa, met him. The insurgents of Jericho fled to the wilderness of Judæa, which lay to the south along the shores of the Dead Sea. The city was deserted, and the Roman soldiery reposed among the delicious gardens and palm groves in the neighbourhood, before they encountered the dreary and mountainous wilderness which lay between them and Jerusalem.

Vespasian sent to reduce all the neighbouring country. Lucius Annius was detached against Gerasa, where 1000 of the youth were put to the sword, the rest made captives, and the city pillaged by the soldiery. And now Jerusalem already beheld the Roman at her gates, every approach to the city was cut off, and every hour they expected to see the plain to the north glitter with the arms and eagles of the fated enemy. When suddenly intelligence came from Rome which checked the march of Vespasian, and Jerusalem had yet a long period either to repent and submit, or to prepare for a more orderly and vigorous resistance. The first event was the death of Nero, and during

the whole of the year 68-9, in which Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, successively attained and lost the imperial crown, Vespasian held his troops together, without weakening, by unnecessary exertions against the enemy, that force by which he might eventually win his way to the sovereignty of the world.

But Jerusalem would not profit by the mercy of the Almighty in thus suspending for nearly two years the march of the avenger: an enemy more fatal than the Roman immediately rose up to complete the sum of her misery, and to add a third party to those which already distracted her peace. Simon, son of Gioras, a native of Gerasa, was a man as fierce and cruel, though not equal in subtlety to John of Gischala. He had greatly distinguished himself in the rout of Cestius. Since that time, it has been seen that he pillaged Acrabatene, and being expelled from that region by Ananus, entered Masada, where by degrees he became master of the town. His forces increased; he had wasted all the country towards Idumæa, and at length began to entertain designs against Jerusalem. The Zealots marched out in considerable force against him, but were discomfited and driven back to the city. Simon, instead of attacking Jerusalem, turned back and entered Idumæa at the head of 20,000 men. The Idumeans suddenly raised 25,000, and after a long and doubtful battle Simon retreated to a village called Nain, the Idumeans to their own country. Simon a second time raised a great force and entered their border. He encamped before Tekoa, and sent one of his adherents named Eleazar to persuade the garrison of Herodium, at no great distance, to surrender. The indignant garrison drew their swords upon him; he leaped from the wall and was killed. On the other hand, the Idumeans, betrayed by one of their leaders, were struck with a panic and dispersed. Simon entered the country, took Hebron, and wasted the whole region. His army consisted of 40,000 men, besides his heavy-armed troops. They passed over the whole district like a swarm of locusts, burning, destroying, and leaving no sign of life or vegetation behind them.

The Zealots in the mean time surprised the wife of Simon, and carried her off in triumph to Jerusalem. They hoped that by this means they should force Simon to terms. Simon came raging like a wild beast before the walls of Jerusalem. The old and unarmed people who ventured out of the gates were seized and tortured. He is said scarcely to have refrained from mangling their bodies with his teeth. Some he sent back with both hands cut off, vowing that unless his wife were returned, he would force the city, and treat every man within the walls in the same manner. The people, and even the Zealots themselves, took the alarm; they restored his wife, and he withdrew. It was now the spring of the second year, 69, and Vespasian once

more set his troops in motion. He reduced the toparchies of Gophnitis and Acrabatene. His cavalry appeared at the gates of Jerusalem. Cerealis in the mean time had entered Idumæa. and taken Caphethra, Capharabis, and Hebron: nothing remained to conquer but Herodium, Masada, Machærus, and Jerusalem itself.

Still no attempt was made on Jerusalem; it was left to its domestic enemies. Simon had remained in Masada, while Cerealis wasted Idumæa. He then broke forth again, entered Idumæa, drove a vast number of that people to Jerusalem, and again encamped before the walls, putting to the sword all the unfortunate stragglers who quitted the protection of the city.

Simon thus warred on the unhappy city from without, and John of Gischala within. The pillage and license of the opulent capital had totally corrupted his hardy Galileans, who had been allowed to commit every excess. Pillage was their occupation, murder and rape their pastime. They had become luxurious and effeminate; they had all the cruelty of men with the wantonness of the most abandoned women. Glutted with plunder and blood, and the violation of women, they decked their hair, put on female apparel, painted their eyes, and in this emasculate garb wandered about the city, indulging in the most horrible impurities, yet, on an instant, reassuming their character of dauntless ruffians, drawing their swords, which were concealed under their splendid clothes, and fighting fiercely or stabbing all they met without mercy. Thus was the city besieged within and without; those who stayed were tyrannised over by John, those who fled, massacred by Simon.

At length the party of John divided. The Idumeans, who were still in considerable numbers in Jerusalem, grew jealous of his power; they rose and drove the Zealots into a palace built by Grapte, a relation of King Izates. This they entered with them, and thence forced them into the temple. This palace was the great treasure-house of John's plunder, and was now in turn pillaged by the Idumeans. But the Zealots assembled in overwhelming force in the temple, and threatened to pour down upon the Idumeans and the people. The Idumeans did not dread their bravery so much as their desperation, lest they should sally and set the whole city on fire over their heads. They called an assembly of the chief priests, and that counsel was adopted which added the final consummation to the miseries of the city. "God," says Josephus, "overruled their wills to that most fatal measure." They agreed to admit Simon within the gates. The high-priest, Matthias, a weak but, from his rank, an influential man, supported this new proposition: he was sent in person to invite him within the walls, and amid the joyful greetings of the

misguided populace, the son of Gioras marched through the streets, and took possession of all the upper city.

Simon immediately proceeded to attack the Zealots in the temple, but the commanding situation of the building enabled them to defend themselves with success. They fought with missiles from the porticoes and pinnacles, and many of Simon's men fell. To obtain still further advantage from the height of their ground, they reared four strong towers, one on the north-east corner, one above the Xystus, one at another corner opposite the lower city, and one above the Pastophoria, where the priests were accustomed to sound the silver trumpet to announce the commencement and termination of the Sabbath. On these towers they placed their military engines, their bowmen and slingers, which swept the enemy down at a great distance; till at length Simon in some degree relaxed his assaults.

Vespasian had now assumed the purple; the East declared in his favour; Josephus received the honour and reward of a prophet, and was delivered from his bonds. After the defeat and death of Vitellius, the new Cæsar was acknowledged at Rome, and the whole empire hailed in joyful triumph the accession of the Flavian dynasty. At the commencement of the ensuing year, the emperor had time to think of the reduction of the rebellious city, which had long resisted his own arms. His son Titus was sent to complete the subjugation of Palestine by the conquest of the capital.

BOOK XVI.

SIEGE OF JERUSALEM.

A.C. 69, 70.

State of the City—Advance of the Roman Army—Danger of Titus—Capture of the first Wall—Of the second—Famine—Murders within the City—Crucifixions without—The City encircled with a Trench and Wall—Antonia taken—Capture—Conflagration of the Temple—Capture and Demolition of the City—Fate of John and Simon—Numbers slain and taken Prisoners—Triumph of Vespasian and Titus.

THE last winter of Jerusalem passed away in the same ferocious civil contests; her streets ran with the blood of her own children; and instead of organising a regular defence against the

approaching enemy, each faction was strengthening its own position against the unintermitting assaults of its antagonists. The city was now divided into three distinct garrisons, at fierce and implacable hostility with each other. Eleazar, the son of Simon, the man who was the first cause of the war, by persuading the people to reject the offerings of the Roman Emperors, and who afterwards had set himself at the head of the Zealots, and seized the temple, saw, with deep and rankling jealousy, the superiority assumed by John of Gischala. He pretended righteous indignation at his sanguinary proceedings, and at length, with several other men of influence, Judas, the son of Hilkiah, Simon, the son of Ezron, and Hezekiah, the son of Chobar, he openly seceded from the great band of Zealots who remained true to John, and seized the inner court of the temple. And now the arms of savage men, reeking with the blood of their fellow-citizens, were seen to rest upon the gates and walls of the Holy of Holies: the sacred songs of the Levites gave place to the ribald jests of a debauched soldiery; instead of the holy instruments of music, were heard the savage shouts of fighting warriors; and among the appointed victims, men, mortally wounded by the arrows of their own brethren without, lay gasping on the steps of the altar. The band of Eleazar was amply supplied with provisions; for the stores of the temple were full, and they were not troubled with religious scruples. But they were few, and could only defend themselves within, without venturing to sally forth against the enemy. The height of their position gave them an advantage over John, whose numbers were greatly superior —yet, though he suffered considerable loss, John would not intermit his attacks; clouds of missiles were continually discharged into the upper court of the temple, and the whole sacred pavement was strewn with dead bodies.

Simon, the son of Gioras, who occupied the upper city, attacked John the more fiercely, because his strength was divided, and he was likewise threatened by Eleazar from above. But John had the same advantage over Simon which Eleazar had over John. It was a perilous enterprise to scale the ascent to the temple, and on such ground the Zealots had no great difficulty in repelling the incessant assaults of Simon's faction. Against Eleazar's party they turned their engines, the scorpions, catapults, and balistas, with which they slew not a few of their enemies in the upper court, and some who came to sacrifice: for it was a strange feature in this fearful contest, that the religious ceremonies still went on upon the altar, which was often encircled with the dead; beside the human victims which fell around, the customary sacrifices were regularly offered. Not only the pious inhabitants of Jerusalem constantly entreated and obtained permission to offer up their gifts and prayers before the altar of

Jehovah, but even strangers from distant parts would still arrive, and, passing over the pavement slippery with human blood, make their way to the temple of their fathers, where they fondly thought the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob still retained his peculiar dwelling within the Holy of Holies.—Free ingress and egress were granted; the native Jews were strictly searched, the strangers were admitted with less difficulty; but often in the very act of prayer, or sacrifice, the arrows would come whizzing in, or the heavy stones fall thundering on their heads; and they would pay with their lives the price of kneeling and worshipping in the sacred place.

The contest raged more and more fiercely—for the abundant stores within the temple so unsparingly supplied the few adherents of Eleazar, that, in their drunkenness, they would occasionally sally out against John. When these attacks took place, John stood on the defensive; from the outer porticoes repelled Simon, and with his engines within harassed Eleazar. When the drunken or over-wearied troops of Eleazar gave him repose, he would sally forth against Simon, and waste the city. Simon, in his turn, would drive him back; and thus the space around the temple became a mass of ruin and desolation; and in these desultory conflicts, the granaries, which, if carefully protected and prudently husbanded, might have maintained the city in plenty for years, were either wantonly thrown to waste or set on by Simon, lest they should be seized by John.

The people in the mean time, particularly the old men and the women, groaned in secret; some uttered their prayers, but not aloud, for the speedy arrival of the Romans, to release them from the worse tyranny of these fierce strangers. In one point the three parties concurred, the persecution of the citizens, and in the condign punishment of every individual, whom they suspected of wishing well to the Roman army, as their common enemy. It was dreadful to witness the deep and silent misery of the people; they dared not utter their griefs, their very groans were watched, and stifled in their hearts. But it was even more dreadful to see the callous hard-heartedness which had seized all ranks--all were alike become reckless from desperation; there was no feeling for the nearest kindred, their very burial was neglected—all the desires, the hopes, the interests of life were extinguished; death was so near, it was scarcely worth while to avoid it. Men went trampling over dead bodies as over the common pavement; and this familiarity with murder, as it deadened the hearts of the citizens, so it increased the ferocity of the soldiers. Yet, even in the midst of all this, the old religious prejudices were the last to yield. Among the atrocities of John, the promiscuous spoliations and murders, one act made still a deep impression upon the public mind, his seizing some

sacred timbers of great size and beauty which Agrippa had brought from Lebanon, for the purpose of raising the temple twenty feet, and his converting them to the profane use of raising military towers, to annoy the faction of Eleazar in the inner temple. He erected these towers on the west side, where alone there was an open space, the others being occupied by flights of steps. The force of the three factions was as follows; Simon had 10,000 men, and 5000 Idumeans; John 6000; Eleazar 2400.*

At length, after this awful interval of suspense, the war approached the gates of Jerusalem. Titus, having travelled from Egypt, arrived at Cæsarea, and began to organise his forces. In addition to the three legions which Vespasian had commanded, the twelfth returned to Syria, burning with revenge for its former disgraceful defeat under Cestius Gallus. The Syrian kings sent large contingents. The legions were full, the men who had been drafted off by Vespasian having been replaced by 2000 picked troops from Alexandria, and 3000 of those stationed on the Euphrates. Tiberius Alexander, who was distinguished not only by his wisdom and integrity, but by the intimate friendship of Titus, was appointed to a high command. He had been the first, in the recent political changes, to espouse the party of Vespasian; and his experience in arms and knowledge of the country which he had once governed, added weight to his counsels. The army advanced in its customary order of march: first the allies; then the pioneers; the baggage of the principal officers strongly guarded; then Titus himself, with a select guard of spearmen; then the horse attached to the legions; the military engines next, strongly guarded; the eagles and the trumpeters followed; then the legionaries in their phalanx, six deep; the slaves with their baggage; last of all, the mercenaries, with the rear-guard to keep order. The host moved slowly through Samaria into Gophna, and encamped in the valley of Thorns, near a village called Gaboth Saul, the Hill of Saul, about $3\frac{3}{4}$ miles from Jerusalem. Titus himself, with 600 horse, went forward to reconnoitre. As they wound down the last declivities which sloped towards the walls, the factious and turbulent city seemed reposing in perfect peace. The gates were closed, not a man appeared. The squadron of Titus turned to the right, filed off and skirted the wall towards the tower of Psephina—On a sudden the gate behind him, near the tower of the Women, towards the monument of Helena, burst open; and countless multitudes threw themselves, some across the road on which

* The general suspicion which attaches to the enormous numbers of killed and prisoners, given by Josephus, is increased by observing the comparatively small force of fighting men at this period.

Titus was advancing, some right through his line, separating those who had diverged from the rest of the party. Titus was cut off with only a few followers—to advance was impossible. The ground was covered with orchards and gardens, divided by stone walls and intersected by deep trenches and water-courses, which reached to the city walls. To retreat was almost as difficult, for the enemy lay in thousands across his road. Titus saw that not a moment was to be lost: he wheeled his horse round, called to his men to follow him, and charged fiercely through. Darts and javelins fell in showers around him; he had ridden forth to reconnoitre, not to battle, and had on neither helmet nor breastplate. Providentially not an arrow touched him—clearing his way with his sword on both sides, and trampling down the enemy with his fiery steed, he continued to cleave his passage through the dense masses. The Jews shouted with astonishment at the bravery of Cæsar, but exhorted each other to secure the inestimable prize. Yet still they shrank and made way before him—his followers formed around him as well as they could, and at length they reached their camp in safety—one man had been surrounded and pierced with a thousand javelins—another, having dismounted, was slain, and his horse was led away into the city. The triumph of the Jews was unbounded—Cæsar himself had been seen to fly—it was the promise and presage of more glorious and important victories.

The legion from Emmaus now joined the camp, and advanced to Scopos, within a mile of the city, from which all its extent could be surveyed. A level plain lay between the army and the northern wall; the Romans encamped, two legions in front, the fifteenth three stadia behind. The tenth legion now likewise arrived from Jericho, and occupied a station at the foot of the Mount of Olives.

Each from his separate watch-tower, Eleazar from the summit of the temple, John from the porticoes of the outer courts, and Simon from the heights of Sion, beheld three camps forming immediately under the walls of the city. For the first time they felt the imperious necessity of concord. They entered into negotiations, and agreed on a simultaneous attack; their mutual animosity turned to valiant emulation; they seized their arms, and rushing along the Valley of Jehoshaphat, fell with unexpected and irresistible impetuosity upon the tenth legion at the foot of the Mount of Olives. The legionaries were at work on their intrenchments, and many of them unarmed. They fell back, overpowered by the suddenness of the onset; many were killed before they could get to their arms. Still more and more came swarming out of the city; and the consternation of the Romans yet further multiplied their numbers. Accustomed to fight in array, they were astonished at this wild and desultory warfare;

they occasionally turned and cut off some of the Jews, who exposed themselves in their blind fury; but, overborne by numbers, they were on the verge of total and irreparable defeat; when Titus, who had received intelligence of the assault, with some picked men, fell as unexpectedly on the flank of the Jews, and drove them up the valley with great loss. Still the battle raged the whole day; Titus, having planted the troops who came with him in front across the valley, sent the rest to seize and fortify the upper part of the hill. The Jews mistook this movement for flight, their watchmen on the walls shook their garments violently as a signal; it seemed as if the whole city poured forth, roaring and raging like wild beasts. The ranks of the Romans were shattered by the charge, as if by military engines; they fled to the mountain. Titus was again left with but a few followers, on the declivity. With the advantage of the ground he defended himself resolutely, and at first drove his adversaries down; but like waves broken by a promontory, they went rushing up on both sides, pursuing the other fugitives, or turning and raking his party on both flanks. Those on the mount, as they saw the enemy swarming up the hill, were again seized with a panic, and dispersed on all sides, until a few, horror-struck at the critical situation of their commander, by a loud outcry raised an alarm among the whole legion, and bitterly reproaching each other for their base desertion of their Cæsar with the resolute courage of men ashamed of their flight, rallied their scattered forces, made head, and drove the Jews down the hill into the valley. The Jews contested every foot of ground, till at length they were completely repulsed, and Titus again having established a strong line of outposts, dismissed his wearied men to their works.

It was now the Passover, the period during which, in the earlier days of the Mosaic polity, or during the splendour of their monarchy, the whole people used to come up with light and rejoicing hearts to the hospitable city, where all were welcome; where every house was freely opened and without reward; and the united voices of all the sons of Abraham blessed the Almighty for their deliverance from Egypt. Even in these disastrous days the festival retained its reverential hold upon the hearts of the people. Not merely multitudes of Jews from the adjacent districts, but even from remote quarters, were assembled to celebrate the last public Passover of the Jewish nation. Dio Cassius states that many Jews came from beyond the Euphrates to join in the defence of the city; probably he meant those strangers who had come to the festival. These numbers only added to the miseries of the inhabitants, by consuming the stores and hastening the general distress and famine. Yet, even the day of sacrifice was chosen by John of Gischala, for an act of treachery and bloodshed.

When Eleazar opened the gates of the court to admit the worshippers, some of John's most desperate adherents, without having performed their ablutions, (Josephus adds this as a great aggravation of the crime,) stole in among the rest with their swords under their cloaks. No sooner were they within, than they threw away their cloaks, and the peaceful multitude beheld the swords of these dauntless ruffians flashing over their heads. The worshippers apprehended a general massacre. Eleazar's Zealots knew well on whom the attack was made. They leaped down and took refuge in the subterranean chambers of the temple. The multitude cowered round the altar; some were slain out of wantonness, or from private animosity—others trampled to death. At length, having glutted their vengeance upon those with whom they had no feud, the partisans of John came to terms with their real enemies. They were permitted to come up out of their hiding-places, even to resume their arms, and Eleazar was still left in command; but one faction became thus absorbed in another, and two parties instead of three divided the city.

In the mean time Titus was cautiously advancing his approaches. The whole plain from Scopos to the outward wall was levelled. The blooming gardens with their bubbling fountains, and cool water-courses, in which the inhabitants of Jerusalem had enjoyed sweet hours of delight and recreation, were ruthlessly swept away. The trees, now in their spring flower, fell before the axe, the landmarks were thrown down, the water-courses destroyed: even the deep and shady glens were levelled and filled up with the masses of rugged and picturesque rocks which used to overshadow them. A broad and level road led from Scopos to the tomb of Herod, near the pool of Serpents.

While this work was proceeding, one day, a considerable body of the Jews was seen to come, as if driven out, from the gate near the tower of the Women. They stood cowering under the walls as if dreading the attack of the Romans. It seemed as if the peace party had expelled the fiercer insurgents, for many at the same time were seen upon the walls, holding out their right hands in token of surrender, and making signs that they would open the gates. At the same time they began to throw down stones on those without; the latter appeared at one moment to endeavour to force their way back, and to supplicate the mercy of those on the walls; at another to advance towards the Romans, and then retreat as if in terror. The unsuspecting soldiers were about to charge in a body, but the more wary Titus ordered them to remain in their position. A few, however, who were in front of the workmen, seized their arms and advanced towards the gates. The Jews fled, till their pursuers were so close to the gates as to be within the flanking towers. They then turned, others sallied forth and surrounded the Romans, while those on the walls

hurled down stones and every kind of missile on their heads. After suffering great loss in killed and wounded, some of them effected their retreat, and were pursued by the Jews to the monument of Helena. The Jews, not content with their victory, stood and laughed at the Romans for having been deceived by so simple a stratagem, clashed their shields, and assailed them with every ludicrous and opprobrious epithet. Nor was this the worst; they were received with stern reproof by their tribunes, and Cæsar himsely addressed them in the language of the strongest rebuke: "The Jews," he said, "who have no leader but despair, do everything with the utmost coolness and precaution, lay ambushes, and plot stratagems; while the Romans, who used to enslave fortune by their steady discipline, are become so rash and disorderly, as to venture into battle without command." He then threatened, and was actually about to put into execution, the military law, which punished such a breach of order with death—had not the other troops surrounded him, entreating mercy for their fellow-soldiers, and pledging themselves to redeem the blow by their future regularity and discipline. Cæsar was with difficulty appeased.

The approach to the city was now complete, and the army took up a position along the northern and western wall. They were drawn up, the foot in front, seven deep, the horse behind, three deep, with the archers between them. The Jews were thus effectually blockaded; and the beasts of burthen, which carried the baggage, came up to the camp in perfect security. Titus himself encamped about a quarter of a mile from the wall, near the tower Psephina; another part of the army near the tower called Hippicus, at the same distance; the tenth legion kept its station near the mount of Olives.

Jerusalem at this period was fortified by three walls, in all those parts where it was not surrounded by abrupt and impassable ravines; there it had but one. Not that these walls stood one within the other, each in a narrower circle running round the whole city; but each of the inner walls defended one of the several quarters into which the city was divided—or it might be almost said, one of the separate cities. Since the days in which David had built his capital on the rugged heights of Sion, great alterations had taken place in Jerusalem. That eminence was still occupied by the upper city; but in addition, first the hill of Moriah had been taken in, on which the temple stood; then Acra, which was originally, although a part of the same ridge, separated by a deep chasm from Moriah. This chasm was almost entirely filled up, and the top of Acra levelled by the Asmonean princes, so that Acra and Moriah were united, though on the side of Acra the temple presented a formidable front, connected by several bridges or causeways with the lower city.

To the south the height of Sion, the upper city, was separated from the lower by a ravine, which ran right through Jerusalem, called the Tyropœon, or the valley of the Cheesemongers: at the edge of this ravine, on both sides, the streets suddenly broke off, though the walls in some places must have crossed it, and it was bridged in more than one part. To the north extended a considerable suburb called Bezetha, or the new city.

The first or outer wall encompassed Bezetha. Agrippa the First had intended, as it has been mentioned, to make this of extraordinary strength: but he had desisted from the work, on the interference of the Romans; who appear to have foreseen that this refractory city would hereafter force them to take arms against it. Had this wall been built according to the plan of Agrippa, the city, in the opinion of Josephus, would have been impregnable. This wall began at the tower Hippicus, which stood, it seems, on a point at the extreme corner of Mount Sion: it must have crossed the western mouth of the valley of Tyropœa, and run directly north to the tower of Psephina, proved clearly by D'Anville to have been what was called during the crusades Castel Pisano. It then bore towards the monument of Helena, ran by the royal caverns to the Fuller's monument, and was carried into the valley of Kedron or Jehoshaphat, where it joined the old or inner wall under the temple. The wall, however it fell short of Agrippa's design, was of considerable strength. The stones were 35 feet long, so solid as not easily to be shaken by battering engines, or undermined. It was 17½ feet broad; it had only been carried to the same height by Agrippa, but it had been hastily run up by the Jews to 35 feet; on its top stood battlements 3½ feet, and pinnacles 5¾; so the whole was nearly 45 feet high.

The second wall began at a gate in the old or inner one, called Gennath, the gate of the gardens; it intersected the lower city, and having struck northward for some distance, turned to the east and joined the north-west corner of the citadel of Antonia. The Antonia stood at the north-west corner of the temple, and was separated from Bezetha by a deep ditch, which probably protected the whole northern front of the temple, as well as of the Antonia.

The old or inner wall was that of Sion. Starting from the south-western porticoes of the temple, to which it was united, it ran along the ridge of the Tyropœon, passed first the Xystus, then the Council-house, and abutted on the tower Hippicus, from whence the northern wall sprang. The old wall then ran southward through Bethso to the gate of the Essenes, all along the ridge of the valley of Hinnom, then eastward again to the pool of Solomon, so on through Ophla, probably a deep glen: it there joined the eastern portico of the temple. Thus there were, it

might seem, four distinct towns, each requiring a separate siege. The capture of the first wall only opened Bezetha, the fortifications of the northern part of the temple, the Antonia, and the second wall still defended the other quarters. The second wall forced, only a part of the lower city was won; the strong rock-built citadel of Antonia and the temple on one hand, and Sion on the other, were not in the least weakened.

The whole circuit of these walls was guarded with towers, built of the same solid masonry with the rest of the walls. They were 35 feet broad, and 35 high; but above this height, were lofty chambers, and above those again upper rooms, and large tanks to receive the rain-water. Broad flights of steps led up to them. Ninety of these towers stood in the first wall, fourteen in the second, and sixty in the third. The intervals between the towers were about 350 feet. The whole circuit of the city according to Josephus was 33 stadia—rather more than 4 miles. The most magnificent of all these towers was that of Psephina, opposite to which Titus encamped. It was 122½ feet high, and commanded a noble view of the whole territory of Judæa, to the border of Arabia, and to the sea; it was an octagon. Answering to this was the tower Hippicus, and following the old wall, stood those of Phasaelis and Mariamne, built by Herod, and named after his wife and his brother and friend. These were stupendous even as works of Herod. Hippicus was square; 43¾ feet each way. The whole height of the tower was 140 feet—the tower itself 52½, a deep tank or reservoir 35, two stories of chambers 43¾, battlements and pinnacles 8¾. Phasaelis was a solid square of 70 feet. It was surrounded by a portico 17½ feet high, defended by breastworks and bulwarks, and above the portico was another tower, divided into lofty chambers and baths. It was more richly ornamented than the rest with battlements and pinnacles, so that its whole height was above 167 feet. It looked from a distance like the tall Pharos of Alexandria. This stately palace was the dwelling of Simon. Mariamne, though not equal in elevation, was more luxuriously fitted up; it was built of solid wall 35 feet high, and the same width: on the whole, with the upper chambers, it was about 76¾ high. These lofty towers appeared still higher from their situation. They stood upon the old wall, which ran along the steep brow of Sion. The masonry was perfect: they were built of white marble, cut in blocks 35 feet long, 17½ wide, 8¼ high, so fitted that the towers seemed hewn out of the solid quarry.

Such was the strength of the city which Titus surveyed from the surrounding heights, if with something like awe at its impregnable strength, with still greater wonder and admiration at its unexampled magnificence: for within these towers stood the palace of the Kings, of the most extraordinary size and splendour.

It was surrounded by a wall 35 feet high, which was adorned by towers at equal distances, and by spacious barrack rooms with 100 beds in each. It was paved with every variety of rare marble; timbers of unequalled length and workmanship supported the roofs. The chambers were countless, adorned with all kinds of figures, the richest furniture, and vessels of gold and silver. There were numerous cloisters, of columns of different orders, the squares within of beautiful verdure; around were groves and avenues, with fountains and tanks, and bronze statues pouring out the water. There were likewise large houses for tame doves. Much of this magnificence, however, had already run to waste and ruin, during the conflict within the city. The beautiful gardens were desolate, the chambers plundered. A fire, that originated in the Antonia, had crossed over to the palace and injured a considerable part, even the roofs of the three towers.

The fortress Antonia stood alone, on a precipitous rock near 90 feet high, at the north-west corner of the temple. It was likewise a work of Herod. The whole face of the rock was fronted with smooth stone for ornament, and to make the ascent so slippery as to be impracticable; round the top of the rock there was first a low wall, rather more than five feet high. The fortress was 70 feet in height. It had every luxury and convenience of a sumptuous palace, or even of a city; spacious halls, courts, and baths. It appeared like a vast square tower, with four other towers at each corner: three of them between 80 and 90 feet high: that at the corner next to the temple above 120. From this the whole temple might be seen, and broad flights of steps led down into the northern and western cloisters or porticoes of the temple, in which, during the Roman government, their guard was stationed.

High above the whole city rose the temple, uniting the commanding strength of a citadel with the splendour of a sacred edifice. According to Josephus the esplanade on which it stood had been considerably enlarged by the accumulation of fresh soil, since the days of Solomon, particularly on the north side. It now covered a square of a furlong each side.* Solomon had faced the precipitous sides of the rock on the east, and perhaps the south, with huge blocks of stone; the other sides likewise had been built up with perpendicular walls to an equal height. These walls in no part were lower than 300 cubits, 525 feet; but their whole height was not seen, excepting on the eastern and perhaps the southern sides, as the earth was heaped up to the level of the streets of the city. Some of the stones employed in this work were of the size of 70 feet, probably, in length.

* D'Anville, from an estimate of the present area of the hill, is inclined to suppose that the whole ought to be nearly ten instead of six stadia.

On this gigantic foundation ran on each front a strong and lofty wall without; within, a spacious double portico or cloister 52½ feet broad, supported by 162 columns, which supported a cedar ceiling of the most exquisite workmanship. The pillars were entire blocks hewn out of solid marble, of dazzling whiteness, 43¾ high. On the south side, the portico or cloister was triple.

This quadrangle had but one gate to the east, one to the north, two to the south, four to the west; one of these led to the palace, one to the city, one at the corner to the Antonia, one down towards the gardens.

The open courts were paved with various inlaid marbles. Between this outer court of the Gentiles, and the second court of the Israelites, ran rails of stone, but of beautiful workmanship, rather more than five feet high. Along these, at regular intervals, stood pillars with inscriptions in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin—warning all strangers, and Jews who were unclean, from entering into the Holy Court beyond. An ascent of 14 steps led to a terrace 17½ feet wide, beyond which arose the wall of the Inner Court. This wall appeared on the outside 70 feet, on the inside 43¾; for besides the ascent of 14 steps to the terrace, there were five more up to the gates. The Inner Court had no gate or opening to the west, but four on the north, and four on the south, two to the east, one of which was for the women, for whom a part of the Inner Court was set apart—and beyond which they might not advance; to this they had access likewise by one of the northern and one of the southern gates, which were set apart for their use. Around this court ran another splendid range of porticoes or cloisters: the columns were quite equal in beauty and workmanship, though not in size, to those of the outer portico. Nine of these gates, or rather gateway towers, were richly adorned with gold and silver on the doors, the door-posts, and the lintels. The doors of each of the nine gates were 52½ feet high, and half that breadth. Within, the gateways were 52½ feet wide and deep, with rooms on each side, so that the whole looked like lofty towers: the height from the base to the summit was 70 feet. Each gateway had two lofty pillars 21 feet in circumference. But that which excited the greatest admiration was the tenth, usually called the Beautiful Gate of the Temple. It was of Corinthian brass of the finest workmanship. The height of the Beautiful Gate was 87½, its doors 70 feet. The father of Tiberius Alexander had sheeted these gates with gold and silver; his apostate son was to witness their ruin by the plundering hands and fiery torches of his Roman friends. Within this quadrangle there was a further separation; a low wall which divided the priests from the Israelites: near this stood the great brazen altar. Beyond, the Temple itself

reared its glittering front. The great porch or Propyleon, according to the design of the last, or Herod's Temple, extended to a much greater width than the body of the temple; in addition to the former width of 105 feet, it had two wings of 35 each, making in the whole 175. The great gate of this last quadrangle, to which there was an ascent of twelve steps, was called that of Nicanor. The gateway tower was 132½ feet high, 43½ wide: it had no doors, but the frontispiece was covered with gold, and through its spacious arch was seen the golden gate of the temple glittering with the same precious metal, with large plates of which it was sheeted all over. Above this gate hung the celebrated golden vine. This extraordinary piece of workmanship had bunches, according to Josephus, as large as a man. The Rabbins add that "like a true natural vine, it grew greater and greater; men would be offering, some, gold to make a leaf, some a grape, some a bunch: and these were hung up upon it, and so it was increasing continually."

The temple itself, excepting in the extension of the wings of the Propyleon, was probably the same in its dimensions and distribution with that of Solomon. It contained the same holy treasures, if not of equal magnificence, yet by the zeal of successive ages, the frequent plunder to which it had been exposed was constantly replaced; and within, the golden candlestick spread out its flowering branches; the golden table supported the show-bread, and the altar of incense flamed with its costly perfume. The roof of the temple had been set all over on the outside with sharp golden spikes, to prevent the birds from settling, and defiling the roof; and the gates were still sheeted with plates of the same splendid metal. At a distance, the whole temple looked literally like "a mount of snow, fretted with golden pinnacles."

Looking down upon its marble courts, and on the temple itself, when the sun arose above the Mount of Olives, which it directly faced, it was impossible, even for a Roman, not to be struck with wonder, or even for a Stoic, like Titus, not to betray his emotion. Yet this was the city which in a few months was to lie a heap of undistinguished ruins; and the solid temple itself, which seemed built for eternity, not "to have one stone left upon another."

Surveying all this, Titus, escorted by a strong guard of horse, rode slowly round the city; but if thoughts of mercy occasionally entered into a heart, the natural humanity of which seems to have been steeled during the whole course of the siege, the Jews were sure to expel them again, by some new indication of their obstinate ferocity. As he passed along, Nicanor, an intimate friend of the emperor, was so imprudent as to venture near the walls with Josephus, to parley with the besieged; he was

answered by an arrow through the right shoulder. Titus immediately ordered the suburbs to be set on fire, and all the trees to be cut down to make his embankments. He determined to direct his attack against the part of the outer wall, which was the lowest, on account of the buildings of Bezetha not reaching up to it, near the tomb of John the high priest. As the approaches were made, and the day of assault was visibly drawing near, the people began to have some cessation of their miseries, as their worst enemies, those within the gates, were employed against the Romans; and they looked forward to a still further release when the Romans should force the city.

Simon, it has been before stated, had 10,000 of his own men, and 5000 Idumeans; John 6000; 2400 remained under the command of Eleazar. The cautious John would not venture forth himself from his lair in the temple, not from want of valour or animosity against the enemy, but from a suspicion of Simon; but his men went forth to fight in the common cause. The more open and indefatigable Simon was never at rest: he mounted all the military engines, taken from Cestius, on the walls; but they did little damage, as his men wanted skill and practice to work them. But they harassed the Roman workmen, by stones and missiles from the walls, and by perpetual sallies. Under their penthouses of wicker-work, the Romans laboured diligently; the tenth legion distinguished itself, and having more powerful engines, both for the discharge of arrows and of stones, than the others, not merely repelled those who sallied, but threw stones, the weight of a talent, a distance of two furlongs, upon the walls. The Jews set men to watch the huge rocks, which came thundering down upon their heads. They were easily visible, from their extreme whiteness, (this, it seems, must have been by night;) the watchmen shouted aloud in their native tongue, *The bolt is coming!* on which they all bowed their heads and avoided the blow. The Romans found out this, and blackened the stones, which, now taking them unawares, struck down and crushed, not merely single men, but whole ranks. Night and day the Romans toiled; night and day, by stratagem and force, the Jews impeded their progress. When the works were finished, the engineers measured the space to the walls with lead and line, thrown from the engines, for they dared not approach nearer. Having first advanced the engines, which discharged stones and arrows, nearer the wall, so as to cover the engineers, Titus ordered the rams to play. At three different places they began their thundering work; the besieged answered with shouts, but shouts of terror. It became evident that nothing less than an united effort could now repel the foe. Simon proclaimed an amnesty to all John's followers, who would descend to man the wall. John, though still suspicious, did not oppose their going;

and the two parties fought side by side from the walls with emulous valour, striving to set the engines on fire, by discharging combustibles from above; others sallied forth in troops, tore the defences from the engines, and killed the engineers. Titus, on his side, was indefatigable; he posted horsemen and bowmen in the intervals between the machines, to repel the assailants. So the formidable machines, called Helepoleis, the takers of cities, pursued undisturbed their furious battering. At length a corner tower came down, but the walls stood firm, and offered no practicable breach.

Whether awed by this circumstance, or weary with fighting, the Jews seemed on a sudden to desist from their furious sallies. The Romans were dispersed about the works and entrenchments: suddenly, through an unperceived gate, near the tower Hippicus, the whole united force of the besieged came pouring forth with flaming brands to set the machines on fire. They spread on to the edge of the entrenchments. The Romans gathered hastily, but Jewish valour prevailed over Roman discipline. The besiegers were put to flight, and then a terrible conflict took place about the engines, which had all been fired but for the manful resistance of some Alexandrians, who gave Cæsar time to come up with his horse. Titus killed twelve men with his own hand, and the rest at length sullenly retreated; one Jew was taken prisoner, and crucified—the first instance of that unjustifiable barbarity—before the walls. John, the captain of the Idumeans, was shot by an Arab, during a parley with a Roman soldier; he was a man of courage and prudence, and his death was greatly lamented. Exhausted with the conflict of the day, the Roman army retired to repose. There was a total silence throughout the vast camp, broken only by the pacing of the sentinel; when suddenly a tremendous crash seemed to shake the earth, and the crumbling noise of falling stones continued for a few moments. The legionaries started to arms, and, half naked, looked through the dim night, expecting every instant to see the gleaming swords and furious faces of their enemies glaring upon them. All was still and motionless. They stood gazing upon each other, and hastily passed the word; and as their own men began to move about, they mistook them for the enemy, and were well nigh seized with a panic flight. The presence of Titus reassured them, and the cause of the alarm soon became known. They had built three towers upon their embankment, nearly ninety feet high; one of them had fallen with its own weight, and given rise to the confusion.

These towers did the most fatal damage to the Jews. Beyond the range of arrows from their height, from their weight they were not to be overthrown, and, being plated with iron, would not take fire. From the tops of these the men showered

continually every kind of missile, till at length the defenders retired from the walls, and left the battering engines to perform their work undisturbed. There was one of these Helepoleis, or battering engines, called by the Jews themselves Nico, the Victorious, for it beat down everything before it. Nico did not cease to thunder day and night, till at length the wall began to totter. The Jews, exhausted by fatigue, and harassed with passing the night far from their own houses within the city, began to grow careless and indifferent about the suburb; and at once, abandoning their posts, retreated to the second wall. The Romans entered Bezetha, and threw down a great part of the wall. Titus took up a position, near what was called the Camp of the Assyrians, stretching as far as the brook Kedron, and he immediately gave orders for the attack of the second wall. Here the conflict became more terrible than ever; the party of John defended the Antonia and the northern cloister of the temple; that of Simon, the rest of the wall to a gate, through which an aqueduct passed to the tower Hippicus. The Jews made perpetual sallies, and fought with the most dauntless courage. Without the wall the Roman discipline in general prevailed, and they were driven back; from the walls, on the other hand, they had manifest advantage. Both parties passed the night in arms —the Jews from fear of leaving their walls defenceless—the Romans, in constant dread of a surprise. At dawn the battle began again; on the one hand, Simon acted the part of a most gallant commander, and his influence and example excited his men to the most daring exploits; on the other, the desire of speedily putting an end to the war; the confidence in their own superior discipline; the assurance that the Roman arms were irresistible; the pride of their first success; above all, the presence of Titus, kept up the stubborn courage of the assailants. Longinus, a Roman knight, greatly distinguished himself, by charging singly into a whole squadron of the Jews; he killed two men, and came safely off. But the Jews were entirely reckless of their own lives, and sacrificed them readily if they could but kill one of their enemies. Before long the great Helepoleis began to thunder against the central tower of the wall. The defenders fled in terror, except a man named Castor, and ten others. At first these men lay quiet; but as the tower began to totter above their heads, they rose, and stretched out their hands in an attitude of supplication. Castor called on Titus by name, and entreated mercy. Titus ordered the shocks of the engine, and the discharge of arrows, to cease, and gave Castor permission to speak. Castor expressed his earnest desire to surrender, to which Titus replied, that he would the whole city were of the same mind, and inclined honourably to capitulate. Five of Castor's men appeared to take his part; the other five, with

savage cries, to reproach them for their dastardly baseness. A fierce quarrel seemed to ensue; in the mean time the attack was entirely suspended, and Castor sent secret notice to Simon, that he would amuse the emperor some time longer. In the mean time, he appeared to be earnestly expostulating with the opposite party, who stood upon the breast-works, brandishing their swords; and at length, striking their own bosoms, seemingly fell dead. The Romans, who did not see very distinctly from below, were amazed at what they supposed the desperate resolution of the men, and even pitied their fate. In the mean time, Castor was wounded in the nose by an arrow, which he drew out, and showed it indignantly to Cæsar, as if he had been ungenerously treated. Titus sternly rebuked the man who had shot it, and desired Josephus to go forward and parley with Castor. But Josephus knew his countrymen too well, and declined the service. Upon this, one Æneas, a deserter, offered his services. Castor called him to come near to catch some money, which he wished to throw down. Æneas opened the folds of his robe to receive it, and Castor immediately levelled a huge stone at his head; it missed Æneas, but wounded a soldier near him. Cæsar, furious at having been thus tricked, ordered the engines to be worked more vigorously than ever. Castor and his men set the tower on fire, and when it was blazing, appeared to leap boldly into the flames; in fact, they had thrown themselves into a subterraneous passage, which led into the city.

The fifth day the Jews retreated from the second wall, and Titus entered that part of the lower city, which was within it, with 1000 picked men. The streets of the wool-sellers, the braziers, and the clothiers, led obliquely to the wall.

Instead of throwing down the walls and burning as he went on, Titus, with a view of gaining the people, issued orders that no houses should be set on fire, and no massacre committed. He gave out, that he was desirous of separating the cause of the people from that of the garrison, that to the former he would readily restore all their property. The fierce insurgents hailed this as a sign of weakness, threatened all the people with instant death if they stirred, slew without mercy every one who uttered a word about peace, and then fell furiously on the Romans. Some fought on the houses, some from the walls, some along the narrow streets; others, sallying from the upper gates, fell on the camp behind. The guards who were upon the walls leaped down, and totally abandoned their companions within the newly conquered part of the city. All was confusion; those who reached the wall were surrounded, and looked in vain for succour from their associates without, who had enough to do to defend their own camp. The Jews increased every instant in numbers; they knew every lane and alley of the city, they appeared on every side, and started

up where they were the least expected. The Romans could not retreat, for the narrowness of the breach would only allow them to retire very slowly. Titus, at last, came to their assistance, and by placing archers at the ends of the lanes and streets, kept the assailants back, and at last brought off most of his men, but they had totally lost the fruits of their victory.

This success raised the spirits of the besieged to the highest pitch of elevation; they thought that whenever the Romans should venture again into the streets, if indeed they would be rash enough to do so, they would be repelled with the same loss and disgrace. But they thought not of the secret malady which was now beginning to sap their own strength—the want of provisions. As yet, indeed, though many were absolutely perishing with hunger, as these were only the disaffected populace, they rather rejoiced at being rid of the burthen, than deplored the loss. As for the breach, they manned it boldly, and made a wall of their own bodies, fighting for three days without intermission. On the fourth they were forced to retire, and Titus, entering the wall a second time, threw down the whole northern part of it, and strongly garrisoned the towers towards the south.

Two walls had fallen, but still the precipitous heights of Sion, the impregnable Antonia, and the stately temple, lowered defiance on the invaders. Titus determined to suspend the siege for a few days, in order to allow time for the terror of his conquests to operate on the minds of the besieged, and for the slow famine to undermine their strength and courage. He employed the time in making a magnificent review of all his troops, who were to receive their pay in view of the whole city. The troops defiled slowly in their best attire with their arms taken out of their cases and their breastplates on; the cavalry leading their horses, accoutred in their most splendid trappings. The whole suburbs gleamed with gold and silver. The Romans beheld the spectacle with pride, the Jews with consternation. The whole length of the old wall, the northern cloisters of the temple, every window, every roof, was crowded with heads, looking down, some with stern and scowling expressions of hate and defiance; others, in undisguised terror; some emaciated with famine, others heated with intemperance. The sight might have appalled the boldest; but the insurgents knew that they had offended too deeply to trust to Roman mercy, and that nothing remained but still to contend with the stubborn obstinacy of desperation. For four days this procession continued defiling beneath the walls; on the fifth, as no overtures for capitulation were made, Titus gave orders to recommence the siege: one part of the army was employed to raise embankments against the Antonia, where John and his followers fought; the rest against the monument of John the high priest, on part of the wall defended by Simon. The Jews had

now learned, by long practice, the use of their military engines, and plied them from their heights with tremendous effect. They had 300 scorpions, for the discharge of darts; and 40 balistas, which threw enormous stones. Titus used every means to induce them to surrender, and sent Josephus to address them in their native language. Josephus with some difficulty found a place from whence he might be heard, and, at the same time, be out of arrow-shot. Whether his prudence marred the effect of his oratory or not, by his own statement, he addressed to them a long harangue. He urged their own interest in the preservation of the city and temple, the unconquerable power of the Romans, their mercy in offering terms of capitulation, and he dwelt on the famine which had begun to waste their strength. Neither the orator himself, nor his topics, were very acceptable to the fierce Zealots. They scoffed at him, reviled him, and hurled their darts against his head. Josephus then reverted to the ancient history of the nation; he urged that the Jewish people had never yet relied on such defenders, but ever on their God. "Such was the trust of Abraham, who did not resist, when Necho, the Pharaoh of Egypt, took away his wife Sarah!" The orator seems here to have reckoned on the ignorance of his audience. He then recounted first the great deliverances, then the great calamities of the nation and proceeded in a strain of vehement invective, little calculated to excite anything but furious indignation in the minds of the Zealots.* They, as might be expected, were only more irritated. The people, by his account, were touched by his expostulations; probably their miseries and the famine argued more powerfully to their hearts: they began to desert in numbers. Some sold their property at the lowest price, others swallowed their more valuable articles, gold and jewels, and when they fled to the Romans unloaded themselves of their precious burthens. Titus allowed them to pass unmolested. The news of their escape excited many others to follow their example, though John and Simon watched every outlet of the city, and executed without mercy all whom they suspected of a design to fly. This too was a convenient charge, by which they could put to death as many of the more wealthy as they chose.

In the mean time the famine increased, and with the famine the desperation of the insurgents. No grain was exposed for public sale: they forced open and searched the houses; if they found any, they punished the owners for their refusal; if none was discovered, they tortured them with greater cruelty for concealing it with such care. The looks of the wretched beings

* Josephus even appealed to miracles wrought in favour of the Romans; he asserted that the fountain of Siloam, and other water springs, which had failed entirely while they were in the power of the Jews, no sooner came into the possession of the Romans, than they began to flow abundantly.

were the marks by which they judged whether they had any secret store or not. Those who were hale and strong were condemned as guilty of concealment: they passed by only the pale and emaciated. The wealthy secretly sold their whole property for a measure of wheat, the poorer for one of barley, and shrouding themselves in the darkest recesses of their houses, devoured it unground: others made bread, snatched it half-baked from the embers, and tore it with their teeth. The misery of the weaker was aggravated by seeing the plenty of the stronger. Every kind feeling—love—respect—natural affection—were extinct through the all-absorbing want. Wives would snatch the last morsel from husbands, children from parents, mothers from children; they would intercept even their own milk from the lips of their pining babes. Even the most scanty supply of food was consumed in terror and peril. The marauders were always prowling about. If a house was closed, they supposed that eating was going on, they burst in, and squeezed the crumbs from the mouths and the throats of those who had swallowed them. Old men were scourged till they surrendered the food, to which their hands clung desperately: and even were dragged about by the hair, till they gave up what they had. Children were seized as they hung upon the miserable morsels they had got, whirled around and dashed upon the pavement. Those who anticipated the plunderers, by swallowing every atom, were treated still more cruelly, as if they had wronged those who came to rob them. Tortures, which cannot be related with decency, were employed against those who had a loaf, or a handful of barley. Nor did their own necessities excuse these cruelties; sometimes it was done by those who had abundance of food, with a deliberate design of husbanding their own resources. If any wretches crept out near the Roman posts to pick up some miserable herbs or vegetables, they were plundered on their return; and if they entreated, in the awful name of God, that some portion at least might be left them of what they had obtained at the hazard of their lives, they might think themselves well off if they escaped being killed as well as pillaged.

Such were the cruelties exercised on the lower orders by the satellites of the tyrants; the richer and more distinguished were carried before the tyrants themselves. Some were accused of treasonable correspondence with the Romans; others with an intention to desert. He that was plundered by Simon was sent to John; he that had been stripped by John was made over to Simon; so, by turns, they, as it were, shared the bodies, and drained the blood of the citizens. Their ambition made them enemies; their common crimes united them in friendship. They were jealous if either deprived the other of his share in some

flagrant cruelty; and complained of being wronged if excluded from some atrocious iniquity.

The blood runs cold, and the heart sickens, at these unexampled horrors; and we take refuge in a kind of desperate hope that they have been exaggerated by the historian: those which follow, perpetrated under his own eyes by his Roman friends, and justified under the all-extenuating plea of necessity, admit of no such reservation—they must be believed in their naked and unmitigated barbarity. Many poor wretches, some few of them insurgents, but mostly the poorest of the people, would steal down the ravines by night, to pick up whatever might serve for food. They would, most of them, willingly have deserted, but hesitated to leave their wives and children to be murdered. For these Titus laid men in ambush; when attacked, they defended themselves; as a punishment, they were scourged, tortured, and crucified before the walls; and in the morning, sometimes 500, sometimes more, of these miserable beings were seen writhing on crosses before the walls. This was done, because it was thought unsafe to let them escape, and to terrify the rest. The soldiers added ridicule to their cruelty; they would place the bodies in all sorts of ludicrous postures; and this went on till room was wanting for the crosses, and crosses for the bodies.

These executions produced a contrary effect to that which was contemplated. The Zealots dragged the relatives of the deserters, and all they suspected as inclined towards peace, up to the walls, and bade them behold those examples of Roman mercy. This checked the desertion, excepting in those who thought it better to be killed at once than to die slowly of hunger. Titus sent others back to Simon and John, with their hands cut off, exhorting them to capitulate, and not to force him to destroy the city and the temple. It cannot be wondered, that as Titus went round the works, he was saluted from all parts, in contempt of the imperial dignity, with the loudest and bitterest execrations against his own name and that of his father.

At this time a son of the king of Commagene, called Antiochus Epiphanes, a name of ominous sound to Jerusalem, joined the Roman camp with a chosen band of youths, dressed and armed in the Macedonian fashion. He expressed his wonder at the delay of the Romans in assaulting the wall. Titus gave him free leave to make the attempt, which he did with great valour but with little success, notwithstanding his vaunting; for though he escaped, all his men were severely mutilated and wounded by the besieged.

After seventeen days' labour, on the 27th or 29th of May, the embankments were raised in four separate places; that of the fifth legion began near the pool of the Sparrows; that of the

twelfth about thirty-five feet further off; that of the tenth on the north, near the pool of the Almond Trees; and that of the fifteenth on the east, near the Monument of John. All was prepared; the engines mounted, and the troops stood awaiting the assault, when suddenly the whole ground between the embankments and the wall was seen to heave and roll like a sea. Presently thick masses of smoke came curling heavily up, followed by dim and lurid flames; the whole then sank, the engines and the embankments rolled down together into the fiery abyss, and were either buried or consumed. John had undermined the whole, piled below an immense quantity of pitch, sulphur, and other combustibles, set fire to the wooden supports, and thus destroyed the labours of seventeen days.

The Jewish captains were rivals in valour as in guilt. Two days after, Simon, on his side, made a desperate attack on the engines, which had already begun to shake the walls. Tepthaus, a Galilean, Megassar, formerly an attendant on Mariamne, and a man of Adiabene, the son of Nebat, called Chagiras, (the lame,) rushed fiercely out, with torches in their hands. These men were the bravest as well as the most cruel of the Zealots. They were not repelled till they had set fire to the Helepolis. The Romans crowded to extinguish the fire; the Jews from the walls, covered their men, who, though the iron of the engines was red hot, would not relax their hold. The fire spread to the other works, and the Romans, encompassed on all sides by the flames, retreated to their camp. The Jews followed up their success, and, all fury and triumph, rushed upon the trenches, and assailed the guards. By the Roman discipline it was death to desert such a post. The guards stubbornly resisted, and were killed in numbers. The scorpions and balistas of the Romans rained a shower of mortal missiles, but the Jews, utterly regardless of defending themselves, still pushed fiercely on, swarm after swarm pouring out of the city; so that Titus, who had been absent reconnoitring the Antonia, in order to find a new spot to fix his engines, found the whole army besieged and even wavering. He charged with his men resolutely against the Jews, who turned round and faced his attack. Such was the dust and noise, that no one could see, hear, or distinguish friend from foe. The event of the contest left the Romans dispirited by the loss of their battering train, and with little hope of taking the city with the ordinary engines that remained. Titus summoned a council of war; three plans were discussed, to storm the city immediately, to repair the works and rebuild the engines, or to blockade and starve the garrison to surrender. The last was preferred; and the whole army set to work upon the trench, each legion and each rank vying with the rest in activity. The trench ran from the

"camp of the Assyrians," where Titus was encamped, to the lower part of Bezetha, along the valley of Cedron, and the ridge of the Mount of Olives, to a rock called Peristereon, at the mouth of the valley of Siloam, and a hill which hangs over Siloe, thence to the west to the valley of the Fountain, thence ascending to the sepulchre of the high priest Ananias, round the mountain where Pompey's camp was formerly pitched, by a village called that of Erebinth, or Pulse, then turned eastward again and joined the camp: the whole work was within a furlong of five miles; it was surmounted by thirteen garrison towers, and was entirely finished in three days.

It can scarcely be doubted but that there must have been, within the walls of Jerusalem, many so closely connected with the Christians, as to be well acquainted with the prophetic warning which had induced that people to leave the fated city. With what awful force must the truth of the disbelieved or disregarded words have returned to their remembrance, when their enemies had thus literally "cast a trench about them, and compassed them round, and kept them in on every side." But the poor and the lowly would have little time to meditate even on such solemn considerations; for the instant effect of this measure was to increase the horrors of the famine so far, that whole families lay perishing with hunger. The houses were full of dying women and children, the streets with old men, gasping out their last breath. The bodies remained unburied, for either the emaciated relatives had not strength for the melancholy duty, or, in the uncertainty of their own lives, neglected every office of kindness or charity. Some, indeed, died in the act of burying their friends, others crept into the cemeteries, lay down on a bier, and expired. There was no sorrow, no wailing; they had not strength to moan; they sat with dry eyes, and mouths drawn up into a kind of bitter smile. Those who were more hardy looked with envy on those who had already breathed their last. Many died, says the historian, with their eyes still steadily fixed on the temple. There was a deep and heavy silence over the whole city, broken only by the robbers, as they forced open houses to plunder the dead; and in licentious sport, dragged away the last decent covering from their bodies; they would even try the edge of their swords on the dead. The soldiers, dreading the stench of the bodies, at first ordered them to be buried at the expense of the public treasury; as they grew more numerous, they were thrown over the walls into the ravines below.

Titus, as he went his rounds, saw these bodies rotting, and the ground reeking with gore wherever he trod; he groaned, lifted up his hands to heaven, and called God to witness that this was not his work. The Roman camp, in the mean time, was abundantly

supplied; and Titus commanded timber to be brought from a distance, and recommenced his works in four places against the Antonia.

One crime remained of which the robbers had not yet been guilty, and that, Simon now hastened to perpetrate. The high priest, Matthias, a man of feeble character, had passively submitted to all the usurpations of the robber leaders. He it was who admitted Simon to counterpoise the party of John. Matthias was accused, whether justly or not, of intelligence with the Romans; he was led out and executed in the sight of the Romans, with his three sons, the fourth had made his escape. The inoffensive old man only entreated that he might be put to death first; this was denied him, and his sons were massacred before his face, by Ananus, the son of Bamad, the remorseless executioner of Simon's cruelties. Ananias, the son of Masambal, Aristeus, the secretary of the Sanhedrin, and fifteen of its members, were put to death at the same time. The father of Josephus was thrown into prison, and all access to him strictly forbidden. Josephus himself had a narrow escape; he was struck on the head by a stone, and fell insensible. The Jews made a vigorous sally to make themselves masters of his body, but Titus sent troops to his rescue, and he was brought off, though with difficulty. The rumour of his death spread through the city, and reached his mother in her prison; his speedy appearance under the walls reassured his friends, and was quickly imparted to his afflicted parents.

The murder of the high priest, and of the Sanhedrin, at last excited an attempt to shake off the yoke of the tyrants. One Judas, the son of Judas, conspired with ten others to betray one of the towers to the Romans. They offered to surrender it, but the Romans, naturally suspicious, hesitated. In the mean time Simon, as vigilant as he was cruel, had discovered the plot; the conspirators were put to death in the sight of the Romans, and their bodies tumbled from the walls. Still desertion became more frequent; some threw themselves from the walls, and fled for their lives; others, under pretence of issuing forth to skirmish, got within the Roman posts. Many of these famished wretches came to a miserable end. When they obtained food they ate with such avidity as was fatal to their enfeebled frames; few had self-control enough to accustom their stomachs by degrees to the unusual food. Others perished from another cause. A man was seen searching his excrements for some gold which he had swallowed and voided. A report spread through the camp that all the deserters had brought off their treasures in the same manner. Some of the fierce Syrian and Arabian allies set on them and cut open their living bodies in search of gold; two thousand are said to have been killed in this way during one night. Titus was indignant at the horrid barbarity, he threatened to surround the

perpetrators and to cut down their whole squadrons. The number of offenders alone restrained him from inflicting summary justice. He denounced instant death against any one detected in such a crime: but still the love of gold was, in many instances, stronger than the dread of punishment, and that which was before done openly, was still perpetrated secretly.

John, the Zealot, at this time committed an offence, in the opinion of the devout Jews, even more heinous than his most horrible cruelties, that of sacrilege; he seized and melted the treasures of the temple, and even the dishes and vessels used in the service. Probably with revengeful satisfaction he began with the offerings of the Roman emperors. He openly declared, that the holy treasures ought to assist in supporting a holy war. He distributed, also, to the famished people, the sacred wine and oil, which were used and drunk with the greatest avidity. For this offence the historian, Josephus, has reserved his strongest terms of horror and execration; "for such abominations, even if the Romans had stood aloof, the city would have been swallowed by an earthquake, or swept away by a deluge, or would have perished, like Sodom, in a tempest of fire and brimstone."

But by his own account, such calamities would have been as tender mercies to the present sufferings of the Jews. A deserter, who had at one time been appointed to pay for the interment of the dead at a particular gate, stated, that from the 14th of April, when the siege began, to the 1st of July, 115,880 bodies had been buried at the public charge, or thrown from the walls, not including those interred by their friends. Others said, that 600,000 of the poorer people had perished; that when they could no longer bury them, they shut them up in some of the larger houses, and left them there. A measure of wheat was selling for a talent, and the people were raking the very dungheaps for sustenance. Yet still, though dead bodies actually impeded the way of the defenders to the walls, and though the city, like one vast sepulchre, seemed to exhale a pestilential stench, with unbroken resolution which might have become better men, the soldiers both of John and Simon went sternly trampling over dead bodies as over the senseless pavement, and manned the walls with that wild desperation which familiarity with death is apt to engender.

The Romans, in the mean time, laboured hard at their military engines. There was great scarcity of timber; they were obliged to bring it from a considerable distance, so that not a tree was left standing within above ten miles of the city; all the delicious gardens, the fruitful orchards, the shady avenues, where, in their days of peace and happiness, the inhabitants of the devoted city had enjoyed the luxury of their delicious climate, the temperate days of spring, and the cool summer nights, were utterly

destroyed. It was a lamentable sight to behold the whole gay and luxuriant suburban region turned to a frightful solitude.

At length, the tall and fearful engines stood again menacing the walls. Both the Jews and Romans looked at them with apprehension: the Jews, from experience of their tremendous powers; the Romans, from the conviction that if these were burned, from the total want of timber, it would be impossible to supply their places. Josephus confesses that at this period the Roman army was exhausted and dispirited; while their desperate enemies, notwithstanding the seditions, famine, and war, were still as obstinately determined as ever, and went resolutely and even cheerfully forth to battle. Before the engines could be advanced against the walls, the party of John made an attempt to burn them, but without success; for their measures were ill combined, their attack feeble and desultory. For once, the old Jewish courage seemed to fail; so that, advancing without their customary fury, and finding the Romans drawn up in disciplined array, the engines themselves striking down their most forward men, they were speedily repelled, and the Helepolis advanced to the wall, amid showers of stones and fire, and every kind of missile. The engines began to thunder; and the assailants, though sometimes crushed by the stones that were hurled upon them from above, locked their shields over their heads, and worked at the foundation with their hands and with crow-bars, till at length they got out four large stones. Night put an end to the conflict.

During the night, the wall suddenly fell in with a terrific noise; for it happened to stand over that part which John had formerly undermined, in order to destroy the enemy's engines. But when the Romans rushed, in the morning, to the breach, they found a second wall, which John, with true military foresight, had built within, in case of such an emergency. Still this wall was newly made, and comparatively weak. Titus assembled the officers of the army, and made them an energetic address; in which, among other topics, he urged the manifest interference of Divine Providence in their favour, in the unexpected falling of the wall. They listened in silence, till at length a common soldier, a Syrian named Sabinus, a man of great courage, but slender make, and very dark complexion, volunteered to lead a forlorn hope. He threw his shield over his head, grasped his sword, and advanced deliberately to the wall. Only eleven men had courage to follow him. Javelins, weapons of all kinds, and huge stones, came whizzing and thundering around him. Some of his companions were beaten down, but, though covered with darts, he still persisted in mounting, till the Jews, panic stricken at his boldness, and supposing that he was followed by many more, took to flight. He had actually reached the top of the

wall, when his foot slipped, and he fell. The Jews turned and surrounded him. He rose on his knees, still made a gallant defence, wounding many of the enemy; and at length expired, buried under a thousand spears. Of the eleven, three reached the top of the wall, and were killed by stones; eight were carried back, wounded, to the camp. This was on the third of July. Two days after, at the dead of night, twenty soldiers of the guard, with a standard-bearer of the fifth legion, two horsemen, and a trumpeter, crept silently up the breach, surprised and slew the watch, and gave orders to the trumpeter to blow with all his might. The rest of the sentinels, without waiting to see the number of the assailants, fled in terror. Titus, directly he heard the sound of the trumpet, armed his men, and scaled the Antonia. The Jews fled on all sides, some fell into the mines which John had dug under the Roman embankments; but Simon and John, uniting all their forces, made a resolute effort to defend the entrance to the temple. A fierce battle ensued, with spears and javelins; the troops of both parties were so mingled and confused, that no man knew where he was. The narrow passages were crowded with the dead, so that those engaged were obliged to scramble over heaps of bodies and of armour to get at each other. At length, after ten hours' hard fighting, Titus, contented with the possession of the Antonia, recalled his men. But a Bithynian centurion, named Julian, of uncommon strength and skill in the use of his weapons, sprang forward from the side of Titus, where he was standing, and singly charged the Jews with such extraordinary resolution, that they fled on all sides; and Julian forced his way, committing dreadful slaughter as he went on, up to a corner of the inner court of the temple. Unfortunately his shoes were full of nails, and slipping upon the smooth pavement, he fell with his armour clattering around him. The fugitives turned upon him. A loud shout of terror arose from the Romans in the Antonia, answered by a fierce and exulting cry from the Jews. They surrounded the gallant Julian, and though he covered himself with his shield, and repeatedly struggled to rise, he was overpowered by numbers. Still, however, his breast-plate and helmet protected the vital parts, till at length, his limbs having been hewn off, he received a mortal wound, and fell dead. The Jews, to the great grief of Cæsar, dragged the body into the temple, and again drove back the Romans into the Antonia.

It was now the 5th of July.* Titus commanded that the fortress of Antonia should be razed to the ground. He had heard that the daily sacrifice was now intermitted, from want of

* There is here a difficulty about the day. This event is commemorated by the Jews on the 17th of July, the day indicated by Josephus, but it cannot easily be reconciled with the history.

persons to make the offering; and understanding the deep impression made on all the Jews by the suspension of that rite, he determined to try another attempt on their religious feelings. Josephus was sent to offer free egress to John if he would come forth to fight, that the temple might escape defilement. Josephus placed himself so as to be heard by all the Jews; and communicated, in the Hebrew language, the offers of Titus. John replied, in words of the fiercest bitterness, imprecating curses on the head of the renegade Josephus; and concluded, that "he feared not the taking of the city, for it was the city of God." Josephus broke out into a vehement invective, but neither his words, nor the tears or sobs by which he was interrupted, had the slightest effect on John or his soldiers; they rushed out and endeavoured to seize him. Some few, however, were moved.

There were certain men of distinction, who, from time to time, had seized an opportunity of desertion. Among these were Joseph and four chief priests; three sons of Ismael, the high priest; four of Mathias; one of the other Matthias, whom Simon put to death with three of his sons. Titus had received the fugitives with kindness, promised them his protection, and dismissed them to Gophni. These men were sent for, and with Josephus, attempted to persuade the people, if not to capitulate, at least to spare the temple from inevitable defilement and ruin. But all in vain! The sacred gates were blocked up with balistas and catapults; the peaceful temple, with its marble courts and gilded pinnacles, assumed the appearance of a warlike citadel. Its courts were strewn with the dead—men with swords reeking with the blood of the enemy, or of their own countrymen, rushed to and fro along the Holy place, or even the Holy of Holies. Even the Roman soldiers, it is said, shuddered at the profanation. Titus tried a last remonstrance. "You have put up a barrier," he said, "to prevent strangers from polluting your temple: this the Romans have always respected;—we have allowed you to put to death all who violated its precincts. Yet ye defile it yourselves with blood and carnage. I call on your Gods—I call on my whole army—I call on the Jews who are with me—I call on yourselves—to witness, that I do not force you to this crime. Come forth, and fight in any other place: and no Roman shall violate your sacred edifice." But John and his Zealots suspected (it may be with justice) the magnanimity of Titus, and would not surrender a place, the strength of which was their only trust. Perhaps they had still a fanatic confidence, that, reeking as they were with blood, steeped to the lips in crime, they were still the chosen people of Jehovah; and that yet, even yet, the Power which smote Pharaoh, and Sennacherib, and the enemies of the Maccabees, would reveal himself in irresistible terror.

Titus, finding all his offers of mercy rejected, determined on

a night attack: as the whole army could not make the assault, on account of the narrowness of the approaches, thirty men were picked from each century, tribunes appointed over each 1000, and Cerealis chosen to command the whole. Titus himself announced, that he would mount a watch-tower which belonged to the Antonia, in order that he might witness and reward every act of individual bravery. They advanced, when night was three parts over, but found the enemy on the watch. The battle began to the advantage of the Romans, who held together in compact bodies, while the Jews attacked in small troops or singly. In the blind confusion of the night, among the bewildering shouts on all sides, many fell upon each other, and those who were repelled were mistaken for the assailants, and killed by their own men; so that the Jews lost more by their own sword than by the foe. When day dawned the combat continued on more even terms; after eight hours' contest, though the Romans were thus fighting as in a theatre, in view of the emperor, they had not gained a foot of ground; and the battle ceased, as it were, by common consent.

In the mean time, the Romans had levelled part of the Antonia, and made a broad way, by which they could bring their engines to bear upon the temple. They erected their embankments, though with great difficulty, from the scarcity of timber, against four places of the outer court; one opposite the north-east corner of the inner court; one against a building between the two northern gates, one against the western, and another against the northern cloisters. The indefatigable Jews, in the mean time, gave them no rest; if the cavalry went out to forage, and let their horses loose to feed, the Jews would sally out in squadrons and surprise them. They made one desperate assault on the outposts, near the Mount of Olives, in open day; and, but for a charge of cavalry on their flank, had almost succeeded in forcing the wall. In this contest, a horseman, named Pedanius, stooped down, caught up a Jew, with all his armour, carried him by main strength, and threw him down before the feet of Titus. Titus admired the strength of Pedanius, and ordered the captive to be put to death.

Overborne, exhausted, famine-stricken, still the Jews fought, inch by inch; and, according to the historian, sternly sacrificed, as it were, their own limbs, cutting off every foot that the enemy had taken, as if to prevent the progress of the disease. They set on fire the portico which led from the Antonia to the temple, and made a breach of between twenty and thirty feet. Two days after, the Romans, in their turn, set fire to the cloister, and burned above twenty feet more. The Jews looked on calmly, and allowed the flame to spread, till the whole space between the Antonia and the temple was cleared.

But if the holy precincts were thus to perish by fire, they determined that they should not fall unavenged. Along the whole western cloisters they filled the space between the beams and the roof with dry wood, sulphur, and bitumen; they then retreated from the defence, as if quite exhausted. The more prudent of the assailants suspected some stratagem, but many immediately applied the scaling-ladders, and mounted boldly to the roof. At that instant the Jews below set fire to the train; the flames rushed roaring and blazing up among the astonished assailants. Some flung themselves down headlong into the city, others among the enemy; there they lay bruised to death, or with broken limbs: many were burnt alive, others fell on their own swords. In vain they looked to their companions below, in vain they beheld the sorrow of Cæsar himself, who, though they had acted without orders, commiserated their fate. Escape or succour were alike impossible; a few on a broader part of the roof fought valiantly, and died to a man with their arms in their hands. The fate of a youth, named Longinus, created general interest—the Jews offered to spare his life if he would go down and surrender; on the other hand, his brother Cornelius, from below, entreated him not to disgrace the Roman character—the youth stabbed himself to the heart. One Artorius escaped by a singular stratagem: he called to one of his comrades, and offered to leave him his whole property if he would catch him as he fell. The man came below, Artorius jumped down, crushed his friend to death in his fall, and escaped unhurt. Thus a great part of the western cloister was burnt, the Romans set fire to that of the north, and laid it in ashes as far as the north-east corner, near Cedron.

In the mean time the famine continued its fearful ravages. Men would fight, even the dearest friends, for the most miserable morsel. The very dead were searched, as though they might conceal some scrap of food. Even the robbers began to suffer severely; they went prowling about like mad dogs, or reeling, like drunken men, from weakness; and entered and searched the same houses twice or thrice in the same hour. The most loathsome and disgusting food was sold at an enormous price. They gnawed their belts, shoes, and even the leathern coats of their shields—chopt hay and shoots of trees sold at high prices. Yet what were all these horrors to that which followed? There was a woman of Perea, from the village of Bethezob, Mary, the daughter of Eleazar. She possessed considerable wealth when she took refuge in the city. Day after day she had been plundered by the robbers, whom she had provoked by her bitter imprecations. No one, however, would mercifully put an end to her misery; and, her mind maddened with wrong, her body preyed upon by famine, she wildly resolved on an expedient

which might gratify at once her vengeance and her hunger. She had an infant that was vainly endeavouring to obtain some moisture from her dry bosom—she seized it, cooked it, ate one half, and set the other aside. The smoke and the smell of food quickly reached the robbers—they forced her door, and with horrible threats commanded her to give up what she had been feasting on. She replied with appalling indifference, that she had carefully reserved for her good friends a part of her meal—she uncovered the remains of her child. The savage men stood speechless, at which she cried out with a shrill voice, "Eat, for I have eaten—be ye not more delicate than a woman, more tender-hearted than a mother—or if ye are too religious to touch such food, I have eaten half already, leave me the rest." They retired pale and trembling with horror—the story spread rapidly through the city, and reached the Roman camp; where it was first heard with incredulity, afterwards with the deepest commiseration. How dreadfully must the recollection of the words of Moses have fixed themselves upon the minds of all those Jews who were not entirely unread in their holy writings:—"*The tender and delicate woman among you, which would not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground for delicateness and tenderness, her eye shall be evil toward the husband of her bosom, and toward her son, and toward her daughter; and toward her young one that cometh out from between her feet, and toward her children which she shall bear: for she shall eat them for want of all things, secretly in the siege and straitness wherewith thine enemy shall distress thee in thy gates.*"

The destruction of the outer cloisters had left the Romans masters of the great court of the Gentiles; on the 8th of August the engines began to batter the eastern chambers of the inner court. For six previous days the largest and most powerful of the battering-rams had played upon the wall, the enormous size and compactness of the stones had resisted all its efforts; other troops at the same time endeavoured to undermine the northern gate, but with no better success; nothing therefore remained but to fix the scaling-ladders, and storm the cloisters. The Jews made no resistance to their mounting the walls; but as soon as they reached the top hurled them down headlong, or slew them before they could cover themselves with their shields. In some places they thrust down the ladders, loaded with armed men, who fell back, and were dashed to pieces on the pavement. Some of the standard-bearers had led the way, they also were repelled, and the Jews remained masters of the eagles. On the side of the Romans fell many distinguished soldiers; on that of the Jews, Eleazar, the nephew of Simon. Repulsed on all hands from the top of the wall, Titus commanded fire to be set to the gates.

In the mean time Ananus of Emmaus, the bloody executioner of Simon, and Archelaus, son of Magadat, deserted to the Romans. Titus at first intended to put them to death, but afterwards relented.

No sooner had the blazing torches been applied to the gates than the silver plates heated, the wood kindled, the whole flamed up and spread rapidly to the cloisters. Like wild beasts environed in a burning forest, the Jews saw the awful circle of fire hem them in on every side; their courage sank, they stood gasping, motionless, and helpless; not a hand endeavoured to quench the flames, or stop the silent progress of the conflagration. Yet still fierce thoughts of desperate vengeance were brooding in their hearts. Through the whole night and the next day, the fire went on consuming the whole range of cloisters: Titus at length gave orders that it should be extinguished; and the way through the gates levelled for the advance of the legionaries. A council of war was summoned, in which the expediency of destroying the magnificent building was solemnly discussed. It consisted of six of the chief officers of the army, among the rest, of Tiberius Alexander, whose offerings had formerly enriched the splendid edifice. Three of the council insisted on the necessity of destroying for ever this citadel of a mutinous people: it was no longer a temple, but a fortress, and to be treated like a military strong-hold. Titus inclined to milder counsels; the magnificence of the building had made a strong impression upon his mind, and he was reluctant to destroy what might be considered one of the wonders of the Roman empire. Alexander, Fronto, and Cerealis concurred in this opinion, and the soldiers were ordered to do all they could to quench the flames. But higher counsels had otherwise decreed, and the temple of Jerusalem was to be for ever obliterated from the face of the earth. The whole of the first day after the fire began, the Jews from exhaustion and consternation remained entirely inactive. The next, they made a furious sally from the eastern gate against the guards who were posted in the outer court. The legionaries locked their shields together and stood the brunt of the onset: but the Jews still came pouring forth in such overbearing multitudes, that Titus himself was forced to charge at the head of some cavalry, and with difficulty drove them back into the temple.

It was the 10th of August, the day already darkened in the Jewish calendar by the destruction of the former temple by the king of Babylon: it was almost passed. Titus withdrew again into the Antonia, intending the next morning to make a general assault. The quiet summer evening came on; the setting sun shone for the last time on the snow-white walls, and glistening pinnacles of the temple roof. Titus had retired to rest; when suddenly a wild and terrible cry was heard, and a man came

rushing in, announcing that the temple was on fire. Some of the besieged, notwithstanding their repulse in the morning, had sallied out to attack the men who were busily employed in extinguishing the fires about the cloisters. The Romans not merely drove them back, but, entering the sacred space with them, forced their way to the door of the temple. A soldier, without orders, mounting on the shoulders of one of his comrades, threw a blazing brand into a small gilded door on the north side of the chambers, in the outer building or porch. The flames sprung up at once. The Jews uttered one simultaneous shriek, and grasped their swords with a furious determination of revenging and perishing in the ruins of the temple. Titus rushed down with the utmost speed: he shouted, he made signs to his soldiers to quench the fire: his voice was drowned, and his signs unnoticed, in the blind confusion. The legionaries either could not, or would not hear: they rushed on, trampling each other down in their furious haste, or, stumbling over the crumbling ruins, perished with the enemy. Each exhorted the other, and each hurled his blazing brand into the inner part of the edifice, and then hurried to his work of carnage. The unarmed and defenceless people were slain in thousands; they lay heaped like sacrifices, round the altar; the steps of the temple ran with streams of blood, which washed down the bodies that lay about.

Titus found it impossible to check the rage of the soldiery; he entered with his officers, and surveyed the interior of the sacred edifice. The splendour filled them with wonder; and as the flames had not yet penetrated to the holy place, he made a last effort to save it, and springing forth, again exhorted the soldiers to stay the progress of the conflagration. The centurion, Liberalis, endeavoured to force obedience with his staff of office; but even respect for the emperor gave way to the furious animosity against the Jews, to the fierce excitement of battle, and to the insatiable hope of plunder. The soldiers saw every thing around them radiant with gold, which shone dazzlingly in the wild light of the flames; they supposed that incalculable treasures were laid up in the sanctuary. A soldier, unperceived, thrust a lighted torch between the hinges of the door: the whole building was in flames in an instant. The blinding smoke and fire forced the officers to retreat, and the noble edifice was left to its fate.

It was an appalling spectacle to the Roman—what was it to the Jew? The whole summit of the hill which commanded the city, blazed like a volcano. One after another the buildings fell in, with a tremendous crash, and were swallowed up in the fiery abyss. The roofs of cedar were like sheets of flame: the gilded pinnacles shone like spikes of red light: the gate towers sent up tall columns of flame and smoke. The neighbouring hills were

lighted up; and dark groups of people were seen watching in horrible anxiety the progress of the destruction: the walls and heights of the upper city were crowded with faces, some pale with the agony of despair, others scowling unavailing vengeance. The shouts of the Roman soldiery, as they ran to and fro, and the howlings of the insurgents who were perishing in the flames, mingled with the roaring of the conflagration and the thundering sound of falling timbers. The echoes of the mountains replied or brought back the shrieks of the people on the heights: all along the walls resounded screams and wailings: men, who were expiring with famine, rallied their remaining strength to utter a cry of anguish and desolation.

The slaughter within was even more dreadful than the spectacle from without. Men and women, old and young, insurgents and priests, those who fought and those who entreated mercy, were hewn down in indiscriminate carnage. The number of the slain exceeded that of the slayers. The legionaries had to clamber over heaps of dead, to carry on the work of extermination. John, at the head of some of his troops, cut his way through, first, into the outer court of the temple, afterwards, into the upper city. Some of the priests upon the roof wrenched off the gilded spikes, with their sockets of lead, and used them as missiles against the Romans below. Afterwards they fled to a part of the wall, about fourteen feet wide; they were summoned to surrender; but two of them, Mair, son of Belga, and Joseph, son of Dalai, plunged headlong into the flames.

No part escaped the fury of the Romans. The treasures with all their wealth of money, jewels, and costly robes—the plunder which the Zealots had laid up—were totally destroyed. Nothing remained but a small part of the outer cloister, in which about 6000 unarmed and defenceless people, with women and children, had taken refuge. These poor wretches, like multitudes of others, had been led up to the temple by a false prophet, who had proclaimed that God commanded all the Jews to go up to the temple, where he would display his Almighty power to save his people. The soldiers set fire to the building: every soul perished.

For during all this time false prophets, suborned by the Zealots, had kept the people in a state of feverish excitement, as though the appointed Deliverer would still appear. They could not, indeed, but remember the awful, the visible signs which had preceded the siege—the fiery sword, the armies fighting in the air; the opening of the great gate, the fearful voice within the sanctuary, "Let us depart;" the wild cry of Jesus, son of Annas—*Woe, woe to the city*, which he had continued from the government of Albinus to the time of the siege, when he suddenly stopped; shrieked out—*woe to myself*, and

was struck dead by a stone. Yet the undying hopes of fierce fanaticism were kept alive by the still renewed prediction of that Great One, who would at this time arise out of Judæa, and assume the dominion of the world. This prophecy the flattering Josephus declared to be accomplished in the Roman, Vespasian; but more patriotic interpreters still, to the last, expected to see it fulfilled in the person of the conquering Messiah, who would reveal himself in the darkest hour, wither the Roman legions with one word, and then transfer the seat of empire from the Capitol to Sion.

The whole Roman army entered the sacred precincts, and pitched their standards among the smoking ruins; they offered sacrifice for the victory, and with loud acclamations saluted Titus, as emperor. Their joy was not a little enhanced by the value of the plunder they had obtained, which was so great that gold fell in Syria to half its former value. The few priests were still on the top of the walls to which they had escaped. A boy emaciated with hunger came down on a promise that his life should be spared. He immediately ran to drink, filled his vessel, and hurried away to his comrades with such speed that the soldiers could not catch him. Five days afterwards the priests were starved into surrender; they entreated for their lives, but Titus answered, that the hour of mercy was past; they were led to execution.

Still the upper city held out; but Simon and John, disheartened by the capture of the temple, demanded a conference. It was granted, and Titus, stationing himself at the western verge of the hill, addressed them through an interpreter. He offered to spare their lives on the condition of instant surrender. John and Simon demanded free egress with their wives and children, promising to evacuate the city, and depart into the wilderness. The terms were rejected, and Titus vowed the unsparing extermination of the whole people; his troops had immediate licence to plunder and burn Acra. The archives, the council-house, the whole of Acra and Ophla were instantly set on fire. The insurgents took possession of the palace where, from its strength, the people had laid up much of their wealth; they drove the Romans back, and put to death 8400 of the people who had taken refuge there, and plundered all the treasures. They took two Roman soldiers alive; one they put to death, and dragged his body through the city; the other pretending to have something to communicate to Simon, was led before him, but as he had nothing to say, he was made over to one Ardala, to be put to death. He was led forth with his hands bound, and his eyes bandaged, to be killed in sight of the Romans, but while the Jew was drawing his sword, he contrived to make his escape. Titus, unwilling to punish him with death after he had thus escaped,

but wishing to show that it was unworthy of a Roman soldier to be taken alive, had him stripped of his armour, and dismissed him with disgrace. The next day the Romans entirely cleared the lower city, and set the whole on fire. The insurgents cooped up in the upper city, lay in ambush near the outlets, and slew every one who attempted to desert. Their great trust was in the subterranean passages, in which they hoped to lie hid.

On the 20th of August, Cæsar at length raised his mounds against the steep cliffs of the upper city; he had the greatest difficulty in obtaining timber. But at last his works were ready in two places, one opposite the palace, the other near the Xystus. The Idumean chieftains now endeavoured secretly to make their terms. Titus reluctantly consented; but the vigilant John detected the plot, threw the leaders into prison, and entrusted the defence of the walls to more trusty soldiers. Still the guards could not prevent desertion; though many were killed, yet many escaped. The Romans, weary of the work of slaughter, spared the people, but sold all the rest as slaves; though they bore but a low price, the market being glutted, and few purchasers found —40,000 were thus spared, the number sold as slaves was incalculable. About the same time a priest named Jesus, son of Thebuth, obtained his life on condition of surrendering some of the treasures of the temple which he had secured, two candlesticks, tables, goblets, and vessels of pure gold, as well as the curtains and the robes of the high priests. Another, who had been one of the treasurers, showed a place where the vests and girdles of the priests were concealed, with a great quantity of purple and scarlet thread, and an immense store of cinnamon, cassia, and other spices.

Eighteen days elapsed before the works were completed; on the 7th of September, the engines were advanced to batter down the last bulwark of the besieged. Some did not await the conflict but crept down into the lower city, others shrunk into the subterranean passages, others, more manfully, endeavoured to beat down the engineers. The Romans advanced in the pride of victory, the Jews were weary, famine-stricken, disheartened. A breach was speedily made, some of the towers fell, the leaders did not display their customary valour and conduct; they fled on all sides. Some who were accustomed to vaunt the most loudly, now stood pale, trembling, inactive; others endeavoured to break through the Roman works and make their escape. Vague rumours were spread abroad that the whole western wall had fallen, that the Romans were in the city; the men looked around for their wonted leaders; they neither saw their active figures hurrying about in the thickest of the fray, nor heard their voices exciting them to desperate resistance. Many threw themselves on the ground and bitterly lamented their fate. Even John and

Simon, instead of remaining in their three impregnable towers, where nothing but famine could have reduced them, descended into the streets, and fled into the valley of Siloam. They then made an attempt to force their way through the wall; but their daring and strength seemed alike broken, they were repulsed by the guard, dispersed, and at length crept down into the subterranean vaults. The Romans ascended the wall with shouts of triumph at a victory so much beyond all hope, easy and bloodless; they spread through the streets, slaying and burning as they went. In many houses where they expected rich plunder, they found nothing but heaps of putrid bodies, whole families who had died of hunger; they retreated from the loathsome sight and insufferable stench. But they were not moved to mercy towards the living; in some places the flames were actually retarded or quenched with streams of blood; night alone put an end to the carnage. When Titus entered the city he gazed with astonishment at the massy towers, and recognised the hand of God in a victory which had thus made him master of such fortresses without a struggle. The multitudes of prisoners who pined in the dungeons, where they had been thrown by the insurgents, were released. The city was ordered to be razed, excepting the three towers, which were left as standing monuments of the victory.

The soldiers themselves were weary of the work of slaughter, and orders were issued to kill only those who resisted. Yet the old and infirm, as unsaleable, were generally put to death. The rest were driven into a space of the temple, called the Court of the Women. There a selection was made; the noted insurgents were put to death, excepting some of the tallest and most handsome, who were reserved to grace the triumph of Titus. Of the rest, all above seventeen years old were sent to Egypt to work in the mines, or distributed among the provinces to be exhibited as gladiators in the public theatres, and in combats against wild beasts. Twelve thousand died of hunger—part from want or neglect of supplies, part obstinately refusing food. During the whole siege the number killed was 1,100,000, that of prisoners 97,000. In fact, the population not of Jerusalem alone, but that of the adjacent districts—many who had taken refuge in the city, more who had assembled for the feast of unleavened bread—had been shut up by the sudden formation of the siege.

Yet the chief objects of their vengeance, the dauntless Simon, son of Gioras, and John the Gischalite, still seemed to baffle all pursuit. The Roman soldiers penetrated into the subterranean caverns: wherever they went, they found incalculable treasures, and heaps of dead bodies—some who had perished from hunger, others from their wounds, many by their own hands. The close air of the vaults reeked with the pestilential effluvia; most recoiled from these pits of death; the more rapacious went on,

breathing death for the sake of plunder. At length, reduced by famine, John and his brethren came forth upon terms of surrender; his life was spared—a singular instance of lenity, if indeed his conduct had been so atrocious as it is described by his rival Josephus. He was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and finally sent to Italy.

Many days after, towards the end of October, when Titus had left the city, as some of the Roman soldiers were reposing amid the ruins of the temple, they were surprised by the sudden apparition of a man in white raiment, and with a robe of purple, who seemed to rise from the earth in silent and imposing dignity. At first they stood awestruck and motionless; at length they ventured to approach him; they encircled him, and demanded his name. He answered, "Simon, the son of Gioras; call hither your general." Terentius Rufus was speedily summoned, and to him the brave, though cruel, defender of Jerusalem surrendered himself. On the loss of the city, Simon had leaped down into one of the vaults, with a party of miners, hewers of stone, and iron workers. For some distance they had followed the natural windings of the cavern, and then attempted to dig their way out beyond the walls; but their provisions, however carefully husbanded, soon failed, and Simon determined on the bold measure of attempting to overawe the Romans by his sudden and spectral appearance. News of his capture was sent to Titus; he was ordered to be set apart for the imperial triumph.

Thus fell, and for ever, the metropolis of the Jewish state. Other cities have risen on the ruins of Jerusalem, and succeeded, as it were, to the inalienable inheritance of perpetual siege, oppression, and ruin. Jerusalem might almost seem to be a place under a peculiar curse; it has probably witnessed a far greater portion of human misery than any other spot upon the earth.

Terentius Rufus, or Turnus Rufus, (as his name appears in the Rabbinical traditions, ever coupled with the most rancorous expressions of hatred, and confounded with the no less obnoxious T. Annius Rufus, the governor of Judæa in the time of Hadrian,) executed the work of desolation, of which he was left in charge, with unrelenting severity. Of all the stately city—the populous streets, the palaces of the Jewish kings, the fortresses of her warriors, the temple of her God—not a ruin remained, except the tall towers of Phasaelis, Mariamne, and Hippicus, and part of the western wall, which was left as a defence for the Roman camp. Titus having distributed praises and rewards to his army, and offered sacrifice to his gods, had departed. Wherever he went, miserable gangs of captives were dragged along, to glut the eyes and ears of the conquerors by their sufferings in those horrible spectacles, which are the eternal disgrace of the Roman

character. At Cæsarea Philippi, 2500 were slain in cold blood, either in combats with wild beasts, or fighting as bands of gladiators. This was in honour of the birth-day of his brother Domitian — an appropriate celebration for such an event. Vespasian's birth-day was also commemorated at Berytus with the same horrible festivities. One act of mercy alone, towards the Jewish race, marked the journey of Titus. The inhabitants of Antioch, incited by a Jewish apostate, Antiochus, the son of the first man among the Jews in the city, had cruelly persecuted his brethren. This apostate had accused his kindred of a design of setting fire to the whole city. For this, many were burnt alive, and the whole community threatened with destruction. An accidental fire happened afterwards to take place, which was again laid to the charge of the Jews. In short, the whole Grecian population was so exasperated against the Jews, that they petitioned Titus for their expulsion from the city, or at least to cancel their privileges. Titus at first gave no answer, but afterwards, on his return from the Euphrates, he refused their demands in these affecting words: "The country of the Jews is destroyed—thither they cannot return; it would be hard to allow them no home to which they can retreat—leave them in peace." As he passed from Antioch to Alexandria, he surveyed the ruins of Jerusalem, and is said to have been touched with pity at the total desolation of that splendid city. For this work of havoc, for the destruction of near a million and a half of human lives, and the reduction of above 100,000 to the most cruel servitude, Titus was considered as entitled to a splendid triumph. If the numbers in Josephus may be depended on, the fearful catalogue of those who lost their lives or their liberty in this exterminating war, and its previous massacres, stands as follows:

BEFORE THE WAR UNDER VESPASIAN.

At Jerusalem, killed by Florus	3,600	
At Cæsarea	20,000	
At Scythopolis	13,000	
At Ascalon	2,500	
At Ptolemais	2,000	
At Alexandria	50,000	
At Damascus	10,000	
At Joppa	8,400	
Upon the mountain Asamon	2,000	
The battle near Ascalon	10,000	
The ambuscades	8,000	
		129,500

DURING THE WAR IN GALILEE AND JUDEA.

At Japha	15,000
On Gerizim	11,600
Carried forward	26,600

Brought forward ...	26,600	129,500
At Jotapata	40,000	
At Joppa	4,200	
At Tarichea	6,500	
At Gamala	9,000	
At Gischala	6,000	
In Idumea	10,000	
At Gerasa	1,000	
Near the Jordan	15,000	
		118,300
At Jerusalem		1,100,000
AFTER THE FALL OF JERUSALEM.		
At Machærus	1,700	
At Jardes	3,000	
At Masada	960	
In Cyrene	3,000	
		8,660
TOTAL KILLED		1,356,460
PRISONERS.		
In Gischala	2,200	
Near the Jordan	2,500	
At Jerusalem	97,000	
TOTAL PRISONERS		101,700

The loss in many skirmishes and battles,—that of Itabyrium, for instance,—is omitted, as we have not the numbers; besides the immense waste of life from massacre, famine, and disease, inseparable from such a war, in almost every district. The number of prisoners is only given from two places besides Jerusalem.

Nothing could equal the splendour of the triumph which Vespasian shared with his son Titus for their common victories. Besides the usual display of treasures, gold, silver, jewels, purple vests, the rarest wild beasts from all quarters of the globe, there were extraordinary pageants, three or four stories high, representing, to the admiration and delight of those civilised savages, all the horrors and miseries of war; beautiful countries laid waste, armies slain, routed, led captive; cities breached by military engines, stormed, destroyed with fire and sword; women wailing; houses overthrown; temples burning; and rivers of fire flowing through regions no longer cultivated or peopled, but blazing far away into the long and dreary distance. Among the spoils, the golden table, the seven-branched candlestick, and the book of the law, from the temple of Jerusalem, were conspicuous.

The triumph passed on to the Capitol, and there paused to

hear that the glory of Rome was completed by the insulting and cruel execution of the bravest general of the enemy. This distinction fell to the lot of Simon, the son of Gioras. He was dragged along to a place near the Forum, with a halter round his neck, scourged as he went, and there put to death.

The antiquary still endeavours to trace, among the defaced and mouldering reliefs of the arch raised to Titus, "the Delight of human-kind," and which still stands in the Forum of Rome, the representation of the spoils taken from the temple of Jerusalem—the golden table and candlestick, the censers, the silver trumpets, and even the procession of captive Jews.

BOOK XVII.

TERMINATION OF THE WAR.

Fall of Herodion—Machærus—Masada—Fate of Josephus—Agrippa—Berenice.

IT might have been expected that all hopes of resistance, even among the most stubborn of the Jews, would have been buried under the ruins of the capital; that after the fall of Jerusalem, with such dreadful misery and carnage, every town would at once have opened its gates, and laid itself at the mercy of the irresistible conqueror. Yet, when Lucilius Bassus came to take the command of the Roman army, he found three strong fortresses still in arms—Herodion, Masada, and Machærus. Herodion immediately capitulated; but Machærus, beyond the Jordan, relying on its impregnable position, defied all the power of the enemy. Machærus stood on the summit of a lofty crag, surrounded on all sides by ravines of enormous depth, which could not easily be crossed, and could not possibly be filled up. One of these ravines, on the western side, ran down, a distance of nearly eight miles, to the Dead Sea. Those to the north and the south were less deep, but not less impassable: on the east the hollow was 175 feet to the bottom, beyond which arose a mountain which faced Machærus. The town had been built and strongly fortified by Alexander Janneus, as a check upon the Arabian freebooters. It was a place of great beauty, as well as strength, adorned with noble palaces, and amply supplied with reservoirs of water. Bassus determined to form the siege on the eastern side; the garrison took possession of the citadel, and forced the strangers, who had taken refuge there from all quarters, to defend the lower town. Many fierce conflicts took place under the walls; the garrison sometimes surprising the enemy by the rapidity of their sallies; sometimes, when the Romans were prepared for them, being repulsed with great loss. There happened to be a young man, named Eleazar, of remarkable activity and valour, who greatly distinguished himself in these attacks, being always the first to charge and the last to retreat, often by his single arm arresting the progress of the enemy, and allowing his routed compatriots time to make good their retreat. One day, after the battle was over, proudly confident in his

prowess, and in the terror of his arms, he remained alone without the gates, carelessly conversing with those on the wall. Rufus, an Egyptian, serving in the Roman army, a man of singular bodily strength, watched the opportunity, rushed on him, and bore him off, armour and all, to the Roman camp. Bassus ordered the captive to be stripped and scourged in the sight of the besieged. At the sufferings of their brave champion the whole city set up a wild wailing. Bassus, when he saw the effect of his barbarous measure, ordered a cross to be erected, as if for the execution of the gallant youth. The lamentations in the city became more loud and general. Eleazar's family was powerful and numerous. Through their influence it was agreed to surrender the citadel, on condition that Eleazar's life should be spared. The strangers in the lower town attempted to cut their way through the posts of the besiegers; a few of the bravest succeeded; of those who remained, 1700 perished. The treaty with the garrison was honourably observed.

Bassus proceeded to surround the forest of Jardes, where a vast number of fugitives had taken refuge: they attempted to break through, but were repulsed, and 3000 put to the sword. During the course of these successes Bassus died, and Flavius Silva assumed the command in Palestine. Silva immediately marched against Masada, the only place which still held out. Masada was situated on the south-western side of the Dead Sea. Like the other hill fortresses of Palestine, it stood on a high rock, girt with precipitous chasms, the sides of which a goat could scarcely clamber. It was accessible only by two narrow and very difficult paths, from the east and from the west. On the east, a path, or rather a rocky stair, led up from the shore of the Dead Sea, called the Serpent, from its winding and circuitous course. It ran along the verge of frightful precipices, which made the head giddy to look down; it was necessary to climb step by step; if the foot slipped, instant death was inevitable. After winding in this manner nearly four miles, this path opened on a level space, on which Masada stood, in the midst of a small and highly cultivated plain of extraordinary beauty and fertility. The city was girt with a wall, nearly a mile in circuit; it was twenty-two feet high, fourteen broad, and had thirty-seven lofty towers. Besides this wall, Masada had a strong and magnificent palace, with sixty towers, built by Herod, on the western cliff, and connected, by an underground way, with the citadel. The western ascent was commanded, in its narrowest part, by an impregnable tower.

The city was amply supplied with excellent water, and with provisions of all kinds, wine, oil, vegetables, and dates. According to the strange account of Josephus, the air of Masada was of such a temperature, that, although some of these fruits had been

laid up for a hundred years, since the time of Herod, they were still sound and fresh. There were likewise armories, sufficient to supply 10,000 men, with great stores of unwrought iron, brass, and lead. In fact, Masada had been the fortress which Herod the Great had always looked to, as a place of security, either in case of foreign invasion, or the revolt of his own subjects. The town was now as strongly manned as fortified. Eleazar, the commander, was a descendant of Judas, the Galilean, and inherited the principles of his ancestor in their sternest and most stubborn fanaticism. To yield to a foreign dominion, was to him and his zealous associates the height of impiety; death was far preferable to a treacherous dereliction of the sovereignty of God. They acted, to the end, up to their lofty tenets.

Silva having blockaded the town, so that none could make their escape, seized a point of rock, called the White Promontory, to the westward. There he erected his works, a mound, 350 feet high, and above that a second bank of enormous stones; and at length he brought a battering-ram to bear upon the walls. After long resistance, a breach was made; but the besieged had run up another wall within, of great timbers laid parallel with each other, in two separate rows, the intervening space being filled with earth: this sort of double artificial wall was held together by transverse beams, and the more violently it was battered, the more solid and compact it became, by the yielding of the earth. Silva ordered his men to throw lighted brands upon it: the timbers speedily kindled, and the whole became a vast wall of fire. The north wind blew the flames into the faces of the besiegers, and the Romans trembled for their own works and engines. On a sudden the wind shifted to the south, the flames burned inwards, and the whole fell down, a heap of smouldering ashes. The Romans withdrew to their camp, to prepare for the attack on the next morning, and stationed strong and vigilant outposts to prevent the flight of the garrison. But Eleazar was not a man either himself to attempt flight or to permit others to follow so dastardly a course. He assembled his followers in the palace, and reminded them that the time was now come when they must vindicate to the utmost their lofty principles. God had evidently abandoned his people; the fall of Jerusalem, the ruin of the temple, too sadly proved this. The sudden change of the wind, on the day before, distinctly announced that they, too, were deserted by his protecting providence. Still it was better to fall into the hands of God, than of the Roman; and he proposed that they should set the city on fire, and perish together, with their wives unviolated, their children yet free from captivity, on that noble funeral pile.

His men gazed on each other in wonder. Some were kindled at once with his enthusiasm; others thought of their wives and

children, and tears were seen stealing slowly down their hardy cheeks. Eleazar saw that they were wavering, and broke out in a higher and more splendid strain. He spake of the immortality, the divinity of the soul; its joyful escape from its imprisonment in its mortal tenement. He appealed to the example of the Indians, who bear life as a burthen, and cheerfully throw it off. Perhaps with still greater effect he dwelt on the treatment of the conquered by the Romans, the abuse of women, the slavery of children, the murderous scenes in the amphitheatres. "Let us die," he ended, "unenslaved; let us depart from life in freedom with our wives and children. This our law demands, this our wives and children entreat; God himself has driven us to this stern necessity; this the Romans dread above all things, lest we should disappoint them of their victory. Let us deny them the joy and triumph of seeing us subdued, and rather strike them with awe at our death, and with enforced admiration of our indomitable valour."

He was interrupted by the unanimous voice of the multitude, vying with each other in eagerness to begin on the instant the work of self-devotion. On their intoxicated spirits no softer feelings had now the slightest effect. They embraced their wives, they kissed their children even with tears, and, at the moment, as though they had been the passive instruments of another's will, they stabbed them to the heart. Not a man declined the murderous office. But they thought that they should wrong the dead if they survived them many minutes. They hastily drew together their most valuable effects, and, heaping them up, set fire to these sumptuous funeral piles. Then, ten men having been chosen by lot as the general executioners, the rest, one after another, still clasping the lifeless bodies of their wives and children, held up their necks to the blow. The ten then cast lots, nine fell by each other's hands; the last man, after he had carefully searched whether there was any more work for him to do, seized a lighted brand, set fire to the palace, and then, with resolute and unflinching hand, drove the sword to his own heart.

One old woman, another female who was a relative of Eleazar and distinguished for her learning, and five children, who had crept into an underground cavern, were all that escaped: 960 perished. The next morning the Romans advanced to the wall in close array and with the greatest caution. They fixed the scaling-ladders, mounted the wall, and rushed in. Not a human being appeared, all was solitude and silence, and the vestiges of fire all around filled them with astonishment. They gave a shout as they were wont when they drove the battering-ram, as if to startle the people from their hiding-places. The two women and the five children came creeping forth. The Romans

would not believe their story, till, having partially extinguished the fire, they made their way into the palace, and, not without admiration, beheld this unexampled spectacle of self-devotion.

Thus terminated the final subjugation of Judæa. An edict of the Emperor to set up all the lands to sale, had been received by Bassus. Vespasian did not pursue the usual policy of the Romans, in sharing the conquered territory among military colonists. He reserved to the imperial treasury the whole profits of the sale. Only 800 veterans were settled in Emmaus, about seven miles and a half from Jerusalem. At the same time another edict was issued for the transfer of the annual capitation tax of two drachms, paid by the Jews in every quarter of the world, for the support of the temple worship, to the fund for the rebuilding the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which, as Gibbon observes, "by a remarkable coincidence, had been consumed by the flames of war about the same time with the Temple of Jerusalem." Thus the Holy Land was condemned to be portioned out to strangers, and the contributions for the worship of the God of Abraham levied for the maintenance of a heathen edifice.

Yet, though entirely extinguished in Judæa, the embers of the war still burned in more distant countries. Some of the Assassins (the Sicarii) fled to Egypt, and began to display their [illegible] turbulence, putting to death many of the more influential [illegible] placed [illegible]idents, who opposed their seditious designs, and ex[illegible]an authentic [illegible]o revolt. The Jews assembled in council, and about A. C. 93, he [illegible]urn these dangerous enemies to their peace, the Jews, of which the main object was [illegible]Romans ... Six hundred estimation of the Roman world, and to confute certain [illegible]ous accounts of their early history, which increased the hatred and contempt in which they were held. With the same view he wrote an answer to Apion, a celebrated grammarian of Alexandria, who had given currency to many of the ancient fictions of Egyptian tradition concerning the Jews. He likewise published his own life, in answer to the statements of his old antagonist, Justus of Tiberias, who had sent forth a history of the war, written in Greek, with considerable elegance. When he died is uncertain: history loses sight of him in his 56th or 57th year.

The last of the royal house of Herod, who ruled in Palestine, king Agrippa, among the luxuries of the Roman capital, where he generally resided, forgot the calamities of his country, and the ruin of his people. He died, as he had lived, the humble and contented vassal of Rome. He had received the honours of the prætorship, and an accession of territory, from Vespasian. In him the line of the Idumean sovereigns was extinct.

His sister, Berenice, had nearly attained a loftier destiny. She was received with the highest honours at the imperial court,

hended. Before the tribunal of the governor this man accused many of the chief Jews as accomplices in his plot. Catullus listened with greedy ear to his charges, and even suggested the names of those whom he was anxious to convict. On the evidence of Jonathan and a few of his comrades, a man named Alexander, and Berenice his wife, who had been on bad terms with Catullus, were seized and put to death. Three thousand more shared their fate, their property was confiscated to the imperial treasury. Jonathan went still farther; he denounced, as the secret instigators of his revolt, some of the Jews of the highest rank who resided in Rome—among the rest, Josephus the historian.

Catullus came to Rome with his witnesses; Vespasian ordered a strict investigation, the event of which was the exculpation of the accused, and the condemnation of Jonathan, who was first scourged and then burnt alive. Catullus escaped animadversion; but Josephus, who spares no opportunity of recounting the judgments of Providence on his own personal enemies, gives a frightful picture of his end. He was seized with a dreadful malady of body and mind. Racked with remorse of conscience, he would rave, and scream out that he was environed by the ghosts of those whom he had murdered. He would then leap out of bed, and writhe and roll on the ground, as though on the rack, or burning alive in the flames. At length his entrails [illegible] out, and death put an end to his agonies.

There were several persons who escaped fro[illegible] wreck of their country, whose [illegible] Josephus, the [illegible]

among the rest three of his intimate associates. He rode off with all speed to entreat their pardon; it was granted, but two of them expired as they were being taken down from the cross, the third survived. The estate of Josephus lying within the Roman encampment, Titus assigned him other lands in lieu of it. Vespasian also conferred on him a considerable property in land. Josephus lived afterwards in Rome, in high favour with Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian. The latter punished certain Jews, and an eunuch, the tutor of his son, who had falsely accused him; exempted his estate from tribute, and advanced him to high honour. He was a great favourite with the Empress Domitia.

By his Alexandrian wife Josephus had three sons: one only, Hyrcanus, lived to maturity. Dissatisfied with his wife's conduct, he divorced her likewise, and married a Cretan woman, from a Jewish family, of the first rank and opulence in the island, and of admirable virtue.

At Rome, Josephus first wrote the History of the Jewish War, in the Syro-Chaldaic language, for the use of his own countrymen in the East, particularly those beyond the Euphrates. He afterwards translated the work into Greek, for the benefit of the Western Jews and of the Romans. Both king Agrippa and Titus bore testimony to its accuracy. The latter ordered it to be [illegible] in the public library, and signed it with his own hand, as [illegible] memorial of the times. Many years afterwards, [illegible] published his great work on the Antiquities of [illegible] to raise his nation in the [illegible] alumni

where her beauty and attractions, notwithstanding that she had been twice married, and had no great character for virtue,* so inflamed the heir of the empire and the conqueror of Judæa, Titus, that Rome trembled lest a Jewish mistress should sit on the imperial throne. The public dissatisfaction was so loud and unambiguous, that Titus was constrained to dismiss her. She returned afterwards to Rome, but never regained her former favour. The time of her death, as well as that of her brother, is uncertain.

BOOK XVIII.

BARCOCHAB.

Character of the ensuing History—Re-establishment of Jewish Communities —Origin and Growth of Rabbinism—History to the Time of Trajan—Insurrections in Egypt, Cyrene, Cyprus, Mesopotamia, Palestine—Rabbi Akiba—Barcochab—Fall of Bither.

THE political existence of the Jewish nation was annihilated; it was never again recognised as one of the states or kingdoms of the world. Judæa was sentenced to be portioned out to strangers —the capital was destroyed—the temple demolished—the royal house almost extinct—the high priesthood buried under the ruins of the temple. Our history has lost, as it were, its centre of unity; we have to trace a despised and obscure race in almost every region of the world; and connect, as we can, the loose and scattered details of their story. We are called back, indeed, for a short time to Palestine, to relate new scenes of revolt, ruin, and persecution; we behold the formation of two separate spiritual states, under the authority of which, the whole nation seems to range itself in willing obedience; but in later periods we must wander over the whole face of the habitable globe to gather the scanty traditions which mark the existence of the Jewish people among the different states of Asia, Africa, and Europe—where, refusing still to mingle their blood with any other race of mankind, they dwell in their distinct families and communities, and still maintain, though sometimes long and utterly unconnected with each other, the principle of national unity. Jews in the indelible features of the countenance, in mental character, in customs, usages, and laws, in language, and literature, above

* The Roman satirist, Juvenal, has given currency to a report of a scandalous connexion with her brother.

all, in religion; in the recollections of the past, and in the hopes of the future; with ready pliancy they accommodate themselves to every soil, every climate, every gradation of manners and civilisation, every form of government; with inflexible pertinacity they practise their ancient usages, circumcision, abstinence from unclean meats, eating no animal food which has not been killed by a Jew; rarely intermarry, except among each other; observe the fasts and festivals of their church; and assemble, wherever they are numerous enough, or dare to do so, in their synagogues for public worship. Denizens everywhere, rarely citizens; even in the countries in which they have been the longest and most firmly established, they appear, to a certain degree, strangers or sojourners; they dwell apart, though mingling with their neighbours in many of the affairs of life. For common purposes they adopt the language of the country they inhabit; but the Hebrew remains the national tongue, in which their holy books are read, and their religious services conducted—it is their literary and sacred language, as Latin was that of the Christian church in the dark ages.

The history of the modern Jews may be comprehended under three heads; 1. Their literature, which, in fact, is nearly the same with that of their law and their religion, the great mass of their writings being entirely devoted to those subjects: 2. Their persecutions: 3. Their industry. With regard to the first point, it would not be consistent with the popular character of our work to enter into it, further than as it has influenced the character and circumstances of the nation. The second will be too often forced upon our notice: at one period the history of the Jews is written, as it were, in their blood; they show no signs of life but in their cries of agony; they only appear in the annals of the world to be oppressed, robbed, persecuted, and massacred. Yet still, patient and indefatigable, they pursue, under every disadvantage, the steady course of industry. Wherever they have been allowed to dwell unmolested, or still more, in honour and respect, they have added largely to the stock of national wealth, cultivation, and comfort. Where, as has been more usually the case, they have been barely tolerated, where they have been considered, in public estimation, the very basest of the base, the very outcasts and refuse of mankind, they have gone on accumulating those treasures which they dared not betray or enjoy; in the most barbarous periods they kept up the only traffic and communication which subsisted between distant countries; like hardy and adventurous miners, they were always at work under the surface of society, slowly winning their way to opulence. Perpetually plundered, yet always wealthy; massacred by thousands, yet springing up again from their undying stock, the Jews appear at all times, and in all regions: their perpetuity, their

national immortality, is at once the most curious problem to the political inquirer; to the religious man a subject of profound and awful admiration.

It was not long after the dissolution of the Jewish state that it revived again in appearance, under the form of two separate communities, mostly independent upon each other; one under a sovereignty purely spiritual; the other partly temporal and partly spiritual—but each comprehending all the Jewish families in the two great divisions of the world. At the head of the Jews, on this side of the Euphrates, appeared the Patriarch of the West; the chief of the Mesopotamian community assumed the striking but more temporal title of Resch-Glutha, or Prince of the Captivity. The origin of both these dignities, especially of the western patriarchate, is involved in much obscurity. It might have been expected that, from the character of the great war with Rome, the people, as well as the state of the Jews, would have fallen into utter dissolution, or, at least, verged rapidly towards total extermination. Besides the loss of nearly a million and a half of lives during the war, the markets of the Roman empire were glutted with Jewish slaves; the amphitheatres were crowded with these miserable people, who were forced to slay each other, not singly, but in troops; or fell in rapid succession, glad to escape the tyranny of their masters by the more expeditious cruelty of the wild beast; and in the unwholesome mines hundreds were doomed to toil for that wealth which was not to be their own. Yet still this inexhaustible race revived before long to offer new candidates for its inalienable inheritance of detestation and misery. Of the state of Palestine, indeed, immediately after the war, we have but little accurate information. It is uncertain how far the enormous loss of life, and the numbers carried into captivity, drained the country of the Jewish population; or how far the rescript of Vespasian, which offered the whole landed property of the province for sale, introduced a foreign race into the possession of the soil. The immense numbers engaged in the rebellion during the reign of Hadrian, imply, either that the country was not near exhausted, or that the reproduction in this still fertile region was extremely rapid. In fact, it must be remembered, that whatever havoc was made by the sword of the conqueror, by distress, by famine; whatever the consumption of human life in the amphitheatre and the slave market, yet the ravage of the war was, after all, by no means universal in the province. Galilee, Judæa, and great part of Idumea, were wasted, and, probably, much depopulated; but, excepting a few towns which made resistance, the populous regions and wealthy cities beyond the Jordan escaped the devastation. The dominions of king Agrippa were, for the most part, respected. Samaria submitted without resistance, as did most

of the cities on the sea-coast. Many of the rich and influential persons fell off from their most obstinate countrymen at the beginning, or during the course of the war, were favourably received, and dismissed in safety by Titus.

According to Jewish tradition, the Sanhedrin escaped the general wreck. Before the formation of the siege, it had followed Gamaliel, its Nasi, or Prince, to Jabne (Jamnia).* Simeon, the son and successor of Gamaliel, had gone up to the Passover; he was put to death. Rabban Jochanan ben Zaccai, after having laboured in vain to persuade the people to peace, made his escape to the camp of Titus, and afterwards became Nasi at Jamnia. It was Rabban Jochanan who, on the awful night when the great eastern gate of the temple flew open of its own accord, quoted the ominous words of the prophet Zachariah—"*Open thy doors, O Lebanon, that the fire may devour thy cedars.*" He escaped the fury of the Zealots by being laid out on a bier, as dead, and carried forth by his scholars, R. Joshua, and R. Eliezar. Gamaliel, the son of Simeon, likewise escaped the fate of his father. With the permission of Titus, he followed Jochanan to Jamnia, and afterwards succeeded him in the presidency.†

* We have sometimes thought that the permission granted, according to the Rabbins, by Titus, to the Sanhedrin, to depart to Jamnia, Jabne, or Jafne, is another version of the account in Josephus, of the eminent persons who were courteously received by Titus, sent to *Gophni*, and afterwards recalled, for a short time, to try their influence, with Josephus, in persuading the besieged to surrender.

† The Sanhedrin, the Rabbins say, had ten flittings. From Gazith (the chamber in the temple) to Khanoth (the Tabernæ, or shops, in the outer court)—from Khanoth to Jerusalem—from Jerusalem to Jabneh—from Jabneh to Osha—from Osha to Shepharaam—from Shepharaam to Bethshaaraim—from Bethshaaraim to Sepphoris—from Sepphoris to Tiberias. Its Nasi, or Presidents, on the same authority were as follows:—

Ezra.
Simon the Just.
Antigonus of Socho (the master of Sadoc).
Joseph ben Joezer, President. Joseph ben Jochanan, Vice-president.
Joshua ben Perachiah—persecuted by Alexander Janneus; fled to Alexandria.
Judah ben Tabbai, P. Simon ben Shetach, V. P.—according to Lightfoot, many *eminent* actions were performed by them;—*they hanged eighty witches in one day.*
Shemaiah, P. Abtalion, V.P.—descended from Sennacherib! their mothers of Jewish blood. Perhaps the Sameas and Pollio of Josephus.
Hillel, P. Shammai, V.P.—Hillel was a second Moses; at forty years old he came up to Jerusalem; forty years he studied the law; forty years he was president.
Simeon, son of Hillel—supposed by some the Simeon who took our Saviour in his arms; but there is considerable chronological difficulty.
Gamaliel, son of Simeon, (the teacher of St. Paul,)—with him the honour of the law failed, purity and Pharisaism died.
Simeon, his son—slain at Jerusalem.

That this school of Gamaliel had any legitimate title to the dignity of the Sanhedrin, may be reasonably doubted; but it seems clear, that the great school of Jamnia obtained considerable authority, and whether from the rank and character of its head, or from the assemblage of many of the members of the ancient Sanhedrin, who formed a sort of community in that place, it was looked up to with great respect and veneration by the Jews who remained in Palestine. The Romans would regard with contemptuous indifference the establishment of this kind of authority. Like Pilate, or Gallio, in the Acts, they would leave to the conquered people to settle among themselves "*questions relating to their law.*" But these points were of vital interest to the Jew: they far surpassed in importance all sublunary considerations: on these depended the favour of their God, their only refuge in their degradation and misery; and with unexampled, though surely not reprehensible pertinacity, the more they were depressed, the more ardently they were attached to their own institutes. They were their only pride—their only treasure—their only patrimony, now that their temple was in ashes, and their land had been confiscated. The enemy could not wrest them away; they were the continual remembrancers of the glories of the past, the only consolation and pledge of blessing for the future. It is indeed a strange transition in Jewish history from the wild contests of the fanatic Zealots, to the disputations of learned expounders of the law—from the bloody tribunals of Simon Bar Gioras, John of Gischala, and Eleazar the Zealot, to the peaceful scholars at the feet of Gamaliel—from the din of arms, the confusion of besieged cities, the miseries of famine, massacre, and conflagration, to discussions about unclean meats, new moons, and the observance of the Sabbath. But of all things it is most strange, that a people apparently occupied in these scholastic triflings, should, in sixty years, spring up again in a revolt scarcely less formidable to the ruling powers, or less calamitous to themselves, than the great Jewish war under Titus.

Gamaliel, the president of the school in Jamnia, or, as the Jews assert, the Nasi of the Sanhedrin, was deeply learned, but proud and overbearing. He studiously depressed his rivals in learning, R. Eliezer, son of Hyrcan, and R. Joshua, son of Hananiah. It was a question, whether a first-born animal, wounded on the lip, was a lawful offering. Joshua decided in the affirmative. Gamaliel not merely annulled his sentence, but inflicted an

Jochanan ben Zaccai.
Gamaliel of Jabneh, son of Simeon.
Simeon, son of Gamaliel, first Patriarch of Tiberias.
Judah, son of Simeon.
Gamaliel, son of Judah.

humiliating penance on Joshua, making him stand up while he was lecturing. A scholar asked Joshua, whether evening prayer was a duty or a free-will offering. Joshua decided for the latter. Another contradiction and another penance ensued, till at length the indignant scholars determined to throw off the yoke, and Gamaliel was formally deposed. Much difficulty arose about his successor. R. Joshua, his great rival, was passed by, and the choice lay between R. Akiba, a man whose fiery and impetuous character afterwards plunged himself and the nation in the darkest calamities, and R. Eliezer, a young man of noble family, said to be descended from Ezra. The choice fell on Eliezer. He hesitated to accept the dignified office. "Why?" he was asked. "Because I have not a grey beard;" and immediately his beard began to sprout, and grew, on the instant, to the most orthodox length and venerable whiteness. Other schools were gradually established. Eliezer, son of Hyrcan, taught in Lydda; Joshua, son of Hananiah, in Pekun; Akiba, in Baar-brak. Of all these Rabbins, or Masters of the Law, stories are told, sometimes puerile, sometimes full of good sense and profound moral wisdom, sometimes most absurdly extravagant; and characteristic incidents, which bear the stamp of truth, occur in the midst of the most monstrous legends.* But all these show the authority of Rabbinism—for so that system of teaching may be called—over the public mind;—of Rabbinism, which, supplanting the original religion of the Jews, became, after the ruin of the temple and the extinction of the public worship, a new bond of national union, the great distinctive feature in the character of modern Judaism. Indeed it is absolutely necessary, for the distinct comprehension of the later Jewish history, to enter into some farther consideration of the origin, growth, and nature of that singular spiritual supremacy assumed by the Rabbinical oligarchy, which, itself held together by a strong corporate spirit, by community of interest, by identity of principle, has contributed, more than any other external cause, to knit together in one body the widely dispersed members of the Jewish family, and to keep them the distinct and separate people which they appear in all ages of the world. It is clear that, after the return from the Babylonian captivity, the Mosaic constitution could be but partially re-established. The whole building was too much shattered and its fragments too widely dispersed, to reunite

* Some of the Rabbins refused to eat flesh, or drink wine, after the destruction of the temple. "Shall we eat meat when meat offerings are forbidden, or drink wine when wine offerings are no more made in the temple?" "By that rule," answered the shrewd R. Joshua, "you must abstain from bread, for the shew-bread is no more set out—from fruits, for the first-fruits are no longer offered—from water, for there is now no water by the altar. Go: exact no duties from the people which the many cannot discharge."

in their ancient and regular form. Palestine was a dependent province of the great Persian empire; and neither the twelve confederate republics of older times, nor the monarchies of the later period, could be permitted to renew their existence. But in no respect was the original Mosaic constitution so soon or so entirely departed from, as in the distinctions and endowments of the great learned aristocracy, the tribe of Levi; in no point was it more impossible to reinstate the polity on its primitive model. To ascend no higher, the tribe of Levi seem to have lost all their possessions in the provinces of Israel on the separation of the kingdoms. On the return from the Captivity, the Levites are mentioned as distinct from the priests, and are present, as it were, giving authority at the public reading of the law. But they were by no means numerous, perhaps scarcely more than sufficient to furnish the different courses to minister in the temple. At all events they were no independent or opulent tribe; their cities were gone; and though they still retained the tithe, it was so far from supporting them in great affluence, that when the higher class encroached upon the rights of the lower order, the latter were in danger of absolute starvation. In fact, they were the officiating priesthood, and no more—bound to be acquainted with the forms and usages of the sacrificial ritual; but the instruction of the people, and the interpretation of the Law, by no means fell necessarily within their province. On the other hand, the Jews who returned from the Captivity brought with them a reverential, or rather a passionate, attachment to the Mosaic Law. This it seems to have been the prudent policy of their leaders, Ezra and Nehemiah, to encourage by all possible means, as the great bond of social union, and the unfailing principle of separation from the rest of mankind. The consecration of the second temple, and the re-establishment of the state, was accompanied by the ready and solemn recognition of the Law. By degrees attachment to the Law sank deeper and deeper into the national character; it was not merely at once their Bible and their Statute Book, it entered into the most minute detail of common life. But no written law can provide for all possible exigencies; whether general and comprehensive, or minute and multifarious, it equally requires the expositor to adapt to it the immediate case which may occur, either before the public tribunal, or that of the private conscience. Hence it became a deep and intricate study. Certain men rose to acknowledged eminence for their ingenuity in explaining, their readiness in applying, their facility in quoting, and their clearness in offering solutions of the difficult passages of the written statutes. Learning in the Law became the great distinction to which all alike paid reverential homage. Public and private affairs depended on the sanction of this self-formed spiritual aristocracy. In an

imperfect calendar the accurate settling of the proper days for the different fasts and festivals was of the first importance. It would have been considered as inevitably tending to some great national calamity, if it had been discovered that the new moon, or any other movable festival, above all if the Passover, had been celebrated on a miscalculated day. The national sacrifice, or that of the individual, might be vitiated by an inadvertent want of conformity to the strict letter of the ritual. Every duty of life, of social intercourse between man and man, to omit its weightier authority as the national code of criminal and civil jurisprudence, was regulated by an appeal to the Book of the Law. Even at every meal, the scrupulous conscience shuddered at the possibility, lest by some neglect, or misinterpretation of the statute, it might fall into serious offence. In every case the learned in the law could alone decide to the satisfaction of the inquirer.

Moreover, by degrees, another worship, independent of the temple, grew up—that of the synagogue. The nation still met in the great temple, for the purpose of national expiation or thanksgiving. The individual went there to make his legal offerings, or to utter his prayers in the more immediate presence of the God of Abraham. But besides this he had his synagogue —where, in a smaller community, he assembled, with a few of his neighbours, for divine worship, for prayer, and for instruction in the law. The latter more immediately, and gradually the former, fell entirely under the regulation of the learned interpreter of the law, who, we may say, united the professions of the clergy and the law—the clergy, considered as public instructors; for the law-school and the synagogue were always closely connected, if they did not form parts of the same building. Thus there arose in the state the curious phenomenon of a spiritual supremacy, distinct from the priesthood; for though many of these teachers were actually priests and Levites, they were not necessarily so—a supremacy which exercised the most unlimited dominion, not formally recognised by the constitution, but not the less real and substantial; for it was grounded in the general belief, ruled by the willing obedience of its subjects, and was rooted in the very minds and hearts of the people, till at length the maxim was openly promulgated, "the voice of the Rabbi, the voice of God." Thus, though the high priest was still the formal and acknowledged head of the state, the real influence passed away to these recognised interpreters of the divine word. The circumstances of the Jewish history concurred in depressing the spiritual authority of the priesthood; and, as in such a community spiritual authority must have existed somewhere, its transfer to the Rabbins, though slow and imperceptible, was no less certain. During the reign of the Asmoneans the high priesthood became a mere appendage of the temporal sove-

reignty; but the Pharisaic, or learned party, were constantly struggling for superiority with the throne, which thus nominally united both the religious and worldly supremacy. Herod ruled as a military despot; but it was not the priesthood, the chief dignity of which he filled with his own dependants, but this body of men, learned in the law of the Fathers, which alone resisted the introduction of Grecian manners and customs, and kept alive the waning embers of Judaism. We have seen that, in the zenith of his power, he dared not exact an oath of allegiance, from his dread of a most influential class zealously attached to the law. The Sanhedrin was, in general, the organ by which they acted, as the seats of that half-senatorial, half-judicial body, were usually filled by the most learned and influential of the Rabbins, or teachers. It is probable that general opinion would point the mout as the fittest persons to fill the places of the twenty-three judges, appointed, according to Josephus, in every considerable town. Still their power was more deeply rooted than in the respect paid to any court or office: it consisted rather in the education and daily instruction of the people, who looked up to them with implicit confidence in their infallibility.

But besides the interpretation of the written statutes, according to the rules of plain common sense, or more subtle reason, the expounders of the law assumed another ground of authority over the public mind, as the depositaries and conservators of the unwritten or traditionary law. This was not universally acknowledged—and, from the earliest period, the great schism, in Jewish opinion, was, on this important point, the authority of tradition. But the traditionists were far superior in weight and numbers—and, by the mass of the people, the Masora, or unwritten tradition, received, as the Rabbins asserted, by Moses on Mount Sinai, and handed down, in regular and unbroken descent, through all the great names of their early history, the heads of the Sanhedrin, its successive conservators, till it finally vested in themselves, was listened to with equal awe, and received with equal veneration with the statutes inscribed by the hand of the Almighty on the tables of stone. This was generally called Masora, or *Tradition*, or Cabala*—the *received* doctrine of the schools—thus uniting, as it were, the sanctity of tradition in the church of Rome, with the validity of precedent in our law courts.

* The term Cabala is usually applied to that wild system of Oriental philosophy which was introduced, it is uncertain at what period, into the Jewish schools; in a wider sense, it comprehended all the decisions of the Rabbinical courts or schools, whether on religious or civil points—whatever, in short, was considered to have been ruled by competent judges; but properly meant that knowledge which was traditionally derived from the hidden mysteries contained in the letters of the law, in the number of times they occurred, and in their relative position.

Hence the demolition of the temple, the final cessation of the services, and the extinction of the priesthood, who did not survive their occupation—events which, it might have been expected, would have been fatal to the national existence of the Jews as destroying the great bond of union, produced scarcely any remarkable effect. The Levitical class had already been superseded, as the judges and teachers of the people; the synagogue, with its law school, and its grave and learned Rabbi, had already begun to usurp the authority, and was prepared to supply the place of the temple with its solemn rites, regular sacrifices, and hereditary priesthood. Hence the remnant of the people, amid the general wreck of their institutions, the extinction of the race, at least the abrogation of the office of high priest, and even the defection of the representative of their late sovereign Agrippa, naturally looked round with eagerness to see if any of their learned Rabbins had escaped the ruin; and directly they found them established in comparative security, willingly laid whatever sovereignty they could dare to offer at their feet. Their Roman masters had no tribunal which they could approach; the administration of their own law was indispensable; hence, whether it assumed the form of an oligarchy, or a monarchy, they submitted themselves with the most implicit confidence, and in the most undoubting spirit, to the Rabbinical dominion.

The Jews, though looked upon with contempt as well as detestation, were yet regarded, during the reign of Vespasian and his immediate successors, with jealous watchfulness. A garrison of 800 men occupied the ruins of Jerusalem, to prevent the reconstruction of the city by the fond and religious zeal of its former inhabitants. The Christian Hegesippus relates that Vespasian commanded strict search to be made for all who claimed descent from the house of David—in order to cut off, if possible, all hopes of the restoration of the royal house, or of the Messiah, the confidence in whose speedy coming still burned with feverish excitement in the hearts of all faithful Israelites. This barbarous inquisition was continued in the reign of Domitian; nor did the rest of the nation escape the cruelties which desolated the empire under the government of that sanguinary tyrant. The tax of two drachms, levied according to the rescript of Vespasian, for the rebuilding the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, was exacted with unrelenting rigour; and, if any persons denied their Judaism, the most indecent means were employed against persons of age and character, to ascertain the fact. Suetonius, the historian, had seen a public examination of this nature before the tribunal of the procurator. Still it may be doubted whether these persecutions, which, perhaps, were chiefly directed at the Judaizing Christians, oppressed the Jewish people very heavily in their native land. It is impossible, unless

communities were suffered to be formed, and the whole race enjoyed comparative security, that the nation could have appeared in the formidable attitude of resistance which it assumed in the time of Hadrian.

The reign of Nerva gave a brief interval of peace to the Jews with the rest of the world; but in that of Trajan either the oppressions of their enemies, or their own mutinous and fanatic disposition, drove them into revolt, as frantic and disastrous, as that which had laid their city and temple in ashes. In every quarter of the world, in each of their great settlements in Babylonia, Egypt, and Cyrene, and in Judæa, during the sovereignty of Trajan and his successor, the Jews broke out into bold and open rebellion—not without considerable successes —and were finally subdued, only after an obstinate struggle and enormous loss of life.*

The wise and upright Trajan was not superior to the intolerant religious policy of his predecessors. From the memorable letter of Pliny, it is manifest that the existing laws, though not clearly defined, were rigid against all who practised foreign superstitions. It is by no means improbable that its descent from Judaism, of which Christianity was long considered a modification, tended to increase the hostility against the unoffending Christians, which their rapid progress had excited. If, even under a man of the temper and moderation of Pliny, and by the express rescript of the emperor, all the Christians obtained, was not to be "hunted out with the implacable zeal of an inquisitor;" if scenes like those, so strikingly described in the acts of the martyrdom of Ignatius, were by no means unfrequent; we may fairly conclude that the odious Jews, under worse governors, or where the popular feeling was not repressed by the strong hand of authority, would be liable to perpetual insult, oppression, and persecution. The Rabbinical traditions are full of the sufferings of the people during this melancholy period, but they are so moulded up with fable,† that it is difficult to decide whether they

* Gibbon attributes all these insurrections to the unprovoked turbulence and fanaticism of the Jews. But his mind, notwithstanding its boasted liberality, was by no means exempt from the old vulgar prejudices against the Jews; heightened, perhaps, by his unfriendly feeling, not much more philosophical, to the religion from which Christianity took its rise.

† It is related that, unfortunately, the birth-day of a prince fell on the anniversary of the fatal 9th of August; and while the whole Roman empire was rejoicing, the Jews alone were bewailing, in ill-timed lamentations, the fate of their temple. Again, while the imperial family were in the deepest mourning for the loss of a daughter, the unlucky Jews were celebrating with noisy mirth their Feast of Lamps. The indignant empress exclaimed, "Before you march against the barbarians, sweep this insolent people from the face of the earth." Trajan surrounded a vast number of Jews with his legions, and ordered them to be hewn down. He afterwards offered their

rest on any groundwork of truth. This, however, is certain, that during the war of Trajan with Parthia, when the Roman legions were probably withdrawn from the African provinces, and a few feeble garrisons alone remained to maintain the peace, intelligence was received that the Jews of Egypt and Cyrene had taken arms, and were perpetrating the most dreadful atrocities against the Greek inhabitants of those districts. The cause of this insurrection is unknown; but when we remember the implacable animosities of the two races, which had been handed down as an inheritance for centuries, it is by no means surprising, that, directly the coercive authority of the Roman troops was withdrawn, a violent collision would take place. Nor is it improbable that the Greeks, who had been suffering grievous exactions from a rapacious Roman governor, might take up their old quarrel, and in the absence of the Romans, endeavour to indemnify themselves by the plunder of their more industrious, perhaps more wealthy, neighbours. On which side hostilities began, we know not; but the Jews, even if they only apprehended an attack, had horrible reminiscences of recent disasters, or traditions, not very remote, of the days of Caligula; and might, not unnaturally, think that there was wisdom in endeavouring to be the first in the field; and that it was better to perish with arms in their hands, than stand still, as in former times, to be tamely pillaged and butchered. All Egypt, both Alexandria and the Thebais, with Cyrene, arose at once. In Egypt the Jews had at first some success; but the Greeks fell back on Alexandria, mastered the Jews within the city, and murdered the whole race. Maddened by this intelligence, as well as by the memory of former cruelties, the Jews of Cyrene, headed by Lucuas and Andrew, by some supposed, though improbably, two names of the same individual, swept all over Lower Egypt, where they were joined by a host of their countrymen, and penetrated into the Thebais, or even farther, and exacted the most dreadful retribution for the present and the past. Horrid tales were told of the atrocities they committed—some of their rulers they sawed asunder from head to foot; they flayed their bodies and clothed themselves with their skins, twisted their entrails and wore them

wives, either to share the fate of their husbands, or to submit to the embraces of his soldiery. "What thou hast done to those beneath the earth, do to those who are upon it." Such was the answer of the women. Their blood was mingled with that of their husbands; and the sea that broke upon the shores of Cyprus was tinged with the red hue of carnage. If there be any truth in this legend, it recoiled before long from those shores in a tide, which showed still more visible signs of unrelenting vengeance. But independent of the improbability of the whole story, and its inconsistency with the character of the emperor, the family of Trajan make a great figure in this, as in other Jewish legends; yet it is almost certain that he had no children.

as girdles, and anointed themselves with blood. We are even told that this people, so scrupulous in the refusal of all unclean food, nevertheless feasted on the bodies of their enemies. With barbarity for which they could quote better precedent, they are said to have thrown them to wild beasts, and forced them to fight on the theatres as gladiators: 220,000 fell before their remorseless vengeance. Whether these cannibal atrocities were true or not, that they should be propagated and credited, shows the detestation in which the race was held. Lupus, the Roman governor, meanwhile, without troops, sat an inactive spectator of this devastation; while Lucuas, the Jewish leader, is reported to have assumed the style and title of king.

The flame spread to Cyprus, where the Jews were numerous and wealthy. One Artemio placed himself at their head; they rose and massacred 240,000 of their fellow-citizens; the whole populous city of Salamis became a desert. The revolt in Cyprus was first suppressed; Hadrian, afterwards emperor, landed on the island, and marched to the assistance of the few inhabitants who had been able to act on the defensive. He defeated the Jews, expelled them from the island, to whose beautiful coasts no Jew was ever after permitted to approach. If one were accidentally wrecked on the inhospitable shore, he was instantly put to death. Martius Turbo was sent by sea for the purpose of expedition, with a considerable force of horse and foot to the coast of Cyrene. As far as the campaign can be traced, it seems that he marched against Andrew, and, after much hard fighting, suppressed the insurrection in that province, and then turned upon Egypt where Lucuas still made head. Lucuas, according to a tradition preserved by Abulfharagi, attempted to force his way by the Isthmus of Suez; and some, at least, of his followers found their way to Palestine. The loss of the Jews, as might be expected, was immense; their own traditions report, that as many fell in this disastrous war, as originally escaped from Egypt under Moses—600,000 men.

Cyprus was scarcely subdued, and the war was still raging in Egypt, when tidings arrived that the Jews of Mesopotamia were in arms. Probably the eastern Jews had found that, by the conquests of Trajan, they had changed masters for the worse. Under the Parthian kings they had lived in peace, unmolested in their religion, sometimes making proselytes of the highest rank—in the case of Izates—of kings themselves; and they were oppressed by no exclusive taxation. The Jews of Africa and Syria might have looked with repining envy on their more prosperous brethren in Babylonia: the scene of the great captivity was now become the only dwelling of Jewish peace and Jewish independence; while the land of milk and honey flowed with the bitter streams of servitude and persecution. Even if

the Babylonian Jews did not, as gratitude and policy would equally have urged, during the war between Rome and her eastern rival, manfully take arms in favour of their protectors against the enemies and oppressors of their race—if they left the armies of Parthia to fight their own battles, and quietly waited to be transferred to the conqueror, yet, when they were included, by the victories of Trajan, within the pale of Roman oppression—visited in their turn by that fierce soldiery which had trampled on the ruins of Jerusalem—made liable, perhaps, to a capitation tax for the maintenance of a heathen temple,—it was by no means surprising if they endeavoured to shake off the galling and unwonted yoke. Their insurrection was soon suppressed by the vigour of Lucius Quietus, a man of Moorish race, and considered the ablest soldier in the Roman army. The commission of Quietus was not only to subdue, but to expel the Jews from the whole district. The Jews defended themselves with obstinate courage, and, though overpowered, still remained in Mesopotamia. The immediate appointment of L. Quietus to the government of Judæa, seems to intimate some apprehension of commotions in that province, which might be kept down by the terrors of his name. In the next year (A.C. 117) Trajan died, and Hadrian ascended the throne. For the Mesopotamian Jews alone this was a fortunate occurrence; for as the prudent Hadrian abandoned all the conquests of his predecessor in the East, and re-established the Euphrates as the boundary of the Roman empire, they fell again under the milder dominion of their ancient sovereigns. The new emperor was not likely to entertain very favourable sentiments towards his Jewish subjects. He had been an eye-witness of the horrible scenes which had desolated the lovely island of Cyprus; he had seen the voluptuous Idalian groves reeking with blood, or unwholesome with the recent carnage of their inhabitants; the gay and splen id cities reduced to the silence of desolation. It is not improbable that the same mischiefs might seem to be brooding in Palestine. An edict was issued tantamount to the total suppression of Judaism: it interdicted circumcision, the reading of the law, and the observation of the Sabbath. It was followed by a blow, if possible, more fatal: the intention of the emperor was announced to annihilate at once all hopes of the restoration of the Holy City by the establishment of a Roman colony in Jerusalem, and the foundation of a fane, dedicated to Jupiter, on the site of their fallen temple. A town had probably risen by degrees out of the ruins of Jerusalem, where the three great towers and a part of the western wall had been left as a protection to the Roman garrison: but the formal establishment of a colony implied the perpetual alienation of the soil, and its legal appropriation to the *stranger*. The Jews looked on with dismay, with anguish, with

secret thoughts of revenge, at length with hopes of immediate and splendid deliverance. It was an opinion deeply rooted in the hearts of all faithful Israelites, that in the darkest hour of the race of Abraham, when his children were at the extreme point of degradation and wretchedness, that even then the arm of the Lord would be revealed, and the expected Messiah would make his sudden and glorious appearance. They were now sounding the lowest depths of misery. They were forbidden, under penalties sternly enacted and rigidly enforced, to initiate their children into the chosen family of God. Their race was in danger of becoming extinct; for even the blood of Abraham would little avail the uncircumcised. Their city was not merely a mass of ruins, inhabited by the stranger, but the pagans were about to make their permanent residence upon the site of Sion, and a temple to a Gentile idol to usurp the place of the Holy of Holies.

At this momentous period it was announced that the Messiah had appeared. He had come in power and in glory; his name fulfilled the great prophecy of Balaam. Barcochab, the Son of the Star, was that star which was to "arise out of Jacob." Wonders attended upon his person: he breathed flames from his mouth, which, no doubt, would burn up the strength of the proud oppressor, and wither the armies of the tyrannical Hadrian. Above all, the greatest of the Rabbins, the living oracle of divine truth, whose profound learning was looked up to by the whole race of Israel, acknowledged the claims of the new Messiah, and openly attached himself to his fortunes: he was called the standard-bearer of the Son of the Star. Rabbi Akiba was said not to be of the pure blood of Israel, but descended (such is the Rabbinical genealogy) from Sisera, the general of Jabin, king of Tyre, by a Jewish mother. For forty years he had lived a simple shepherd, tending the flocks of a rich citizen of Jerusalem, named Galba Sheva. Love made him the wisest of his age. He became enamoured of his master's daughter: the wealthy Jew rejected the indigent shepherd, who was an alien from the race of Israel. But the lovers were secretly married, and Akiba left his bride immediately, and spent twelve years in study, under the tuition of R. Eliezer and R. Joshua. He returned, it is said, with 12,000 disciples. But the unrelenting father had disinherited his daughter. They lived in the greatest penury; and she bore her first child on a bed of straw. Akiba went back for twelve years more to the seat of learning. He returned again, followed by 24,000 disciples; and the father, at length appeased or overawed by the fame of his son-in-law, broke his vow of implacable resentment, and bestowed on him and his wife sufficient property to enable them to live in splendour. A thousand volumes would not contain the wonderful things which Akiba did and said. He

could give a reason for the use of the most insignificant letter of the law; and it is boldly averred, that God revealed more to him than he did to Moses. He first committed the traditions to writing, and thus laid the groundwork for the celebrated Mishna, or Comment on the Law. A striking story is told of Akiba. His great maxim was, "that everything is ordained of heaven for the best." With this axiom on his lips, he was riding with some of his followers near the ruins of Jerusalem. They burst into tears at the melancholy sight; for, to heighten their grief, they beheld a jackal prowling upon the Hill of the Temple. Akiba only observed, that the very successes of the idolatrous Romans, as they fulfilled the words of the prophets, were grounds of loftier hopes for the people of God. The end of these lofty hopes must have severely tried the resignation of Akiba. He was yet in the zenith of his fame, though now nearly 120 years old, the period of life to which his great prototype, Moses, attained; if, indeed, his biographers have not rather conformed his life to that model: he is said, also, by some, to have been the head of the Sanhedrin, when Barcochab, or Coziba, announced his pretensions as the Messiah. Akiba had but newly returned from a visit, or from a flight, to his Mesopotamian brethren, and whether the state of affairs at Nahardea, and Nisibis, had awakened his hopes, and inflamed a noble jealousy, which induced him to risk any hazard to obtain equal independence for his brethren in Judæa; or whether there was any general and connected plan for the reassertion of Jewish liberty, he threw himself at once into the party of the heaven-inspired insurgent. "Behold," said the hoary enthusiast, in an assembly of the listening people, "the Star that is come out of Jacob; the days of the redemption are at hand." "Akiba," said the more cautious R. Johanan, "the grass will spring from thy jawbone, and yet the son of David will not have come." The period of the first appearance of the pretended Messiah is by no means certain; even his real name is unknown; he is designated only by his title, Bar-cochab, the Son of a Star, which his disappointed countrymen, afterwards, in their bitterness, changed to Bar-cosba, the Son of a Lie. He is said to have been a robber; he had learned a trick of keeping lighted tow, or straw, in his mouth, which was the secret of his breathing flames, to the terror of his enemies, and the unbounded confidence of his partisans. He seems to have been a man of no common vigour and ability; but, unhappily, this second Jewish war had no Josephus, and the whole history of the campaigns, where the Jews manifestly gained great advantages, and in which the most able general of Rome, Severus, found it expedient to act on the defensive, and reduce the province rather by blockade and famine than by open war, can only be made out from three short chapters of Dio Cassius;

occasional brief notices in other authors, and the Legends of the Talmud. Lucius Quietus, the able conqueror of Mesopotamia, suspected of ambitious designs on the empire, had been deprived first of his kindred Moorish troops, then of his province, and finally of his life. By a curious coincidence, the Roman commander, to whom the final demolition of Jerusalem had been committed by Titus, bore the name of Terentius Rufus; the prefect in Palestine, at the commencement of the revolt under Barcochab, was T. Annius, or Tynnius, called by the Rabbins, Tyrannus, or Turnus Rufus, the Wicked. Thus, the two men, who were the objects of the deepest detestation to the Jews, are perpetually confounded. Rufus is said, by the command of Hadrian, to have driven the plough over the ruins of Jerusalem. At the first threatening of the revolt, probably after the visit of Hadrian to the East, in the year 130 (A.C.), Rufus poured all the troops at his command into Judæa; he seized and imprisoned Akiba; but either his forces or his abilities were unequal to the crisis. The Romans could not believe that with the memory of the former war still on the lips of the fathers of the present generation, the Jews would provoke the danger of a second exterminating conflict. But for some time the insurgents had been busily employed in laying up stores of arms. By degrees, they got possession of all the strong heights, raised walls and fortifications, dug or enlarged subterranean passages and caverns, both for retreat and communication, and contrived by holes from above, to let light and air into those secret citadels, where they deposited their arms, held their counsels, and concealed themselves from the vigilance of the enemy. Multitudes crowded openly, or stole in secret, to range themselves under the banner of the Messiah. Native Jews and strangers swelled his ranks. It is probable that many of the fugitives from the insurgents in Egypt and Cyrene had found their way to Palestine, and lay hid in caves and fastnesses. Even many who were not Jews, for the sake of plunder and the licence of war, united themselves with the rebels. No doubt, some from the Mesopotamian provinces came to the aid of their brethren. The whole Jewish race throughout the world was in commotion; those who dared not betray their interest in the common cause openly, did so in secret, and perhaps some of the wealthy Jews in the remote provinces privately contributed from their treasures. Barcochab, if we may believe the Rabbins, found himself at the head of 200,000 men, a statement somewhat invalidated by the addition, that there was not a soldier who could not, putting his horse at full speed, tear up a cedar of Lebanon by the roots. Those who had denied or disguised their circumcision, hastened to renew that distinguishing mark of their Israelitish descent, and to entitle themselves to a share in the great redemption. The Christians, alone, stood

aloof, and would lend no ear, nor pay respect to the claims of another Messiah, a man of robbery and bloodshed, of earthly pretensions, and the aspirant founder of a temporal kingdom. Barcochab is reported to have revenged himself by the most cruel persecutions on those most dangerous opponents to his claim as the Messiah.

The first expedition of Barcochab was to make himself master of the ruins of Jerusalem. As we have before observed, probably some sort of rude town had grown up amid the wreck of the city. Pious pilgrims, no doubt, stole in secret to pay their adorations on the sacred hill; and some would think it worth while to venture all hazards, if their last remains might repose within the circuit of the Holy City. With what triumph must they have crowded to the same spot, when the conquering banner of the Messiah was unfolded, for here Barcochab openly assumed the name of king, and is said to have issued coins with his superscription, and with the year of the freedom of Jerusalem as the date.* Still the Jews avoided a battle in the open field. Turnus Rufus revenged himself with the most unrelenting cruelties on the defenceless. According to Eusebius, he put to death thousands of men, women, and children. But the obstinate courage and activity of the Jews were unbroken; they pursued their deliberate system of defence, so that, on the arrival of the famous Julius Severus to take the command, they were in possession of fifty of the strongest castles, and 985 villages. But Severus had learned the art of war against desperate savages in Britain. He turned their own policy against the insurgents. He ventured on no general battle with an enemy now perhaps grown to an overwhelming force; but he attacked their strongholds in detail, cut off their supplies, and reduced them to the greatest distress by famine. Yet the Romans experienced on their side, considerable losses, for Hadrian, whether with the army or in the neighbourhood, did not adopt the customary form in his despatches to the senate, "I rejoice if all is well with you and your children; with myself and the army all is well." In Jerusalem the insurgents were disheartened and confounded by the sudden falling in of the vast subterranean vaults, where, according to tradition, the remains of Solomon were buried. It was reported that this had been the treasure-house, as well as the sepulchre, of the Jewish kings, and stories were current that John Hyrcanus and Herod had successively violated the cemeteries, and enriched themselves with their spoils. Now their sudden fall not only made the Hill of Sion insecure, but was considered

* There is no historical account of this event, though there seems little doubt of the fact. Tychsen and others have concluded, from extant coins, that he was in possession of Jerusalem for three years; if so, it was from 132 to 135. The coins, however, are of very doubtful date and authority.

as of awful omen. The Romans, probably after a hard contest, made themselves masters of Jerusalem, and razed every building that remained to the ground: it was then, perhaps, if not before, that the plough was passed by Rufus over the devoted ground.

At length the discipline of the Roman troops, and the consummate conduct of Severus, brought the war nearly to a close. The strong city of Bither alone remained, the metropolis and citadel of the insurgents. The situation of this city is not certainly known; it is placed by Eusebius near Beth-horon, by others near the sea. How long Bither stood out after the siege was actually formed, is equally uncertain. When affairs began to wear a gloomy aspect, (thus write the Rabbins,) Eliezer, the son of Hamadai, enjoined the besieged to seek their last resource, prayer to the God of their fathers. All day long the zealous Rabbi was on his knees. As long as he prayed, like Moses during the battle with the Amalekites in the Desert, so long the Jews assumed new courage, and fought with unconquerable fury. A Samaritan undertook to silence by treachery the devout and prevailing Rabbi. He stole up to him where he was kneeling in prayer on a conspicuous eminence, and whispered some indistinct words in his ear. The vigilant Barcochab demanded what was the object of his message. The Rabbi could not answer. The Samaritan, after long pretended reluctance, declared that it was an answer to a secret message confided to him by the Rabbi, about capitulation. Barcochab commanded the Rabbi to be executed on the spot. This barbarous measure alienated and dispirited his followers. Bither was at length stormed, Barcochab was killed, and his head carried in triumph to the Roman camp. It was again on the fatal 9th of Ab* (August), the anniversary of the double destruction of Jerusalem, that Bither fell; it was razed to the ground.

Of the massacre the Rabbins tell frightful stories, but their horror is mitigated by their extravagance. More are said to have fallen at Bither than escaped with Moses from Egypt. The horses waded up to their bits in carnage. Blood flowed so copiously, that the stream carried stones weighing four pounds into the sea, according to their account, forty miles distant. The dead covered eighteen square miles, and the inhabitants of the adjacent region had no need to manure their ground for seven years. A more trustworthy authority, Dio Cassius, states, that during the whole war the enormous number of 580,000 fell by the sword, not including those who perished by famine, disease, and fire. The whole of Judæa was a desert; wolves and hyænas went howling along the streets of the desolate cities. Those who escaped the sword were scarcely more fortunate; they were

* The Jewish day of mourning has always been kept on the 9th, though it seems from Josephus that the 10th was the real day of the destruction.

reduced to slavery by thousands. There was a great fair held under a celebrated Terebinth, which tradition had consecrated as the very tree under which Abraham had pitched his tent. Thither his miserable children were brought in droves, and sold as cheap as horses. Others were carried away and sold at Gaza; others transported to Egypt. The account of the fate of Rabbi Akiba is singularly characteristic. He was summoned for examination before the odious Turnus Rufus. In the middle of his interrogations, Akiba remembered that it was the hour of prayer. He fell on his knees, regardless of the presence of the Roman, and of the pending trial for life and death, and calmly went through his devotions. In the prison, while his lips were burning with thirst, he nevertheless applied his scanty pittance of water to his ablutions. The barbarous Roman ordered the old man to be flayed alive, and then put to death. The most furious persecution was commenced against all the Rabbins, who were considered the authors and ringleaders of the insurrection. Chanania, the son of Theradion, was detected reading and expounding the Law; he was burned with the book which he was reading. It was forbidden to fill up the number of the great Synagogue, or Sanhedrin, but Akiba, just before his death, had named five new members; and Judah, the son of Bavah, secretly nominated others in a mountain glen, where he had taken refuge. Soldiers were sent to surprise Judah; he calmly awaited their coming, and was transfixed by 300 spears.

Hadrian, to annihilate for ever all hopes of the restoration of the Jewish kingdom, accomplished his plan of founding a new city on the site of Jerusalem, peopled by a colony of foreigners. The city was called Ælia Capitolina; Ælia after the prænomen of the emperor, Capitolina as dedicated to the Jupiter of the capitol. An edict was issued, prohibiting any Jew from entering the new city on pain of death, or approaching its environs, so as to contemplate even at a distance its sacred height. More effectually to keep them away, the image of a swine was placed over the gate leading to Bethlehem. The more peaceful Christians were permitted to establish themselves within the walls, and Ælia became the seat of a flourishing church and bishoprick.

BOOK XIX.

THE PATRIARCH OF THE WEST, AND THE PRINCE OF THE CAPTIVITY.

Re-establishment of the Community—Patriarch of Tiberias—his power and dominions—Jews in Egypt—Asia Minor—Greece—Italy—Spain—Gaul—Germany—Origin and nature of the Rabbinical Authority—The Worship of the Synagogue—Early History of the Patriarchate—Civil Contests—Contests with the Babylonian Jews—Relation with Rome—The Prince of the Captivity—Jews in China.

FOR the fourth time the Jewish people seemed on the brink of extermination. Nebuchadnezzar, Antiochus, Titus, Hadrian, had successively exerted their utmost power to extinguish, not merely the political existence of the state, but even the separate being of the people. It might have appeared impossible that anything like a community should again revive within Palestine; still more so, that the multitudes of Jews scattered over the whole face of the world should maintain any correspondence or intelligence, continue a distinct and unmingled race, or resist the process of absorption into the general population, which is the usual fate of small bodies of strangers, settled in remote and unconnected regions. In less than sixty years after the war under Hadrian, before the close of the second century after Christ, the Jews present the extraordinary spectacle of two regular and organised communities; one under a sort of spiritual head, the Patriarch of Tiberias, comprehending all of Israelitish descent who inhabited the Roman empire; the other under the Prince of the Captivity, to whom all the eastern Jews paid their allegiance. Gibbon has briefly stated the growth of the former of these principalities with his usual general accuracy, as regards facts, though the relation is coloured by his sarcastic tone, in which the bitter antipathy of his school to the Jewish race is strongly marked. "Notwithstanding these repeated provocations, the resentment of the Roman princes expired after the victory; nor were their apprehensions continued beyond the period of war and danger. By the general indulgence of polytheism, and by the mild temper of Antoninus Pius, the Jews were restored to their ancient privileges, and once more obtained the permission of circumcising their children, with the easy restraint that they should never confer on any foreign proselyte

that distinguishing mark of the Hebrew race. The numerous remains of that people, though they were still excluded from the precincts of Jerusalem, were permitted to form and to maintain considerable establishments both in Italy and in the provinces, to acquire the freedom of Rome; to enjoy municipal honours, and to obtain, at the same time, an exemption from the burthensome and expensive offices of society. The moderation or the contempt of the Romans gave a legal sanction to the form of ecclesiastical police which was instituted by the vanquished sect. The patriarch, who had fixed his residence at Tiberias, was empowered to appoint his subordinate ministers and apostles, to exercise a domestic jurisdiction, and to receive from his despised brethren an annual contribution. New synagogues were frequently erected in the principal cities of the empire; and the Sabbaths, the fasts, and the festivals, which were either commanded by the Mosaic Law, or enjoined by the traditions of the Rabbins, were celebrated in the most solemn and public manner. Such gentle treatment insensibly assuaged the stern temper of the Jews. Awakened from their dream of prophecy and conquest, they assumed the behaviour of peaceable and industrious subjects. Their irreconcileable hatred of mankind, instead of flaming out in acts of blood and violence, evaporated in less dangerous gratifications. They embraced every opportunity of over-reaching the idolaters in trade; and they pronounced secret and ambiguous imprecations against the haughty kingdom of Edom."*

Unfortunately it is among the most difficult parts of Jewish history to trace the growth of the patriarchal authority established in Tiberias, and its recognition by the whole scattered body of the nation, who, with disinterested zeal, and we do not scruple to add, a noble attachment to the race of Israel, became voluntary subjects and tributaries to their spiritual sovereign, and united with one mind and one heart to establish their community on a settled basis. It is a singular spectacle to behold a nation dispersed in every region of the world, without murmur or repugnance, submitting to the regulations, and taxing themselves

* According to the false Josephus, Tsepho, the grandson of Esau, conducted into Italy the army of Æneas, King of Carthage. Another colony of Idumeans, flying from the sword of David, took refuge in the dominions of Romulus. For these, or for other reasons of equal weight, the name of Edom was applied by the Jews to the Roman empire.—*Gibbon's note.* The false Josephus is a romancer of very modern date, though some of these legends are probably more ancient. It may be worth considering whether many of the stories in the Talmud are not history, in a figurative disguise, adopted from prudence. The Jews might dare to say many things of Rome, under the significant appellation of Edom, which they feared to utter publicly. Later and more ignorant ages took literally, and, perhaps, embellished, what was intelligible among the generation to which it was addressed.

to support the greatness of a supremacy which rested solely on public opinion, and had no temporal power whatever to enforce its decrees. It was not long before the Rabbins, who had been hunted down with unrelenting cruelty, began to creep forth from their places of concealment; the death of Hadrian, in a few years after the termination of the war, and the accession of the mild Antoninus, gave them courage, not merely to make their public appearance, but openly to re-establish their schools and synagogues. The school of Jamnia, called the vineyard, because the scholars stood in regular rows, was re-opened, and the Jewish youth crowded to the feet of their acknowledged teachers. Of the Rabbins who were considered legitimate members of the great Sanhedrin, there escaped the storm, Simon the son of Gamaliel, who had an hereditary title to the presidency (he is said to have been the only young scholar who escaped the wreck of Bither); five who had been named by Judah the son of Bava, Judah the son of Ilai, Simon the son of Jochai, R. Jose, R. Elasar, R. Nehemiah, and lastly, R. Meir. The first pious care of the Rabbins was to obtain permission to perform funeral rites for their brethren; this indulgence was long celebrated by a thanksgiving in their daily prayers; their next, to obtain an abrogation of the persecuting edicts. For this purpose Simon Ben Jochai, and a youth of great promise, were sent to Rome. This journey is adorned with the customary fables. They obtained the favour of the emperor by a miraculous cure of his sick daughter. It is certain, however, that Antoninus issued an edict which permitted the Jews to perform the rite of circumcision; but, as though he apprehended that the religion of this despised people might still make proselytes, they were forbidden to initiate strangers into the family of Israel.* Still it should seem that in Palestine they were watched with jealous vigilance. A story is related of the fall of the school in Jamnia (Jabne), which shows as well the unruly spirit of the Jews, as the rigorous police of the Romans. Simon Ben Jochai, who appears to have been by no means a safe person to be entrusted with a mission to Rome, makes a prominent figure in the narrative. During a public debate, at which R. Jehuda, R. Jose, and R. Simon Ben Jochai were present, the topic of discussion was the national character of their Roman masters. The cautious Jehuda turned the dangerous subject to their praise, on those points on which a Jew might conscientiously admire his oppressors. "How splendid," he exclaimed, "are the public works of this people! In

* Perhaps the confusion between the Jews and Christians, whose rapid progress excited great alarm, might be the real cause of this limitation; or it might be aimed at the Judaizing Christians, who insisted on circumcising their new converts; though, after all, it is by no means improbable that Judaism still made proselytes from the heathen.

every city they have built spacious market-places for the public use, for the commerce, and for the amusement of the inhabitants. They throw noble bridges over the rivers, and thus unite separate provinces, and facilitate the mutual intercourse of distant regions. How beautiful are their baths, which contribute as much to the health as to the enjoyment of the people!" Thus spoke R. Jehuda, the president. The fiery Simon Ben Jochai sprang up, and cried aloud, "Why this adulatory encomium on heathens? For what purpose are all these works erected, but to gratify their own rapacity and facilitate their exactions? Why do they build spacious market-places, but for the assembling together of harlots to gratify their licentiousness? Their baths are erected only for their own sensual delights; their bridges, that their collectors of tribute may pass from land to land. *We* occupy ourselves in Divine love; *we* study eternal and disregard temporal advantages."

The consequence of this imprudent speech was a formal accusation before the authorities. Simon was adjudged to have forfeited his life. R. Jose, because he had maintained a suspicious silence, was banished. R. Jehuda alone obtained a general licence to teach. Simon fled, but the school was suppressed. Another proof of the perpetual apprehension of insurrection is thus related:—The trumpet blast, which was sounded at the commencement of the month Tisri, awakened the suspicion of a governor, ignorant of Hebrew customs: it was reported to be a signal for general revolt. The governor was appeased by a prudent arrangement of Simon, the son of Gamaliel, who ordered that the trumpet should sound, not at the commencement, only in the middle of the prayers, thus clearly forming part of the service.

Nor was the reign of the philosophic M. Aurelius without danger, perhaps not without well-grounded suspicion of the Jews. The victories of Avidius Cassius over Vologeses, king of Parthia, and the capture of Ctesiphon, after a long siege, brought the Mesopotamian Jews once more under the dominion of Rome. Seleucia, in which there were many Jews, capitulated; but in violation of the terms, four or five thousand persons were put to the sword. Cassius assumed the purple in Syria; the Jews are supposed to have joined his standard, for Marcus Aurelius, though he displayed his characteristic lenity towards the Roman insurgents, punished the intractable Jews with the repeal of the favourable laws of Antoninus Pius. Their conduct seems to have ruffled the temper of the philosophic emperor, who declared that they were more unruly than the wild Sauromatæ and Marcomanni, against whom he was engaged in war. Yet these severe laws were either speedily annulled, or never carried into execution. The Rabbinical dominion gradually rose to greater power; the schools flourished; perhaps in this interval the great

synagogue or Sanhedrin had its other migrations, from Osha to Shepharaam, from Shepharaam to Bethshaaraim, from Bethshaaraim to Sepphoris, and finally to Tiberias, where it fixed its pontifical throne, and maintained its supremacy for several centuries. Tiberias, it may be remembered, was a town built by Herod Antipas, over an ancient cemetery, and therefore abominated, by the more scrupulous Jews, as a dwelling of uncleanness. But the Rabbins soon obviated this objection. Simon Ben Jochai, by his cabalistic art, discovered the exact spot where the burial-place had been; this was marked off, and the rest of the city declared, on the same unerring authority, to be clean. Here, then, in this noble city, on the shore of the Sea of Galilee, the Jewish pontiff fixed his throne; the Sanhedrin, if it had not, as the Jews pretend, existed during all the reverses of the nation, was formally re-established. Simon, the son and heir of Gamaliel, was acknowledged as the Patriarch of the Jews, and Nasi or President of the Sanhedrin. R. Nathan was the Ab-beth-din; and the celebrated R. Meir, the Hachim, or Head of the Law. In every region of the West, in every province of the Roman empire, the Jews of every rank and class submitted, with the utmost readiness, to the sway of their Spiritual Potentate. His mandates were obeyed, his legates received with honour, his supplies levied without difficulty, in Rome, in Spain, in Africa. At a somewhat later period, probably about the reign of Alexander Severus, the Christian writer, Origen, thus describes the power of the Jewish Patriarch. "Even now, when the Jews are under the dominion of Rome, and pay the didrachm, how great, by the permission of Cæsar, is the power of their Ethnarch! I myself have been a witness that it is little less than that of a king. For they secretly pass judgments according to their law, and some are capitally condemned, not with open and acknowledged authority, but with the connivance of the emperor. This I have learned, and am fully acquainted with, by long residence in their country."

Here, then, it may be well to take a survey of these dominions of the Western Patriarch, to ascertain, as far as possible, the origin and condition of the different settlements of Jews in Europe, Western Asia, and Africa, the constitution of their societies, and the nature of the authority exercised by the supreme pontiff.

It will have been seen, in many incidental notices, that long before the dissolution of the Jewish state, and before the promulgation of Christianity, this people were widely dispersed over the whole face of the globe. The following passage of Philo, in his letter of Agrippa, which might be confirmed by other quotations from Josephus, describes their state in his own days (the reign of Caligula): "Jerusalem is the city of my ancestors, the

metropolis, not only of Judæa, but of many other provinces, in consequence of the colonies which it has at different times sent out into the neighbouring countries, Egypt, Phœnicia, Syria, and Cœlesyria; and into more distant regions, Pamphylia, Cilicia, the greatest part of Asia Minor, as far as Bithynia, and the remote shores of the Euxine; so also into Europe, into Thessaly, Bœotia, Macedonia, Ætolia, Attica, Argos, Corinth, and into most, and those the best, parts of the Peloponnesus: and not only are the Continents full of Jewish colonies, but the principal islands also, Eubœa, Cyprus, and Crete. I say nothing of the countries beyond the Euphrates; for all of them, except a small portion, particularly Babylon and the Satrapies of the rich adjacent districts, have many Jewish inhabitants." The events of the Jewish history in Palestine tended to increase rather than diminish the number of those who were either dragged away as captives, or sought peace and security from the devastation of their native land in the less troubled provinces of the empire. Even where they suffered most, through their own turbulent disposition, or the enmity of their neighbours, they sprang again from their undying stock, however it might be hewn by the sword, or seared by the fire. Massacre seemed to have no effect in thinning their ranks, and, like their forefathers in Egypt, they still multiplied under the most cruel oppression. In Egypt and Cyrene, indeed, they had experienced the greatest losses, but on the visit of Hadrian to Alexandria, he found the city and country still swarming with Jews. The origin and history of the Egyptian, as well as of the Syrian, Jews, have been already traced. The Jews of Asia Minor owed their first establishment to Antiochus the Great, who settled great numbers in the different cities in that region. From Asia Minor they probably spread to Greece and to the islands. The clearest notion of their numbers in all this part of the world, including Galatia, Bithynia, and Cappadocia, may be found from the narrative of the Apostolic journeys. Whatever city Paul enters, he seems to find a synagogue, and a number of his countrymen, many of whom were powerful and opulent. We need only name the cities of Ephesus, Laodicea, Pergamus, Thessalonica, Athens, and Corinth. It is probable that in Asia Minor, and in Alexandria, the later Jews first generally adopted their commercial habits; but their condition was much more secure in the former country than among the fiery inhabitants of the factious Egyptian city. Many public decrees are extant, not only of the Roman authorities, particularly Julius Cæsar, which secure important privileges to the Jewish residents in Asia Minor, but likewise local ordinances of the different cities, Pergamus, Halicarnassus, Laodicea, Ephesus, and Miletus, highly favourable to these foreign denizens, and seeming to show that the two races

lived together on terms of perfect amity. In some of the occurrences related in the Acts of the Apostles, the Jews, in those times, appear a considerable and influential, by no means the proscribed and odious, race, which they were held in other quarters. The public decrees usually gave them the title of Roman citizens, a privilege to which many of the Jews (the well-known instance of St. Paul will occur to every one) had undoubtedly attained. It was their great object to obtain exemption from military service. In other times they do not seem to have objected to enrol themselves in the armies of their rulers. Some are said to have been in Alexander's army; and an improbable story is told, by a doubtful authority, Hecatæus, of their refusing and obtaining an exemption from being employed in building an idolatrous temple in Babylon. The striking story of Mosellama is more authentic.* But most likely, having betaken themselves to the more lucrative occupations of peace, at later periods they pleaded that it was contrary to their religion to fight, or to work, or even to march on the Sabbath, and that they could not partake of the same meat with the other soldiers; their plea seems to have been admitted. Of their wealth, we have a curious evidence. Their contributions to the temple were so ample, as to excite the jealous rapacity of the Roman governor. Cicero, in a memorable oration, vindicates Flaccus for not having permitted the provinces to be drained of their wealth for such a purpose, and holds up his example to other governors, complaining that Italy itself suffered by the exportation of so much wealth.

The origin of the Jews in Italy, or rather in Rome, is very obscure. It is usually ascribed to the vast number of slaves brought to the capital by Pompey after his conquest of Jerusalem. These slaves were publicly sold in the markets; yet, if we are to believe Philo, they were emancipated almost without exception by their tolerant masters, who were unwilling to do violence to their religious scruples. Is it not more probable, that there were some, if not many, opulent commercial Jews already in Rome, who, with their usual national spirit, purchased, to the utmost of their means, their unhappy countrymen, and enabled them to settle in freedom in the great metropolis? The passage in Cicero, alluded to above, is conclusive evidence to the wealth of the Jewish community in Italy. However that may be, it is certain that a vast number of Jewish libertines or freed-slaves inhabited

* While some Greek soldiers were watching with superstitious anxiety the flight of a bird, which was to be of good or evil omen, they were horror-struck to see it fall, transfixed by the arrow of their Jewish comrade. The Jew calmly answered, How much must yonder bird have known of the secrets of futurity, which knew not how to avoid the arrow of Mosellama the Jew?

Rome. Tacitus states their number at 4000. It appears from Josephus, as we have seen, that 8000 were present when Archelaus appeared before Augustus, and a vast number poured out to welcome the false Alexander. They formed the chief population of the Transtiberine region.* They shared (that is, the less wealthy) in the general largess of corn which was distributed among the poorer inhabitants of the city: by a special favour of Augustus,† if the distribution fell on a Sabbath, their portion was reserved. They were expelled by Tiberius, and a great number drafted off as soldiers to the unwholesome island of Sardinia; by Caligula they were oppressed; by Claudius once more expelled, or at least their synagogues closed on account of the feuds between the Jews and Christians. Yet here, as elsewhere, oppression and persecution seemed not to be the slightest check to their increase. They had a sort of council, or house of judgment, which decided all matters of dispute. To this, no doubt, either in the synagogue or law court attached to it, St. Paul expected to give an account of his conduct. The numbers of the Jews in Rome were doubtless much increased, but their respectability as well as their popularity much diminished, by the immense influx of the most destitute as well as the most unruly of the race, who were swept into captivity by thousands after the fall of Jerusalem. The language of the incidental notices which occur about the Jews in the Latin authors, after this period, seems more contemptuous, and implies that many of them were in the lowest state of penury, the outcasts of society. Juvenal bitterly complains that the beautiful and poetic grove of Egeria was let out to mendicant hordes of Jews, who pitched their camps like gipsies, in the open air, with a wallet and a bundle of hay for their pillow, as their only furniture. Martial alludes to their filth, and, what is curious enough, describes them as pedlars, venders of matches, which they trafficked for broken glass.

Of their establishment in the other provinces in the Roman empire, we have no certain information. In the middle ages the most extraordinary fables were invented, concerning their first settlement in Germany, France, and Spain. Those relating to the latter country may serve as a specimen. There they claimed descent from maritime adventurers in the time of Solomon, or from a part of their race transported to that country

* It is amusing to see the malicious satisfaction with which Basnage attempts to prove against his Roman Catholic opponents, that they were possessors of the Vatican.

† It seems to have been the amusement of the idle youth of Rome to visit the Jewish synagogue. The well-known passage in the ninth satire of Horace will occur to the classical reader. Though we have some doubts, whether the Judaism of the poet's friend, Fuscus Aristius, has not been inferred on insufficient grounds.

when Nebuchadnezzar conquered Spain!* Hebrew derivations were found for many of the Spanish cities, which proved, to the satisfaction even of later antiquaries, the early settlement of the Jews in that region; forgetting entirely the close affinity of the Phœnician and Punic dialects with the Hebrew, and the successive occupation of, at least, maritime Spain by these kindred nations. In fact, the Jews spread with the dominion of the Roman arms, part as slaves, part as free men with commercial objects, or seeking only a safe and peaceful settlement. Some, no doubt, made their livelihood by reputable traffic or industry, and attained to opulence; others were adventurers, more unscrupulous as to the means by which they obtained their subsistence. The heathen could not but look with something of the interest excited by wonder on this strange, unsocial, and isolated people, who dwelt among them, and yet were not of them. While the philosopher despised the fanaticism which he could not comprehend, the populace mingled something like awe with their dislike. The worse and more destitute of the race probably availed themselves of this feeling; many, half impostors and half enthusiasts, gained their livelihood by working on the superstitious terrors of the people, who were never more open to deception than in this age of comparative improvement. The empire swarmed with Jewish wonder-workers, mathematicians, astrologers, or whatever other name or office they assumed or received from their trembling hearers.

Yet, in some points, all of Hebrew blood, rich and poor, high and low, concurred, in their faithful attachment to their synagogue, their strict subordination to their religious teachers, and through their synagogue and teachers to the great spiritual head of their community, the Patriarch of Tiberias. Wherever Jews resided, a synagogue might be, and usually was, formed. Every synagogue was visited in turn by the Legate of the Patriarch. These legates were called apostles: the office probably existed before the fall of Jerusalem: the apostle collected the contributions for the temple. They had authority to regulate all differences which might arise, and to receive the revenue of the Patriarch. Every year a proclamation was made by sound of trumpet, in every synagogue, commanding the payment of the tribute: its final day of settlement was on the last of May. On the return of these legates they informed the Patriarch of the state of the synagogues, assisted him as counsellors, and held a distinguished rank among the people. The early Christians

* These fables were probably invented for the purpose of exculpating themselves with the Christians, as, having long before been separated from the nation, they could not have borne any part in the guilt of the Crucifixion of Christ. When the Christians took Toledo, this plea was urged; perhaps it was invented at that time.

accuse the Jews of having sent messengers throughout the world, for the purpose of anathematising them in their synagogues, and uttering a solemn curse upon the name of Jesus Christ. It is by no means unlikely that these legates received instructions to warn all the faithful Israelites against this detested innovation, and to counteract by every means in their power the progress of the new religion. No doubt the rapid growth of Christianity tended to strengthen the power of the synagogue, by constantly keeping alive the vigilance, and inflaming the zeal, of the more steadfast and ardent adherents to the Law. Indeed the point which mitigates, more than any other, our compassion for the sufferings of the Jews, is the readiness with which they joined the heathen in the persecution of the Christians. Too often the Jews, though themselves eating the bitter bread of slavery, and instructed in the best school for the humaner feelings, adversity, were seen rejoicing by the stake of the expiring Christian. In the beautiful description of the death of Polycarp, there is a frightful incident of the Jews howling around the body of the holy martyr.

The worship of the synagogue, with its appendant school or law court, where lectures were given, and knotty points of the law debated, became the great bond of national union, and has continued, though the monarchical centre of unity in Tiberias disappeared in a few centuries, to hold together the scattered nation in the closest uniformity. The worship of the synagogue is extremely simple. Wherever ten Jews were found, there a synagogue ought to be formed. The Divine Presence, the invisible Shechinah, descends not but where ten are met together; if fewer, the Divine Visitant was supposed to say, "Wherefore come I, and no one is here?" It was a custom, therefore, in some of the more numerous communities, to appoint ten "men of leisure," whose business it was to form a congregation.* The buildings were plain; in their days of freedom it was thought right that the house of prayer to God, from its situation or its form, should overtop the common dwellings of man; but in their days of humiliation, in strange countries, the lowly synagogue, the type of their condition, was content to lurk undisturbed in less conspicuous situations. Even in Palestine the synagogues must have been small, for Jerusalem was said to contain 460 or 480; the foreign Jews, from the different quarters of the world, seem each to have had their separate building, where they communicated in prayer with their neighbours and kindred. Such were the synagogues of the Alexandrians, the Cyrenians, and others. Besides the regular synagogues, which were roofed, in

* Such seems the simple solution of a question on which learned volumes have been written.

some places they had chapels or oratories, open to the air, chiefly perhaps where their worship was not so secure of protection from the authorities; these were usually in retired and picturesque situations, in groves, or on the sea-shore. In the distribution of the synagogue, some remote resemblance to the fallen temple was kept up. The entrance was from the east: in the centre stood an elevated tribune or rostrum, in the place of the great altar, where prayer, the only permitted sacrifice, and if from an humble and contrite heart, doubtless most acceptable to their Almighty Father, was constantly offered, and the book of the Law was read. At the west end stood a chest, in which the book was laid up, making the place, as it were, an humble Holy of Holies, though now no longer separated by a veil, nor protected by the Cherubim and Mercy Seat. Particular seats, usually galleries, were railed off for the women.

The chief religious functionary in the synagogue was called the angel, or bishop. He ascended the tribune, repeated or chanted the prayers, his head during the ceremony being covered with a veil. He called the reader from his place, opened the book before him, pointed out the passage, and overlooked him that he read correctly. The readers, who were three in number on the ordinary days, seven on the morning of the Sabbath, five on festivals, were selected from the body of the people. The Law of course was read, and the prayers likewise repeated, in the Hebrew language. The days of public service in the synagogue were the Sabbath, the second and fifth days of the week, Monday and Thursday. There was an officer in the synagogues out of Palestine, and probably even within its borders, called an interpreter, who translated the Law into the vernacular tongue, usually Greek in the first case, or Syro-Chaldaic in the latter. Besides the bishop, there were three elders, or rulers, of the synagogue, who likewise formed a court or consistory for the judgment of all offences. They had the power of inflicting punishment by scourging; from Origen's account, the patriarch of Tiberias had assumed the power of life and death. But the great control over the public mind lay in the awful sentence of excommunication. The anathema of the synagogue cut off the offender from the Israel of God; he became an outcast of society. The first process, usually, was the censure; the name and the offence of the delinquent were read for four succeeding Sabbaths, during which he had time to make his peace with the congregation; at the end of that period the solemn Niddui, or interdict, was pronounced, which for thirty days separated the criminal from the hopes and privileges of Israel. For more heinous offences, and against contumacious delinquents, the more terrific Cherem, or the still more fatal Shammata, the excommunication, was proclaimed. The Cherem

inflicted civil death, but, on due repentance and reparation for the crime, the same authority which denounced, might repeal the Cherem—the absolved offender was restored to life. But no power could cancel the irrevocable Shammata. Some indeed have doubted whether the last sentence was ever pronounced, or even was known to the law. Prudence would certainly have advised the disuse of a practice which might drive the desperate offender to seek that consolation in another faith, which was irrevocably denied him in his own: the church would have opened its gates to receive him who was doomed to perpetual exile from the synagogue. The sentence of excommunication was couched in the most fearful phrases. The delinquent was excommunicated, anathematised, accursed—by the book of the Law, by the ninety-three precepts, by the malediction of Joshua against Jericho, by that of Elisha against the children who mocked him, and so on through all the terrific threatenings of the ancient law and history. He was accursed by the mysterious names of certain spirits of deadly power. He was accursed by heaven and earth, by the Seraphim and by the heavenly orbs. "Let nothing good come out of him, let his end be sudden, let all creatures become his enemies, let the whirlwind crush him, the fever and every other malady and the edge of the sword smite him, let his death be unforeseen, and drive him into outer darkness." Excommunication, as we have said, inflicted a civil death; how far, at least in the milder form, it excluded from the synagogue, seems not quite clear. But no one, except his wife and children, might approach the moral leper—all others must avoid him the distance of a toise. If there were a dead body in his house, no one might inter it; if a child be born, the father must circumcise it. Public detestation was not appeased by death. No one mourned him who died excommunicated; his coffin was stoned, and a heavy slab was placed over his remains by the hands of justice, either as a mark of infamy, or to prevent him from rising again at the last day. No doubt these spiritual terrors were often abused by the domineering Rabbi; but it is as little to be questioned, that they exercised a high moral influence. The excommunication smote the adulterer, or the unnatural father, who, in their striking language, more cruel than the ravens, neglected the children whom God had given.

The influence of the Rabbins was not grounded on the public services of religion alone. The whole course of education was committed to their care, or at least to their superintendence.* In

* The following is considered the authorised course of Jewish education. As soon as the children can speak, they are taught certain religious axioms; from three or four to six or seven they learn their letters; at that age they go to school, and are taught to read the Pentateuch; at ten they commence the Mischna; at thirteen and one day they are considered responsible, and

all those interesting epochs of domestic life in which the heart is most open to impressions of reverence and attachment, the Rabbi, even where the ancient Levite had no office, had made himself an indispensable part of the ceremony. When the house rejoiced in the birth of a man child, though circumcision was not necessarily performed in the synagogue, nor was the operator usually of that order, yet ill-omened and unblest was the eighth-day feast which was not graced by the presence of a Rabbi. In marriages the Rabbi joined the hands, pledged the cup, and pronounced the seven prayers of benediction over the wedded pair. The Rabbi attended the sick, and consoled him with the assurance of the certain resurrection of all faithful Israelites to their exclusive Paradise, and he attended at the interment of the dead. Nor was this all: by degrees the whole life of the Jew was voluntarily enslaved to more than Brâhminical or monkish minuteness of observance. Every day and every hour of the day, and every act of every hour, had its appointed regulations, grounded on distorted texts of Scripture, or the sentences of the wise men, and artfully moulded up with the national reminiscences of the past or their distinctive hopes of the future,—the divine origin of the law, the privileges of God's chosen people, the restoration to the Holy City, the coming of the Messiah. The Jew with his early prayer was to prevent the rising sun, but more blessed he who encroached upon the night to lament, before the dawn, the fate of Jerusalem. His rising from his bed, his manner of putting on the different articles of dress, the disposition of his fringed tallith, his phylacteries on his head and arms, his ablutions, his meals, even the calls of nature, were subjected to scrupulous rules—both reminding him that he was of a peculiar race, and perpetually reducing him to ask the advice of the wise men, who alone could set at rest the trembling and scrupulous conscience. Nor was it enough that the all-seeing eye of God watched with jealous vigilance the minutest acts of his people; Rabbinical authority peopled the air with spirits of beneficent or malign aspect; the former might be revolted by the least uncleanness, the latter were ever ready to take advantage of every delinquency. The wise men alone were well acquainted with the nature, the orders, the powers, or the arts of these mysterious beings; and thus a new and unbounded field was opened for their interference. Such was the character of the Rabbinical dominion as it was gradually, though perhaps not as yet perfectly, developed. Such (for this dominion now assumed a monarchical form) was the kingdom of the Patriarch of Tiberias, in its boundaries as extensive as that

are bound to keep the 613 precepts of the law; at fifteen they study the Gemara, *i. e.*, the Talmud; at eighteen they marry; at twenty they enter into business.

of Rome, and founded on the strongest basis, the blind and zealous attachment of its subjects.

Before long the Sanhedrin of that city began to assume a loftier tone, their edicts were dated as from Jerusalem, their school was called Sion. But into this spiritual court, as into that of more splendid and worldly sovereigns, ambition and intrigue soon found their way. The monarch could not brook any constitutional limitation to his state or authority; the subordinate officers, the aristocracy of this singular state, were eager to usurp upon the throne. The first collision was on the all-important point of etiquette. No sooner was Simon, son of Gamaliel, quietly seated in the Patriarchate, than he began to assert or enlarge his prerogative. His Ab-beth-din, R. Nathan, and his Hachim, R. Meir, enjoyed a larger share of his state than he was willing to concede. When any one of these heads of the spiritual senate entered, the whole assembly was accustomed to rise, and to remain standing till he was seated. This equality of respect was galling to the pride of Simon; he determined to vindicate the superior dignity of his chair, and took an opportunity of moving, in the absence of the parties concerned, that the whole assembly should rise only on the entrance of the Patriarch, on that of the Ab-beth-din two rows, on that of the Hachim only one. The next time that R. Nathan and R. Meir made their appearance, this order was observed. The degrading innovation went to their hearts. They dissembled their resentment, but entered into a secret conspiracy to dethrone or to humiliate the unconstitutional despot. "He," said R. Meir, "who cannot answer every question which relates to the word of God, is not worthy to preside in the great Sanhedrin. Let us expose his ignorance, and so compel him to abdicate. Then you shall be Patriarch, and I your Ab-beth-din." In secret council they framed the most intricate and perplexing questions to confound the despot. Happily for him their conversation was overheard by a learned and friendly member of the Sanhedrin, who began to discuss in a loud tone, so as to be heard by Simon in the neighbouring chamber, the points on which it was agreed to attack and perplex the overbearing Patriarch. At the next sitting, the rebels, Nathan and Meir, advanced to the charge with their formidable host of difficulties. To their confusion, Simon, forewarned, repulsed them on all points, and unravelled, with the utmost readiness, the most intricate questions. Simon triumphed, the rebellious Ab-beth-din and Hachim were expelled from the Sanhedrin. But still they kept up the war, and daily assailed the Patriarch with a new train of difficulties, for which they required written answers. At length the civil contest ended, through the intervention of the more moderate. The ex-Ab-beth-din and ex-Hachim were reinstated; but, on the

momentous point whether the whole Sanhedrin rose on their entrance, or only two rows, we deeply regret that we must leave the reader in the same lamentable ignorance with ourselves.

Not content, or rather flushed, with this advance towards unlimited monarchy in his own dominions, the high-minded Simon began to meditate schemes of foreign conquest. The independence or equality of the head of the Babylonian community haunted him, as that of the Patriarch of Constantinople did the early popes; and a cause of quarrel, curiously similar to that about the time on which Easter was to be kept, speedily arose. The schools of Babylonia and Palestine fell into an open schism concerning the calculation of the paschal feast. Simon determined to assert the superiority of the patriarchate of Tiberias over his disobedient brethren. The scene is in the highest degree characteristic. It must, however, be premised, that it is by no means certain at what time the Princes of the Captivity commenced their dynasty. In the following story, Ahia appears as the head of the community; but probably the prince had not yet obtained the influence, or assumed the state, which, during the first fifty years of the third century, distinguished the Jewish sovereign of the East. Hananiah, who taught at Nahar-pakód, and Judah Ben Bethuriah, were the most eminent of the learned teachers in the schools of Babylon; and to humble their pride and bring them into subordination to the seat of learning in Tiberias, was the great object of the mission which was despatched by the Patriarch. The two legates were furnished with three letters. They delivered the first to Hananiah, which bore the superscription, "To your holiness." Delighted with their recognition of a title considered of high importance, Hananiah courteously inquired the reason of their coming.—"To learn your system of instruction." Still more flattered, Hananiah received the ambassadors with the utmost cordiality, and commended them to the people, as worthy of every honour, both as descendants of the high priest (for the Patriarch of Tiberias claimed his lineage from Aaron) and for their own personal merit. When the treacherous legates had secured their ground in the good opinion of the people, they began to controvert the judgments of Hananiah, to animadvert on his opinions, and to lessen him by every means in the public estimation. Hananiah, enraged at this abuse of his kindness, summoned a second assembly of the people, and denounced the legates as traitors and ignorant men. The people replied, "That which thou hast built, thou canst not so soon pull down; the hedge which thou hast planted, thou canst not pluck up without injury to thyself." Hananiah demanded their objections to his system of instruction. They answered, "Thou hast dared to fix intercalations and new moons, by which great inconformities have arisen between the

brethren in Babylonia and Palestine." "So did Rabbi Akida," said Hananiah, "when in Babylon." "Akiba," they rejoined, "left not his like in Palestine." "Neither," cried the desperate Rabbi, "have I left my equal in Palestine." The legates produced their second letter, which ran in these mysterious words: "That which thou leftest a kid, is grown up a strong-horned goat;" it meant that the Sanhedrin, which he left without power, had regained all its authority. Hananiah was struck domb. R. Isaac, one of the deputies, saw his time: he mounted the tribune, from which the law was usually read. "These," he said, naming them, "are the holy days of God — these the holy days of Hananiah!" An indistinct murmur ran through the synagogue. R. Nathan, the second deputy, arose and read the verse of Isaiah, "Out of Sion goeth forth the law, and the word of God from Jerusalem." Then, with a bitter intonation, "Out of Babylon goeth forth the law, the word of God from Nahar-pakod." The assembly was in an uproar. "Alter not the word of God," was the universal cry. The legates followed up their advantage and produced their third letter, which threatened excommunication against the factious opponents of their authority. They added these emphatic words:—"The *learned* have sent us, and commanded us thus to say. If he will submit, well; if not, utter at once the interdict. So likewise set the choice before our brethren in foreign parts. If they will stand by us, well; if not, let them ascend their high places; let Ahia build them an altar, and Hananiah (he was of Levitical descent) sing at the sacrifice; and let them at once set themselves apart and say, We have no portion in the Israel of God." From all sides an instantaneous cry arose, "Heaven preserve us from heresy—we have still a portion in the Israel of God." The authority of the Sanhedrin in Tiberias was universally recognised. Judah Ben Bethuriah, as well as Hananiah, was forced to bow to the yoke; and till the political separation of the Babylonian from the Western Jews, on the restoration of the Persian monarchy (for the province had now been again brought under the Roman dominion by the conquests of Verus), the Patriarch of Tiberias maintained his uncontested supremacy over the whole Jewish commonalty. In the preceding history, both in the object and the manner in which it was conducted, we are almost tempted to inquire whether it is not a scene borrowed from the annals of the Papal Church.

But before we describe the re-establishment of the Resch-Glutha, or Prince of the Captivity, in all the state and splendour of an Oriental sovereign, far outshining, at least in pomp, his rival sovereign in Tiberias, we return to the west to trace the history of the Palestinian Jews, as connected with that of their Roman masters. During all the later conflicts with Rome, the

Samaritans had escaped by quiet submission the miseries which had so perpetually fallen on their more unruly brethren; they had obtained the rights of Roman citizenship for their fidelity. During the first establishment of the Rabbinical dominion at Tiberias, its chiefs had displayed an unprecedented degree of liberality towards their once detested neighbours. Though they sarcastically denominated them "the proselytes of the lions," yet they would inhabit the same city, sleep in the same house, eat at the same table, and even partake of animals which they had killed. This unusual mildness rested on the authority of R. Akiba, and seems to strengthen the suspicion that it was grounded on policy, and that the enterprising Rabbi had laid a deliberate scheme of uniting in one league all who claimed Jewish descent. But this amity between the two hostile sects was but transient. One Rabbi declared that it was better to use water for an offering than Samaritan wine. Another, in their own city, openly accused them of worshipping idols on Gerizim; he hardly escaped with his life. Political circumstances increased the jealousies, which at last broke out into open hostilities; and opportunities occurred in which they might commit mutual acts of violence, without the interference of the ruling powers.

In one of the great contests for the empire, they espoused opposite parties. The Samaritans, unfortunately for themselves, were on the losing side. Pescennius Niger had assumed the purple in Syria. The Jews presented a petition for the reduction of their taxation. "Ye demand," said the stern Roman, "exemption from tribute for your soil—I will lay it on the air you breathe." The Samaritans took up arms for Niger, the Jews threw themselves into the party of Severus. That able general soon triumphed over all opposition, and severely punished the partisans of his rival: the Samaritans forfeited their privilege of Roman citizenship. The presence of the emperor overawed the conflicting factions, though Severus himself was in great danger from a daring robber of the country, named Claudius, who boldly rode into his camp, saluted and embraced him, and before orders could be given for his seizure, had escaped. Severus celebrated a Jewish triumph, probably on account of the general pacification of the province. His laws were favourable to the Jews. The edict of Antonine was re-enacted, though still with its limitation against circumcising proselytes. The Jews were permitted to undertake the tutelage of pagans, which shows that they had still the privileges of Roman citizenship, and they were exempt from burthens incompatible with their religion. Still they were interdicted from approaching the walls of the Holy City, and their general condition is thus described by Tertullian, who wrote during the reign of Severus. "Dispersed and vagabond, exiled from their native soil and air, they wander over the face of the

earth, without a king, either human or divine; and even as strangers, they are not permitted to salute with their footsteps their native land."

The Jews and Christians contest the honour of having furnished a nurse to the fratricide son of Severus, Caracalla.* If this tyrant indeed sucked the milk of Christian gentleness, his savage disposition turned it to gall. According to the Rabbinical legends, he was so attached to his Jewish playmates, as to have shed tears when one of them was whipt by order of the emperor. Indeed for several reigns, Judaism might boast its influence on the imperial throne. Among the strange medley of foreign superstitions with which the filthy Heliogabalus offended even the easy and tolerant religion of his Roman subjects, he adopted the Jewish usages of circumcision and abstinence from swine's flesh. And, in the reign of the good Alexander Severus, that beautiful oasis in the desert of this period of the imperial history, the Jews enjoyed the equal protection and the favour of the virtuous sovereign. Abraham, as well as Christ, had his place in the emperor's gallery of divinities, or men worthy of divine honours. Alexander was even called the Father of the Synagogue.

In the mean time, the Patriarchal throne had been ascended by the most celebrated of the Rabbinical sovereigns; Jehuda, sometimes called the Nasi or Patriarch, sometimes the Holy, sometimes emphatically the Rabbi, succeeded his father, Simon, son of Gamaliel. Jehuda is said to have been born on the day on which R. Akiba died; an event predicted, according to his admirers, in the verse of Solomon—"*One sun ariseth, and one sun goeth down.*" Akiba was the setting—Jehuda the dawning sun. He was secretly circumcised, in defiance of the law of Hadrian. His whole life was of the most spotless purity; hence he was called the Holy, or the Holiest of the Holy. R. Jehuda was the author of a new constitution to the Jewish people. He embodied in the celebrated Mischna, or Code of traditional Law, all the authorised interpretations of the Mosaic Law, the traditions, the decisions of the learned, and the precedents of the courts or schools. It is singular that this period is distinguished

* Jost, in his "Geschichte der Israëliten seit der zeit der Maccabäer," conceives that the strange stories in the Jewish writers, about the intercourse between one of the Antonines, (most assert the first, the Pious,) and the head of the Sanhedrin of Tiberias, and his secret Judaism, are grounded on this tale of Caracalla. We take the opportunity of expressing our obligation to this work, which has been of the greatest use in the composition of this last volume of our History. We differ from Jost, who is a pupil of Eichhorn, on many points, particularly the composition of the older Scriptures, but we gladly bear testimony to the high value of his work, which, both in depth of research and arrangement, is far superior to the desultory, and by no means trustworthy; volumes of Basnage.

by the labours of the great Roman lawyers in the formation of a code of jurisprudence for the whole empire. It might seem as if the Jews, constituting thus, as it were, an *imperium in imperio*, a state within a state, were ambitious of providing themselves with their own pandects, either in emulation of their masters, or lest their subjects might discover the superior advantage of a written code over the arbitrary decisions of the Rabbinical interpreters of their original polity. The sources from which the Mischna was derived, may give a fair view of the nature of the Rabbinical authority, and the manner in which it had superseded the original Mosaic constitution. The Mischna was grounded, 1. On the written Law of Moses. 2. On the Oral Law, received by Moses on Mount Sinai; and handed down, it was said, by uninterrupted tradition. 3. The decisions or maxims of the Wise Men. 4. Opinions of particular individuals, on which the schools were divided, and which still remained open. 5. Ancient usages and customs. The distribution of the Mischna affords a curious exemplification of the intimate manner in which the religious and civil duties of the Jews were interwoven, and of the authority assumed by the Law over every transaction of life. The first book considers the people as cultivators of the soil, and appears to imply that they were still, to a considerable extent, landed proprietors in Palestine. It regulates all affairs of husbandry—trees, fruits, seeds, &c. The second book relates to festivals and holy days. The third contains the statutes relating to marriage and the female sex. The fourth considers the Jew chiefly in his commercial character; it defines the law of property, exchange, damage, loss, restitution. The fifth treats of holy things, oblations, vows, &c. The sixth, of things clean and unclean.

As the object of this great work was to fix, once for all, on undoubted authority, the whole unwritten law, some of the more zealous Rabbins reprobated this measure of Jehuda the Holy, as tending to supersede or invalidate their own personal weight. But the multiplication of written statutes enlarges rather than contracts the province of the lawyer; a new field was opened for ingenuity, and comment was speedily heaped upon the Mischna, till it was buried under its weight, as the Mosaic Law had been before by the Mischna. The interpreters of the Mischna assumed a particular name, the Tanaim. In fact, the acknowledgment of the Mischna as a sort of new constitution, powerfully contributed to the maintenance of the Rabbinical authority after the fall of the Patriarchate and the extinction of the schools. It threw back the written Law into a sort of reverential and mysterious obscurity. Never was such honour paid to the books of Moses as by the Rabbins of Tiberias, or such labour employed in their preservation: every letter was counted, every dot, every

iota sanctified, as perhaps of the deepest import; but they were dark oracles, whose profound meaning could not be caught by the vulgar ear; while from the formal, and as it were constitutional, recognition of the unwritten law, as embodied in the Mischna, it became the popular and practical code, until the more voluminous Talmud superseded, in its turn, the Mischna. Those ponderous tomes were at once the religious and civil institutes of the Jewish people, and swayed the Jews with an uncontested authority as the Acts of the Saints and the canon law the nations of Christian Europe.

In the mean time the rival throne in Babylonia, that of the Prince of the Captivity, was rapidly rising to the state and dignity which perhaps did not attain its perfect height till under the Persian monarchs. There seems to have been some acknowledged hereditary claim in R. Hona, who now appears as the Prince of the Captivity, as if his descent from the house of David had been recognised by the willing credulity of his brethren. At least, if any reliance is to be placed in a speech attributed to R. Jehuda, that if R. Hona were to make his appearance, he should do homage to him: a submission which would not, it may be thought, have been extorted from the Patriarch of Tiberias, even the modest and humble R. Jehuda, unless general opinion had invested the rival chieftain with some peculiar sanctity. The Prince of the Captivity might recall in his splendour, particularly during his inauguration, some lofty reminiscences of the great Jewish monarchy, under the ancestors from whom he claimed his descent, the holy David and the magnificent Solomon, though affectingly mingled with allusions to the present state of degradation. The ceremonial of his installation is thus described. The spiritual heads of the people, the masters of the learned schools, the elders, and the people, assembled in great multitudes within a stately chamber, adorned with rich curtains, in Babylon, where, during his days of splendour, the Resch-Glutha fixed his residence. The prince was seated on a lofty throne. The heads of the schools of Sura and Pumbeditha were on his right hand and left. These chiefs of the learned men then delivered an address, exhorting the new monarch not to abuse his power; he was called to slavery rather than to sovereignty, for he was prince of a captive people. On the next Thursday he was inaugurated by the laying on of hands, and the sound of trumpets, and acclamations. He was escorted to his palace with great pomp, and received magnificent presents from all his subjects. On the Sabbath all the principal people assembled before his house, he placed himself at their head, and, his face covered with a silken veil, proceeded to the Synagogue. Benedictions and hymns of thanksgiving announced his entrance. They then brought him the Book of the Law, out of which he

read the first line, afterwards he addressed the assembly, with his eyes closed out of respect. He exhorted them to charity, and set the example by offering liberal alms to the poor. The ceremony closed with new acclamations, and prayers to God that, under the new Prince, he would be pleased to put an end to their calamities. The Prince gave his blessing to the people, and prayed for each province that it might be preserved from war and famine. He concluded his orisons in a low voice, lest his prayer should be repeated to the jealous ears of the native monarchs, for he prayed for the restoration of the kingdom of Israel, which could not rise but on the ruins of their empire. The Prince returned to his palace, where he gave a splendid banquet to the chief persons of the community. After that day he lived in a sort of stately Oriental seclusion, never quitting his palace except to go to the schools of the learned, where, as he entered, the whole assembly rose and continued standing, till he took his seat. He sometimes paid a visit to the native Sovereign in Babylon (Bagdad). This probably refers to a somewhat later period. On these great occasions his imperial host sent his own chariot for his guest; but the Prince of the Captivity dared not accept the invidious distinction, he walked in humble and submissive modesty behind the chariot. Yet his own state was by no means wanting in splendour: he was arrayed in cloth of gold: fifty guards marched before him; all the Jews, who met him on the way, paid their homage, and fell behind into his train. He was received by the eunuchs, who conducted him to the throne, while one of his officers, as he marched slowly along, distributed gold and silver on all sides. As the Prince approached the imperial throne, he prostrated himself on the ground, in token of vassalage. The eunuchs raised him and placed him on the left hand of the Sovereign. After the first salutation, the Prince represented the grievances or discussed the affairs of his people.

The court of the Resch-Glutha is described as equally splendid; in imitation of his Persian master, he had his officers, counsellors, and cup-bearers. Rabbins were appointed as satraps over the different communities. This state, it is probable, was maintained by a tribute raised from the body of the people, and substituted for that which, in ancient times, was paid for the temple in Jerusalem. His subjects in Babylonia were many of them wealthy. They were husbandmen, shepherds, and artisans. The Babylonian garments were still famous in the West, and probably great part of that lucrative manufacture was carried on by the Jews. Asinai and Asilai, it will be recollected, were weavers. It is said, indeed, in the usual figurative style, of a Jew merchant, of Babylon, that he had 1000 vessels on the sea, and 1000 cities on land. They prided themselves on their learning as well as their wealth. Though the Palestinian Jews

affected to speak with contempt of Babylonian wisdom, yet in general estimation the schools of Nahardea, Sera, and Pumbeditha, might compete with Sepphoris and Tiberias.

Whether the authority of the Prince of the Captivity extended beyond Babylonia and the adjacent districts, is uncertain. The limits of Persia form an insuperable barrier to our knowledge, and almost all the rest of Asia, during this period, is covered, as it were, with impenetrable darkness. Many Jews were no doubt settled in Arabia. Mahomet found them both numerous and powerful, and a Jewish dynasty had long sat on one of the native thrones; but this subject will come under our notice when we consider the influence of the progress of Mahometanism, as connected with the History of the Jews. All other accounts of Oriental Jews, at this early period, are so obscure,* so entirely or so nearly fabulous, that they may wisely be dismissed: but there is one curious point, which, as it seems to rest on better evidence, demands more particular notice, the establishment of a Jewish colony in China, if not anterior, certainly immediately subsequent, to the time of our Lord. This singular discovery was made known to Europe by the Jesuit missionaries, but unfortunately the Father Gozani, who had the best opportunity of obtaining accurate information both as to their history and the manuscripts of the law which they possessed, was ignorant of the Hebrew language. It was inferred from their tradition, in our opinion, somewhat hastily, that Jews had been settled in the country 249 years before the Christian era. More authentic statements fixed their introduction into the empire towards the close of the reign of Mingti, of the dynasty of Han, who reigned from 58 to 75, A.C. They were originally 70 *sings*, or families, and settled in the cities of Nimpo, Ninghiu, Hamtcheu, Peking, and Caifongfou. Only seven remained in the middle of the seventeenth century, all in the latter city, the capital of Honan. They came from Si-yu, the west country, and their Hebrew language betrayed evident signs of corruption from the introduction of Persian words. They could not have been of the earlier dispersion, for they had the book of Ezra, and highly reverenced his name. They knew nothing, or at least had preserved no knowledge of Christ or his religion. They were employed in agriculture and traffic. They had cultivated learning with success, and some of them, as it was attested by extant inscriptions, had been highly honoured with the imperial favour, and had attained the rank of Mandarins. One of these inscriptions,

* That there were Parthian as well as Elamite (Persian) and Mesopotamian Jews, is clear from the Acts of the Apostles; the traditions of Christianity assert the early propagation of the faith in those regions, which intimates, we are inclined to think, that the Jews were numerous, but little is known which is either distinct or certain.

bearing date in 1515, praises the Jews for their integrity and fidelity, in agricultural pursuits, in traffic, in the magistracy, and in the army, and their punctual observance of their own religious ceremonies: it assures them of the emperor's high esteem. They paid great respect to the name of Confucius, and after the Chinese customs preserved the memory of their fathers, with religious reverence, on tablets inscribed with their names; in other respects they were strict Jews: they observed the Sabbath, lighting no fire, and preparing their food on the preceding day: they practised circumcision on the eighth day: they intermarried only among themselves. They believe, according to the Jesuit, in Purgatory, Hell, Paradise, the Resurrection, and the last Judgment; in Angels, Cherubim and Seraphim. They neither make, nor attempt to make, proselytes. Their sacred edifice (a remarkable fact) resembles much more the temple than the modern synagogue. It is situated in an open space, among pavilions or avenues of trees. It consists of a nave and two aisles, the centre is divided into a holy place, and a Holy of Holies, which is square without and circular within; here are deposited the books of the Law,* and the sacred chamber is only entered by the chief priest. The chief priest is not distinguished by any splendour of apparel, only by a red belt of silk, which passes over his right and under his left shoulder. They chaunt the Sacred Scripture and their prayers, as Father Gozani had heard the Jews in Italy. They entertain distinct though remote hopes of the coming of the Messiah. Such, in a brief outline, is the history of one branch of this extraordinary people, thus in the eastern as well as the western extremity of the old world, resisting the common laws by which nations seem to be absorbed into each other. However opposite the institutions, the usages, the manners of the people among whom they dwell; whether the government be mild or intolerant, the Jews, equally inflexible and unsocial, maintain their seclusion from the rest of mankind. The same principles operate on the banks of the Yellow River, and on those of the Tiber or the Seine; the Jew, severed for ages from all intercourse with his brethren, amid the inaccessible regions of the Celestial Empire, in most respects, remains as he would have been, if he had continued to inhabit the valleys of Palestine, under the constant and immediate superintendence of the national chief of his religion, the Patriarch of Tiberias.

* The learned Baron de Sacy has clearly shown that the existing copies of the sacred writings among the Chinese Jews, imperfect as they are, are not older than the year 1620, A.C. Their former sacred books had been destroyed first by an inundation of the great Yellow River in 1446, afterwards by a fire about 1600, and lastly, those they possess were greatly damaged by a second inundation in 1642.

BOOK XX.

JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

Effects of the Great Revolutions in the World, from the fourth to the eighth Century—Restoration of the Persian Kingdom and Magian Religion—Jews of Mesopotamia—Babylonian Talmud—Establishment of Christianity—Attempts at Conversion—Constantine—Julian—Rebuilding the Temple of Jerusalem—Theodosius and St. Ambrose—Conflicts between Jews and Christians—Conversions in Minorca and Crete—Tumults in Alexandria—Fall of the Patriarchate.

THE middle of the third century beheld all Israel thus incorporated into their two communities, under their Papacy and their Caliphate; the great events which succeeded during the five following centuries, to the end of the seventh, or the middle of the eighth, which operated so powerfully on the destinies of the whole world, in the east as well as in the west, could not but exercise an important influence over the condition, and, in some respects, the national character of the Jews. Our history will assume, perhaps, its most intelligible form, if we depart in some degree from a dry chronological narrative, and survey it in relation to the more important of these revolutions in the history of mankind. 1st, The restoration of the Magian religion in the East, under the great Persian monarchy, which arose on the ruins of the Parthian empire. 2ndly, The establishment of Christianity as the religion of the Roman empire. 3rdly, The invasion of the barbarians. 4thly, The rise and progress of Mahometanism.

I. The first of these points we have in some degree anticipated. The Prince of the Captivity probably rose to power in the interval between the abandonment of the Mesopotamian provinces by Hadrian, about 118, A. C., and the final decay of the Parthian kingdom, about 229, when that empire, enfeebled by the conquests of Trajan, and by the assumption of independence in the Persian province, held, but with a feeble hand, the sovereignty over its frontier districts. But his more splendid state seems to have been assumed after the accession of the Persian dynasty. The reappearance of the Magian religion, as the dominant faith of the East, after having lain hid, as it were, for centuries among the mountains of Iran, is an event so singular, that it has

scarcely received the notice which it deserves in history. It arrested at once the progress of Christianity in the east, which was thrown back upon the western provinces of Asia, and upon Europe, not without having received a strong though partial tinge from its approximation to that remarkable faith. The great Heresiarch Manes attempted to blend the two systems of belief—an attempt the less difficult, as many among the more successful of the early heretics had already admitted into their creed the rudiments of Oriental philosophy, which formed the ground-work of Magianism: but Manes met the fate of most conciliators; he was rejected, and probably both himself and his proselytes violently persecuted by both parties. In what manner the sovereigns of Persia, and their triumphant priesthood, conducted themselves at first towards their Jewish subjects in Babylonia, we have little certain intelligence. Some stories, which bear the stamp of authenticity, appear to intimate persecution. The usage of the Jews in *burying* the dead was offensive to the Magians; and there were certain days in which no light was permitted to be burning, excepting in the Fire Temples. The Jews were unwillingly constrained to pay this homage to the Guebre ceremonial. It is said that a fire-worshipper came into a room in Pumbeditha, where Abba Bar Hona lay ill, and took away the light. R. Jehuda cried out, "Oh, merciful Father! take us under thy protection, or lead us rather into the hands of the children of Esau" (the Romans).

But on the whole their condition must have been favourable, as the pomp of their prince, the wealth of his subjects, and the flourishing condition of the Mesopotamian schools, are strong testimonies to the equitable and tolerant government of their Persian rulers. The Oriental cast, which many of their opinions had assumed as early as the Babylonian captivity, and the prevalence of the cabalistic philosophy, which, in its wild genealogy of many distinct æons or intelligences, emanating from the pure and uncreated light, bore a close analogy to the Dualism of the Magians; and its subordinate hierarchy of immaterial and spiritual beings, angels, or genii, would harmonise more easily with, or at least be less abhorrent from, the prevailing tenets of the Magians, than the more inflexible Christianity, which rejected the innovations of Manes.

The compilation of the Babylonian Talmud, as it shows the industry of its compilers, seems to indicate likewise the profound peace enjoyed by the Jewish masters of the schools. This great work was commenced and finished under the superintendence of Rabbi Asche. This celebrated head of the schools introduced a new mode of teaching; his scholars met twice in the year, and received each time two portions of the Law and of the Mischna, the whole circle of Jewish study, which had been divided into

sixty parts. Their comments on their appointed task were brought back on the next day of meeting, the best were selected and harmonised, and from these in thirty years grew the Gemara, which, with the Mischna, forms the Babylonian Talmud, that extraordinary monument of human industry, human wisdom, and human folly. The reader at each successive extract from this extraordinary compilation hesitates whether to admire the vein of profound allegorical truth, and the pleasing moral apologue, to smile at the monstrous extravagance, or to shudder at the daring blasphemy. The influence of the Talmud on European superstitions, opinions, and even literature, remains to be traced; to the Jew the Talmud became the magic circle, within which the national mind patiently laboured for ages in performing the bidding of the ancient and mighty enchanters, who drew the sacred line, beyond which it might not venture to pass.

II. The western Jews must have beheld with deeper dismay, and more profound astonishment at the mysterious dispensations of Providence, the rival religion of Christianity, that apostasy, as they esteemed it, from the worship of Jehovah, gradually extending over the whole of Europe, till at length, under Constantine, it ascended the imperial throne, and became the established religion of the Roman world. The period between the death of the Patriarch, R. Jehuda the Holy, and the accession of Constantine to the empire, had been barren of important incidents in Jewish history. The Patriarchate of Tiberias seems gradually to have sunk in estimation: this small and spiritual court fell like more splendid and worldly thrones, through the struggles of the sovereign for unlimited sway, and the unwillingness of the people to submit even to constitutional authority. The exactions of the pontiff, and of the spiritual aristocracy—the Rabbins, became more and more burthensome to the people.* The people were impatient even of the customary taxation. Gamaliel succeeded Jehuda, Jehuda the Second, Gamaliel. This pontiff was of an imperious character; he surrounded himself with a sort of body-guard; at the same time he was outshone by his competitors in learning, Simon Ben Laches and R. Jochanan, whose acknowledged superiority tended still farther to invalidate the supremacy of the Patriarch.

A temporary splendour was thrown around the Jewish name by the celebrity of Zenobia, the famous Queen of Palmyra, who was of Israelitish descent. But the Jews of Palestine neither derived much advantage from the prosperity, nor suffered in

* At a period considerably later, the Apostles of the Patriarch are called in a law of Honorius *devastators*. It is asserted in the life of Chrysostom, that the heads of the synagogues were displaced if they did not send in enough money.

the fall, of that extraordinary woman. Her favourite, Paul of Samosata, seems to have entertained some views of attempting an union between Judaism and Christianity; both parties rejected the unnatural alliance. The Jews spoke contemptuously of the wise men who came from Tadmor, and Paul of Samosata was rejected by the orthodox church as an intractable heretic. On the formal establishment of Christianity, the more zealous Jews might tremble lest the synagogue should be dazzled by the splendour of its triumphant competitor, and recognising the manifest favour of the Divinity in its success, refuse any longer to adhere to a humiliated and hopeless cause; while the Christians, after having gained this acknowledged victory over Paganism, might not unreasonably expect that Judaism, less strongly opposed to its principles, would relax its obstinate resistance, and yield at length to the universally acknowledged dominion of the new faith.

But the Rabbinical authority had raised an insurmountable barrier around the synagogue—masters of the education, exercising, as we have shown, an unceasing and vigilant watchfulness, and mingling in every transaction during the whole life of each individual;—still treating their present humiliation merely as a preparatory trial from the ever-faithful God of their fathers, and feeding their flock with hopes of a future deliverance, when they should trample under foot the enemy and oppressor;—enlisting every passion and every prejudice in their cause;. occupying the studious and inquisitive in the interminable study of their Mischna and Talmuds;—alarming the vulgar with the terrors of their interdict; while they still promised temporal grandeur as the inalienable, though perhaps late, inheritage of the people of Israel; consoling them for its tardy approach by the promise of the equally inalienable and equally exclusive privilege of the children of Israel—everlasting life in the world to come;—these spiritual leaders of the Jews still repelled, with no great loss, the aggressions of their opponents. At the same time unhappily the church had lost entirely, or in great degree, its most effective means of conversion—its miraculous powers, the simple truth of its doctrines, and the blameless lives of its believers. It substituted authority, and a regular system of wonder-working, which the Jews, who had been less affected than might have been supposed by the miracles of our Lord and his Apostles, had no difficulty in rejecting, either as manifest impostures, or works of malignant and hostile spirits. In fact, the Rabbins were equal adepts in these pious frauds with the Christian clergy, and their people, no less superstitious, listened with the same avidity, or gazed with the same credulity, on the supernatural wonders wrought by their own Wise Men, which obscured, at all events neutralised, the effects of the miracles ascribed to the Christian

saints. Magical arts were weapons handled, as all acknowledged, with equal skill by both parties; the invisible world was a province where, though each claimed the advantage in the contest, neither thought of denying the power of their adversary. A scene characteristic of the times is reported to have taken place in Rome; the legend, it will easily be credited, rests on Christian authority. A conference took place in the presence of Constantine and the devout empress-mother, Helena, between the Jews and the Christians. Pope Sylvester, then at the height of his wonder-working glory, had already triumphed in argument over his infatuated opponents, when the Jews had recourse to magic. A noted enchanter commanded an ox to be brought forward; he whispered into the ear of the animal, which instantly fell dead at the feet of Constantine. The Jews shouted in triumph, for it was the Ham-semphorash, the ineffable name of God, at the sound of which the awe-struck beast had expired. Sylvester observed with some shrewdness, "as he who whispered the name must be well acquainted with it, why does he not fall dead in like manner?" The Jews answered with contemptuous acclamations—"Let us have no more verbal disputations, let us come to actions." "So be it," said Sylvester; "and if this ox comes to life at the name of Christ, will ye believe?" They all unanimously assented. Sylvester raised his eyes to heaven, and said with a loud voice—"If *he* be the true God whom I preach, in the name of Christ, arise, oh ox, and stand on thy feet." The ox sprang up, and began to move and feed. The legend proceeds, that the whole assembly was baptized. The Christians, by their own account, carried on the contest in a less favourable field than the city of Rome, and urged their conquests into the heart of the enemy's country. Constantine, by the advice of his mother Helena, adorned with great magnificence the city which had risen on the ruins of Jerusalem. It had become a place of such splendour, that Eusebius, in a transport of holy triumph, declared that it was the new Jerusalem foretold by the prophets. The Jews were probably still interdicted from disturbing the peace, or profaning the soil of the Christian city, by entering its walls. They revenged themselves by rigidly excluding every stranger from the four great cities which they occupied—Dio Cæsarea (Sepphoris), Nazareth, Capernaum, and Tiberias. As it was the ambition of the Jews to regain a footing in the Holy City, so it was that of the Christians to establish a church among the dwellings of the circumcised. This was brought about by a singular adventure. Hillel had succeeded his father, Judah the Second, in the patriarchate. If we are to believe Epiphanius, the Patriarch himself had embraced Christianity, and had been secretly baptized on his death-bed by a bishop. Joseph, his physician, had witnessed the scene, which wrought strongly upon

his mind. The house of Hillel, after his death, was kept closely shut up by his suspicious countrymen; Joseph obtained entrance, and found there the Gospel of St. John, the Gospel of St. Matthew, and the Acts, in a Hebrew translation. He read and believed. When the young Patriarch, another Judah, (the Third,) grew up, Joseph was appointed an apostle, or collector of the patriarchal revenue. It seems that Christian meekness had not been imbibed with Christian faith, for he discharged his function with unpopular severity. He was detected reading the Gospel, hurried to the synagogue, and scourged. The bishop of the town (in Cilicia) interfered. But he was afterwards seized again and thrown into the Cydnus, from which he hardly escaped with his life. This was not the wisest means of recovering a renegade; Joseph was publicly baptized, rose high in the favour of Constantine, and attained the dignity of Count of the Empire. Burning with zeal —it is to be hoped not with revenge—he turned all his thoughts to the establishment of Christian churches in the great Jewish cities. He succeeded under the protection of the government, and with the aid of a miracle. As he commenced an edifice on the site of a heathen temple in Tiberias, the Jews enchanted the lime which was to be used for mortar—it would not burn. But Joseph having sanctified some water with the sign of the cross, the spell was dissolved, and the building arose to the discomfiture and dismay of his opponents.

The laws of Constantine, with regard to the Jews, throw more real light on their character and condition.* The first of these statutes appears to authenticate the early part of the history of Joseph, and was, no doubt, framed in allusion to his case. It enacted, that if the Jews should stone, or endanger the life of, a Christian convert, all who were concerned should be burned alive. This statute shows the still fiery zeal of the Jews, and their authority within the walls of their own synagogue; nor had they any right to complain, if proselytes to the established faith should be protected from their violence under the severest penalties. Another more intolerant statute prohibited all Christians from becoming Jews, under the pain of an arbitrary punishment; and, six months before his death, a third decree was issued by Constantine, prohibiting Jews from possessing Christian slaves. The reason assigned for this law was, that it was unjust that those who had been made free by the blood of Christ, should be slaves to the murderers of the prophets and of the Son of God. There was another civil law, of great importance, affecting the Jews; they were constrained to take upon themselves certain public offices, particularly the decurionate,

* Constantine in a public document declared that it was not for the dignity of the Church to follow that most *hateful of all people*, the Jews, in the celebration of the Passover.

which, from the facility with which the Emperor and his predecessors had granted exemptions, had become burdensome. The law, however, shows, that the right of the Jews to Roman citizenship was fully recognised. The Patriarchs and the Rabbins had the same exemption from all civil and military offices as the Christian clergy. In the markets the Jews had their own officers to regulate the price of things sold among themselves, and were not subject to the ordinary discursor or moderator.

But still earlier than these statutes of Constantine, Spain, the fruitful mother and nurse of religious persecution, had given the signal for hostility towards the Jews, in a decree passed at the Council of Elvira (Illiberis), which is curious, as proving that the Jews were, to a great extent, the cultivators of the soil in that country. It was a custom for the Jewish and Christian farmers and peasants to mingle together at the festive entertainments given at the harvest-home, or other periods of rural rejoicing. The Jews were wont in devout humility to utter their accustomed grace before the feast, that the Almighty would, even in the land of the stranger, permit his rains, and dews, and sunshine, to fertilise the harvests. The Christians appear to have been offended at this, apparently very innocent, supplication. The decree of the council proscribed the meeting of the two races at these festivals, and prohibited the blessings of the Jew, lest, perhaps, he might render unavailing the otherwise powerful benedictions of the Church.

It is said that the Jews in the East revenged themselves for these oppressive laws against their brethren, by exciting a furious persecution against the Christians, in which the Jews and Magians vied with each other in violence.

The increased severity of the laws enacted by Constantius, the son and successor of Constantine, indicates the still darkening spirit of hostility: but the Jews, unhappily, gave ample provocation to the authorities. The hot-headed Israelites of Alexandria mingled themselves in the factions of Arians and Athanasians, which distracted that restless city. They joined with the Pagans, on the side of the Arian Bishop, and committed frightful excesses, burning churches, profaning them with outrages which Athanasius shrinks from relating, and violating consecrated virgins. An insurrection in Judæa, which terminated in the destruction of Dio Cæsarea, gave another pretext for exaction and oppression. The Jews were heavily burthened and taxed: forbidden, under pain of death, from possessing Christian slaves, or marrying Christian women; and the interdict of Hadrian, which prohibited their approach to the Holy City, was formally renewed. These laws likewise throw light on their condition: their heavy burthens may indicate that they possessed considerable wealth; the possession of Christian slaves leads to the

same conclusion; and the necessity of the enactment against marrying Christian women shows, that, in some ranks at least, the animosity between the two races had considerably worn away. But the prohibition against entering Jerusalem was still further embittered, by the distant view of the splendour which the new city had assumed. Christian pilgrims crowded the ways which led to the Holy City, where the wood of the true cross—the discovery of which by a singular chance is ascribed to a Jew—began to disseminate its inexhaustible splinters through the Christian world. The church of the Holy Sepulchre, built by the Empress Helena, rose in lofty state, and crowned the hill of Calvary, on which their ancestors had crucified Jesus of Nazareth; while the hill of Moriah lay desecrated and desolate, as it had been left by the plough of the insulting conqueror.

If then the Jews beheld with jealous alarm the rival religion seated on the imperial throne, and the votaries of Jesus clothed in the royal purple—if they felt their condition gradually becoming worse under the statutes of the new emperors—if they dreaded still further aggressions on their prosperity, they must have looked with no secret triumph to the accession of Julian, the apostate from Christianity. Before long their elation was still further excited by a letter written from the Emperor, addressed to "his brother," the Patriarch, and the commonalty of the Jews. Julian seemed to recognise the unity of God, in terms which might satisfy the most zealous follower of Moses. He proceeded to denounce their oppressors, condescended to excuse his brother, annulled the unequal taxes with which they were loaded, and expressed his earnest hope that, on his return from the Persian war, the great designs he had formed for their welfare might be fully accomplished. The temporal as well as the religious policy of Julian advised his conciliation of the Jews. Could they be lured by his splendid promises to embrace his party, the Jews in Mesopotamia would have thrown great weight into his scale, in his campaign against the Persians; and in his design of depressing Christianity, it was important to secure the support of every opposite sect. Probably with these views the memorable edict was issued for the rebuilding of the temple on Mount Moriah, and the restoration of the Jewish worship in its original splendour. The execution of this project was entrusted, while Julian advanced with his ill-fated army to the East, to the care of his favourite, Alypius.

The whole Jewish world was in commotion; they crowded from the most distant quarters to be present and assist in the great national work. Those who were unable to come envied their more fortunate brethren, and waited in anxious hope for the intelligence that they might again send their offerings, or make

their pilgrimage, to the Temple of the God of Abraham, in his holy place. Their wealth was poured forth in lavish profusion; and all who were near the spot, and could not contribute so amply, offered their personal exertions: blessed were the hands that toiled in such a work; and unworthy was he of the blood of Israel who would not unlock, at such a call, his most secret hoards. Men cheerfully surrendered the hard-won treasures of their avarice; women offered up the ornaments of their vanity. The very tools which were to be employed, were, as it were, sanctified by the service, and were made of the most costly materials: some had shovels, mallets, and baskets of silver; and women were seen carrying rubbish in robes and mantles of silk. Men blind from the womb, came forward to lend their embarrassing aid; and the aged tottered along the ways, bowed beneath the weight of some burthen which they seemed to acquire new strength to support. The confidence and triumph of the Jews was unbounded: some went so far in their profane adulation as to style Julian the Messiah. The Christians looked on in consternation and amazement. Would the murderers of the Son of God be permitted to rebuild their devoted city, and the temple arise again from "the abomination of desolation"? Materials had now accumulated from all quarters, some say at the expense of the Emperor, but that is not probable, considering the costly war in which he was engaged. Nor were the Jews wanting in ample resources: timber, stones, lime, burnt brick, clay, were heaped together in abundant quantities. Already was the work commenced; already had they dug down to a considerable depth, and were preparing to lay the foundations, when suddenly flames of fire came bursting from the centre of the hill, accompanied with terrific explosions. The affrighted workmen fled on all sides; and the labours were suspended at once by this unforeseen and awful sign. Other circumstances are said to have accompanied this event; an earthquake shook the hill; flakes of fire, which took the form of crosses, settled on the dresses of the workmen and spectators; and the fire consumed even the tools of iron. It was even added that a horseman was seen careering among the flames, and that the workmen having fled to a neighbouring church, its doors, fastened by some preternatural force within, refused to admit them. These, however, may be embellishments, and are found only in later and rhetorical writers; but the main fact of the interruption of the work by some extraordinary, and, as it was supposed, preternatural interference, rests on the clear and unsuspicious testimony of the heathen Ammianus Marcellinus. But, in candour, one local circumstance must be mentioned, overlooked by those who impugn, as well as by those who maintain, the miracle—by Gibbon, Basnage, and Lardner—as well as by Warburton. It will be remembered,

that the hills on which Jerusalem stood were deeply and extensively undermined by subterranean passages. On the surprise of the temple by John of Gischala, the whole party of Eleazar took refuge in these underground chambers. Numbers of the Zealots lay hid in similar caverns under Sion after the capture of the city by Titus, and the sudden rising of Simon on the hill of the temple, after having descended on that of Sion, sufficiently proves the vast range of these mines, which communicated with each other under both hills over which the city spread. The falling of the hill of Sion, during the rebellion under Barcochab, may also be adduced. In the long period of desolation, during which the hill of the temple, especially, lay waste, the outlets of these caverns would be choked with rubbish and ruin; and the air within become foul and inflammable. That these vapours, thus fermenting under the whole depth of the hill, should, as is often the case in mines, become accidentally ignited during the work, kindle, and explode with violent combustion and terrific noise resembling an earthquake, was by no means beyond the ordinary course of nature; though it might be far beyond the philosophy of a people excited to the highest pitch of religious enthusiasm, and already predisposed to consider the place as a chosen scene of miraculous interference. Even the fiery crosses on the garments might have been phosphoric exhalations, really seen, and easily wrought into that form by the awe-struck imagination of the Christians—and preternatural interference would hardly be called for to close the doors of a church against fugitives thus under the visible malediction of the Deity.

Nor, indeed, does the miracle, if we may presume so to speak, appear necessary for its end; for, according to the will of the Divine Ruler of the world, a more appalling and insuperable obstacle interrupted the unhallowed work. The discomfiture of the Jews was completed—and the resumption of their labours, could they have recovered from their panic, was for ever broken off by the death of Julian. The emperor seems not to have reaped the advantages he expected from his attempt to conciliate the race of Israel. The Mesopotamian Jews, instead of joining his army, remained faithful to their Persian masters, and abandoned such of their cities as were not defensible. On his approach, one of these, Bithra, situated among the branches of the Euphrates, was set on fire by his soldiers, and burned to ashes. The apostate himself fell—the Christian world beheld the vengeance of God—the Jew the extinction of all his hopes—in the early fate of this extraordinary man.

The short reign of Jovian, whose policy it was to reverse all the acts of his predecessor, was oppressive to the Jews—but it was only a passing cloud: Valens and Valentinian reinstated the Jews and their Patriarch in their former rights—yet the state of

the empire demanded the repeal of their most valuable privilege —exemption from the public services. "Even the clergy," such is the curious argument of this edict, "are not permitted to consecrate themselves to the service of God, without having previously discharged their duty to their country. He who would devote himself to God, must first find a substitute to undertake his share in the public offices." The Jews could not complain, if, admitted to the protection and rights of Roman citizenship, they were constrained to perform its duties.

During the declining days of the Roman empire, Christianity assumed a more commanding influence, and the Jews sometimes became a subject of contention between the church and the throne. Protected by the emperor as useful and profitable subjects, they were beheld by the more intemperate churchmen with still increasing animosity. Maximus, an usurper, during his short reign, had commanded a synagogue, which had been wantonly burned in Rome, to be rebuilt at the expense of the community. Theodosius the Great renewed a similar edict, on a like occasion, and commanded the Bishop of Callinicum, in Osrhoene, to see the work carried into effect. The fiery zeal of Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, broke out into a flame of indignation. In a letter to the emperor, he declares his disapprobation of such outrages as burning synagogues: for priests ought to be the quellers of turbulence, and strive to promote peace, unless, he added, moved by injuries against their God, or contumelies against his church. At the same time he asserts that no Christian bishop could conscientiously assist in building a temple for the circumcised. "Either the bishop will resist or comply: he must be a sinner or a martyr. Perhaps he may be tempted, by the hopes of martyrdom, falsely to assert his concurrence in the destruction of the synagogue. Noble falsehood! I, myself, would willingly assume the guilt,—I, I say, have set this synagogue in flames, at least in so far that I have urged on all—that there should be no place left in which Christ is denied." He designated a synagogue as a dwelling of perfidy—a house of impiety—a receptacle of insanity—and concluded, in a tone of mingled pathetic expostulation and bitter invective, "This shall be the inscription of the edifice—'A Temple of Ungodliness, built from the plunder of the Christians.'" Not content with addressing this letter to the emperor, who was then in Milan, he thundered against him from the pulpit. Theodosius had the weakness to yield to the daring churchman; the edict was recalled, and the Jews remained without a synagogue in that city, which, it may be observed, was divided by half the empire from the diocese of Ambrose. Theodosius, when removed from the influence of Ambrose, and brought by the approach of death to higher notions of Christian justice, issued an edict, which

secured perfect toleration to the Jews, and condemned to an arbitrary punishment all who should burn or plunder their synagogues.

In the mean time the Patriarchate began to display manifest signs of decay. The Jews were seen before heathen tribunals —not only to decide their litigations with Christians, but as a court of appeal against the injustice of their own judicial authorities. Men excommunicated had recourse to pagan judges, not always inaccessible to bribery, to enforce their reinstatement in the rights of the synagogue. A law of Theodosius was passed, which recognised the power of the Patriarchs to punish the refractory members of their own community. This law was confirmed under Arcadius and Honorius: the prefects were forbidden from interfering with the judicial courts of the Jewish primate. It should seem that, in disputes with Christians, both parties were expected to appear before the ordinary tribunals. Another law was passed at this period characteristic of the times. It enacted, that no Jew should be baptized without strict inquiry, and a sort of previous noviciate of good conduct. Some of the more worthless Jews had played upon the eagerness of the church to obtain proselytes, and had made a regular trade of submitting to baptism in different places—by which they, in general, contrived to obtain handsome remuneration. This was facilitated by the numerous sects which distracted the church, who vied with each other in the success of their proselytism, and rendered detection difficult. A miracle came to the assistance of the law in checking this nefarious traffic; unfortunately it was wrought in a Novatian, not in an orthodox congregation. When one of these unworthy proselytes presented himself, the indignant water flowed away, and refused to rebaptize one who had been so frequently baptized before with so little advantage.

The clouds of ignorance and barbarism, which were darkening over the world, could not but spread a deeper gloom over the sullen national character of the Jews. The manner in which the contest was carried on with the church was not calculated to enlighten their fanaticism; nor was it likely that, while the world around them was sinking fast into unsocial ferocity of manners, they should acquire the gentleness and humanity of civilisation. No doubt the more intemperate members of the synagogue, when they might do it securely, would revenge themselves by insult or any other means of hostility in their power, against the aggressions of the Church: though probably much would be construed into insult, which was not intended to give offence, it argues no great knowledge of Jewish character, or indeed of human nature, to doubt but that great provocation was given by the turbulent disposition of the Israelites. It is a curious fact, and must have tended greatly to darken the spirit

of animosity in the dominant Church against the Jews, that whenever occasion offered, they sided with the Arian faction; while the Arians were in general more tolerant towards the worshippers of the undivided Unity of God, than the Catholic Church. In the religious factions in Alexandria, we have seen them espousing the part of the Arian bishop against Athanasius; and of all the sovereigns during this period, none were more friendly to the Jews than the Arian Gothic kings of Italy. It was about the commencement of the fifth century, that great, and probably not groundless, offence was taken at the public and tumultuous manner in which the Jews celebrated the feast of Purim, and their deliverance under Esther. Not content with beating the benches of the synagogue with stones and mallets, and uttering the most dissonant cries each time the execrated name of Haman was pronounced, they proceeded to make a public exhibition of the manner in which the enemies of their nation might expect to be treated. They erected a gibbet, on which a figure, representing Haman, was suspended, and treated with every kind of indignity. Probably blasphemous expressions against all other Hamans might occasionally break forth. The Christians looked with jealous horror on that which they construed into a profane, though covert, representation of the crucifixion. Sometimes, indeed, it is said, the gibbet was made in the form of a cross, with the body suspended upon it in like manner to that which was now becoming the universal object of adoration. No wonder if the two parties met in furious collision, and if the peace of the empire demanded the intervention of authority to put an end to these indecent scenes. By a law of Theodosius the Second, these festivals were prohibited. In Macedonia, Dacia, and Illyria, these or similar causes of contention gave rise to violent tumults between the Jews and Christians. The synagogues were burned in many places. Theodosius commanded the prefect, Philip, to execute the law with the strictest impartiality: not to suffer the Jews to insult or show disrespect to the Christian religion, yet by no means to interfere with the free exercise of their own faith. In Syria these animosities led to still worse consequences. At a place called Inmestar, between Chalcis and Antioch, some drunken Jews began, in the public streets, to mock and blaspheme the name of Christ. They went so far as to erect a cross, and fastened a Christian boy to it, whom they scourged so unmercifully that he died. The offenders were justly punished with exemplary rigour; but the feud left a rankling hatred in the hearts of the Christians. Some years after, they rose and plundered a synagogue in Antioch. The Roman governor espoused the cause of the Jews, this time the unoffending victims of wanton animosity; and by an ordinance of the emperor, the clergy were commanded to make restitution,

But they found an advocate in the celebrated Simeon Stylites, so called from his passing his life on the top of a slender column, sixty feet high. Theodosius could not resist the intercession of this saintly personage, to whom he wrote under the title of the "Holy Martyr in the Air"—earnestly soliciting his prayers. The order of restitution was annulled—the just prefect recalled. It is possible, however, that the synagogue in question may have been built in violation of a law of the empire, which prohibited the erecting any new edifices for Jewish worship.

Perhaps unfortunately, as encouraging them to pursue such violent means of conversion, the Christians in the island of Minorca, by means of the conflagration of a synagogue, obtained a signal triumph—the baptism of all the Jews in the island. We have the account of this transaction on the authority of the Bishop himself, and it presents a singular picture of the times. The pious Severus was sorely grieved, that in an island where, though more useful animals abounded, wolves and foxes were not permitted to exist; where, though snakes and scorpions were found, yet, miraculously he would suppose, they were deprived of their venom, the Jews should be so numerous and wealthy in the two largest towns of the island—particularly in Magona, now Mahon. Long had he desired to engage in a holy warfare against this unbelieving race. He was at length encouraged to hope for victory by the arrival of the relics of the Martyr Stephen,* which were left in the island by the celebrated Orosius. In a short time the conflict began, and perpetual disputations took place; the Christians headed by their Bishop, the Jews by a certain Theodorus, a man of acknowledged eminence in Rabbinical learning, and of such consequence in the place as to have filled the office of defender of the city.

The Christians, if we are to believe the Bishop, thought only of spiritual means of attack, persuasion, argument, with whatever miracles the relics of St. Stephen might vouchsafe to throw into their scale. The Jews had laid up in their synagogue more carnal weapons, stones, clubs, arrows, and other arms. Encouraged by two visions, the Bishop set off at the head of all his flock from Immona, and marched in the highest spirits to Magona, where he sent a summons of defiance to Theodorus and the Jews to meet him at the church. The Jews excused themselves because it was the Sabbath—and they could not enter an unclean place on that day. The Bishop immediately offered to meet them on their own ground, the synagogue. They still declined the contest,

* A Jew plays a conspicuous part in the discovery of these relics—no less a person than Gamaliel himself, the teacher of St. Paul, who appeared in a vision to Lucian, head of a monastery, at Caphargamala in Palestine. These relics were of sovereign efficacy in checking the Pelagian heresy.

but surrounded the house, in which the Bishop was, in great numbers. The Bishop mildly expostulated with them for having laid up arms in their synagogue. They denied the fact, and offered to confirm their assertion with an oath. "No need of oaths," replied the Bishop, "let us satisfy our own eyes"—and immediately he set forward with his whole troop, singing a verse of the ninth Psalm, "Their memory hath perished *with a loud noise;** but the Lord endureth for ever." The Jews gladly joined in the Psalm, applying it, no doubt, with a very different meaning. A fray began in the streets through some Jewish women throwing stones from the windows. The Bishop could not restrain his flock, who rushed furiously in. No blood was shed on either side, except of an Achan in the Christian party, who endeavoured to purloin some valuable effects, and had his head broken by a stone from his own friends; but the Christians became masters of the synagogue, and set it on fire, with all its furniture, except the books of the Law and the articles of silver. There is no mention of arms having been discovered. The books were carried in reverential triumph to the church—the silver restored. The Christians returned, singing Psalms of thanksgiving, to their church. Three days after, the Jews assembled within the melancholy ruins of their religious house —the Christians also crowded in, and Theodorus began an eloquent vindication of the Law—he argued, he confuted all objections—he poured contempt on his opponents, who, by the confession of the Bishop, were so utterly discomfited as to look for help to heaven alone against this obstinate gainsayer. No miracle, however, was vouchsafed, and they owed their triumph to pure accident. They all began to cry with one voice, "Theodorus, believe in Christ!" The Jews mistook the words, and thought it was a shout of triumph, "Theodorus believes in Christ!" They dispersed on all sides. Women tore their hair, and cried in bitter desperation, "Oh, Theodorus, what hast thou done!" the men fled away to the woods and rocks. Theodorus, entirely deserted and left alone, had not strength of mind to resist. Reuben, the first of the Jews who had been converted, argued with him, and laid before him the advantages which might attend his becoming a Christian. The Rabbi yielded to these unworthy motives; the example of his defection was followed, and the Jews were generally baptized. The triumphant Bishop strongly recommended to his brethren the laudable example of his own zeal and success—an example which, as far as burning the synagogues, they seem to have been apt enough to adopt; for an express law appears to have been required from Honorius to prohibit these acts of violence.

* These words will not be found in the English translation; they appear in the Vulgate.

The conversion of many Jews in Crete reflects more credit on the humanity of the Christians, while it shows the wild and feverish fanaticism which still lay deep within the hearts of the Jews, ready to break forth at the first excitement of those unextinguishable hopes which were alike their pride, their consolation, and their ruin. Among the numerous and wealthy Israelites who inhabited that fertile island, an impostor appeared, who either bore or assumed the name of Moses. He announced himself as the successor of the great Lawgiver, and for a whole year travelled about the island, persuading his credulous countrymen to abandon their possessions and their farms to follow his guidance. They listened; they relaxed their usual industry, and neglected their labours, under the fond hope of speedily obtaining possession of a more fertile land, that of milk and honey. The appointed time came, and at the call of Moses they crowded forth by thousands; for he had proclaimed that, like the Red Sea of old, the deep Mediterranean would be turned to dry land before them. At the dawn of day they followed him blindly to the top of a lofty promontory, from whence he commanded them to throw themselves down—the foremost obeyed, they were dashed to pieces against the rocks, or sank into the unobedient waves. Many perished, more would have shared their fate, but for some fishing-craft and merchant vessels belonging to the Christians, who showed the utmost activity in saving the lives of their deluded countrymen; and, by holding up the bodies of the drowned, prevented the rest from following their fatal example. The Jews, at length disabused, turned to revenge themselves on their leader —but he had disappeared; no doubt he had secured a place of retreat, probably with some of the fruits of his imposture. Socrates, the ecclesiastical historian, cannot disguise his suspicion, that he was a devil who assumed a human form for the destruction of those unhappy people. But many of the Jews, heartily ashamed of their own credulity, and struck with the brotherly kindness of the Christians, adopted the faith of love and charity.

We must revert to Alexandria, ever the most fatal scene of Jewish turbulence and Jewish calamity. Yet no calamity could induce this gain-loving people to abandon that great emporium of commerce. Rarely have we directed our attention to the city of Alexandria, but we have seen its streets flowing with the blood of thousands of Jews; at our next view we always find them re-established in immense numbers, and in inexhaustible opulence. To the old feuds between Greeks and Jews in this city, noted at all times for its fierce and mutinous spirit, had succeeded those of the different sects of Christians, and of the Christians, Pagans, and Jews. Even holy bishops were not superior to the violence which the fiery climate seemed to infuse into the veins of these "children of the Sun;" the records of the Alexandrian

Church present, perhaps, the most unchristian page in Christian history. At this period the city was rent into factions on a subject, all-important in those days, the merits of the dancers in the public exhibitions. These entertainments usually took place on the Jewish Sabbath, and on that idle day the theatre was thronged with Jews who preferred this profane amusement to the holy worship of their synagogue.' Violent collisions of the different factions perpetually took place, which rarely terminated without bloodshed. Orestes, prefect of Alexandria, determined to repress these sanguinary tumults, and ordered his police regulations to be suspended in the theatre.* Certain partisans of Cyril, the archbishop, entered the theatre with the innocent design, according to Socrates, on whose partial authority the whole affair rests, of reading these ordinances; among the rest, one Hierax, a low schoolmaster, a man conspicuous as an adherent of the archbishop, whom he was wont frequently to applaud by clapping his hands (the usual custom in the church) whenever he preached. From what cause does not appear, but the Jews considered themselves insulted by his presence, and raised an outcry that the man was there only to stir up a tumult. Orestes, jealous of the archbishop, who had usurped on the civil authority, ordered Hierax to be seized and scourged. Cyril sent for the principal Jews, and threatened them with exemplary vengeance if they did not cause all tumults against the Christians to cease. The Jews determined to anticipate their adversaries:—having put on rings of palm-bark that they might distinguish each other in the dark, they suddenly, at the dead of night, raised a cry of fire about the great church, called that of Alexander. The Christians rose, and rushed from all quarters to save the church. The Jews fell on them, and massacred on all sides. When day dawned, the cause of the uproar was manifest. The militant archbishop instantly took arms, attacked with a formidable force the synagogues of the Jews, slew many, drove the rest out of the city, and plundered their property.

The strong part which Orestes took against the archbishop, and his regret at the expulsion of the thriving and industrious Jews from the city, seems to warrant a suspicion that the latter were not so entirely without provocation. Both, however, sent representations to the emperor; but, probably before he could interfere, the feud between the implacable prefect and the archbishop grew to a greater height. Cyril, it is said, on one occasion advanced to meet his adversary, with the Gospel in his hand, as a sign of peace; but Orestes, suspecting probably that he had not much of its spirit in his heart, refused this offer of

* Perhaps these regulations might appoint different days for the different classes of the people to attend the theatre:—this supposition would make the story more clear.

conciliation. There were certain monks who lived in the mountains of Nitria. These fiery champions of the church seized their arms, and poured into the city to strengthen the faction of the Patriarch. Emboldened by their presence, Cyril openly insulted Orestes—called him heathen, idolater, and many other opprobrious names. In vain the prefect protested that he had been baptized by Atticus, a bishop in Constantinople. A man, named Ammonius, hurled a great stone at his head: the blood gushed forth, and his affrighted attendants dispersed on all sides. But the character of Orestes stood high with the inhabitants. The Alexandrian populace rose in defence of their prefect; the monks were driven from the city, Ammonius tortured, and put to death. Cyril commanded his body to be taken up, paid him all the honours of a martyr, and declared that he had fallen a victim to his righteous zeal in defence of the church. Even Socrates seems to shrink from relating this unchristian conduct of the Patriarch. Cyril himself was ashamed, and glad to bury the transaction in oblivion. Before long, however, his adherents perpetrated a more inhuman deed even than the plunder and expulsion of the Jews: it must be related, to show the ferocious character of their antagonists. There was a woman, named Hypatia, of extraordinary learning, and deeply versed in the Platonic philosophy. She lived in great intimacy with Orestes, and was suspected of encouraging him in his hostility to the Patriarch. This woman they seized, dragged her from her chariot, and, with the most revolting indecency, tore her clothes off, and then rent her limb from limb. By another account Cyril himself is accused as having instigated, from jealousy of the fair Platonist's numerous hearers, this horrible act. It is grievous to add, that, through bribes and interest at the imperial court, the affair remained unpunished: nor do we hear that the Jews obtained either redress, or restoration to their homes and property.

We gladly avert our eyes to catch a few occasional gleams of better feeling among the Christian hierarchy towards the subjects of our history. It is related that such was the spirit of love produced by the example of a good Hilary, in his diocese of Poitiers, in Gaul, that at his funeral the Israelites were heard chanting in Hebrew their mournful psalms of lamentation for the Christian Bishop. Many traits of friendly feeling, and of amicable correspondence with respectable Jews, occur in the elegant works of Sidonius Apollinaris.

In the mean time the Jewish Patriarchate, after having exercised its authority for nearly three centuries, expired in the person of Gamaliel. Its fall had been prognosticated by many visible signs of decay and dissolution. The Jews, ever more and more dispersed, became probably a less influential part of

the population in Palestine; at least, those in the Holy Land bore a less proportion to the numbers scattered throughout the world; and thus the bonds of authority over the more remote communities gradually relaxed. A law of Honorius gave a signal blow to its opulence: it prohibited the exportation of the annual tribute from Rome, probably from the Western Empire. Five years after, it is true, this law was repealed, and the Patriarch resumed his rights; but the Jews were deprived, by another statute, of the agency—an office, now apparently become lucrative, which their active habits of trade enabled them to fill with great advantage to themselves. At length, a law of Theodosius, which has been differently understood, either stripped the Patriarch of the honorary title of prefect, which had been assigned to him by former emperors, and thus virtually destroyed his authority, or as some—inaccurately we conceive—suppose, expressly abolished the office. The crime imputed to the Patriarch was his erecting new synagogues, in defiance of the imperial laws. At all events, Gamaliel—even if after this statute he maintained the empty name of Patriarch—at his death had no successor; and the spiritual monarchy of the West was for ever dissolved. It may be said that the dominion passed into the hands of the Rabbinical aristocracy. The Jerusalem Talmud had already been compiled, as a new code: it embodied and preserved the learning of the schools in Palestine, which, before the fall of the Patriarchate, had almost come to an end. But the later compilation, the Talmud of Babylon, eclipsed the more obscure and less perfect work of the Palestinian Jews, and became the law and the religion of the whole race of Israel.

BOOK XXI.

THE JEWS UNDER THE BARBARIAN KINGS AND THE BYZANTINE EMPERORS.

Irruption and Conquests of the Barbarians—Trade of the Jews—Slave Trade—Decrees of Councils—of Pope Gregory the First—Conduct of the Christians to the Jews—Arian Kings of Italy—Pope Gregory the First—State anterior to the Rise of Mahometanism in the Eastern Empire—Insurrections of the Samaritans—Laws of Justinian—Dispute about the Language in which the Law was to be read—State of the Jews in the Persian Dominions—Persecutions—Civil Contests—Conquest of Syria and Jerusalem by the Persians—Reconquest by the Emperor Heraclius.

THE irruption of the Northern barbarians during the latter half of the fourth to about the end of the fifth century, so completely

disorganised the whole frame of society, that the condition of its humblest members could not but be powerfully influenced by the total revolution in the government, in the possession of the soil, and in the social character of all those countries which were exposed to their inroads. The Jews were widely dispersed in all the provinces on which the storm fell—in Belgium, along the course of the Rhine—in such parts of Germany as were civilised —in Gaul, Italy, and Spain. Of their original progress into these countries, history takes no notice; for they did not migrate in swarms, or settle in large bodies, but sometimes as slaves, following the fortunes of their masters; sometimes as single enterprising traders, they travelled on and advanced as convenience or profit tempted, till they reached the verge of civilisation. On them the successive inroads and conquests of the Barbarians fell much more lightly than on the native inhabitants. Attached to no fixed residence, with little interest in the laws and usages of the different provinces; rarely encumbered with landed property, or with immoveable effects, sojourners, not settlers, denizens rather than citizens, they could retreat, before the cloud burst, to the more secure and peaceful dwellings of their brethren, and bear with them the most valuable portion of their goods. True citizens of the world, they shifted their quarters, and found new channels for their trade as fast as the old were closed. But the watchful son of Israel fled to return again, in order that he might share in the plunder of the uncircumcised. Through burning towns and ravaged fields he travelled, regardless of the surrounding misery which enveloped those with whom he had no ties of attachment;—if splendid cities became a prey to the flames, or magnificent churches lay in ashes, his meaner dwelling was abandoned without much regret, and with no serious loss; and even his synagogue might perish in the common ruin, without either deeply wounding the religious feelings of the worshippers, who had no peculiar local attachment to the spot, or inflicting any very greivous loss on a community who could re-establish, at no great expense, their humble edifice. If, indeed, individuals experienced considerable losses, their whole trading community had great opportunities of reimbursement, which they were not likely to overlook or neglect in the wild confusion of property which attended the conquests of the invaders. Where battles were fought, and immense plunder fell into the power of the wandering barbarians, the Jews were still at hand to traffic the worthless and glittering baubles with which ignorant savages are delighted, or the more useful, but comparatively cheap, instruments and weapons of iron and brass, for the more valuable commodities, of which they knew not the price or the use. These, by the rapid and secret correspondence which, no doubt, the Israelites had already established with

their brethren in every quarter of the world, were transported into more peaceful and unplundered regions, which still afforded a market for the luxuries and ornaments of life. As to the particulars of this commerce, we have no certain information, as, in truth, the fact rests rather on inference than on positive data; but if it existed to the extent we believe, it must have been highly lucrative, when the venders were ignorant barbarians, and the purchasers intelligent, and, probably, not over-scrupulous traders, well acquainted with the price which every article would bear in the different markets of the civilised world. Nor is it improbable that, by keeping alive the spirit of commerce, which might otherwise have become utterly extinct amid the general insecurity, the interruption of the usual means of communication, and the occupation of the roads by wild marauders, they conferred a great advantage on society, by promoting the civilisation of these wild and warlike hordes. But we have ample evidence that one great branch of commerce fell almost entirely into the hands of the Jews—the internal slave-trade of Europe. It is impossible to suppose but that this strange state of things must have inspired a sort of revengeful satisfaction into the mind of the zealous Israelite. While his former masters, or, at least, his rulers, the Christians, were wailing over their desolate fields, their ruined churches, their pillaged monasteries, their violated convents, he was growing rich amid the general ruin, and, perhaps, either purchasing for his own domestic service, at the cheapest price, the fairest youths, and even high-born maidens, or driving his gangs of slaves to the different markets, where they still bore a price. The Church beheld this evil with avowed grief and indignation. In vain popes issued their rescripts, and councils uttered their interdicts; the necessity for the perpetual renewal both of the admonitions of the former, and the laws of the latter, show that they had not the power to repress a practice which they abhorred. The language of their edicts was, at first, just and moderate. The Christians had, probably, the wisdom to perceive that, however apparently disgraceful to their cause and productive of much misery, it had also its advantages, in mitigating the horrors and atrocities of war. Servitude was an evil, particularly when the Christian was enslaved to an Infidel or a Jew, but it was the only alternative to avoid massacre. Conquering savages will only respect human life, where it is of value as a disposable article—they will make captives only where captives are useful and saleable. In the interior of Africa, it may be questionable how far the slave-trade increases or allays the barbarity of warlike tribes. No doubt many marauding expeditions are undertaken, and even wars between different tribes and nations entered into, with no other motive or object of plunder except

the miserable beings which supply the slave-marts; but where the war arises from other causes, it would probably terminate in the relentless extermination of the conquered party, if they were not spared, some may say, and with justice, for the more pitiable fate of being carried across the desert as a marketable commodity. But with the northern tribes, the capture of slaves was never the primary object of their invasions; they moved onward either in search of new settlements, or propelled by the vast mass of increasing population among the tribes beyond them: at this period, therefore, this odious commerce must have greatly tended to mitigate the horrors of war, which the state of society rendered inevitable.

From the earliest period after Christianity assumed the reins of the empire, the possession of Christian slaves by the circumcised had offended the dominant party. Constantine issued a severe law, which prohibited the Jews, under pain of confiscation of property, from having a Christian slave; but this law was either never executed, or fell into disuse. A law of Honorius only prohibited the conversion of Christian slaves to Judaism, not interfering with, or rather fully recognising, their right of property in their bondsmen. After the evil had grown, through the incessant barbaric wars, to a much greater magnitude, the Council of Orleans (A.C. 540) took the lead, but with great fairness and moderation, in the laudable attempt to alleviate its baneful effects on the religious as well as the temporal state of the slave. That assembly enacted, "That if a slave was commanded to perform any service incompatible with his religion, and the master proceeded to punish him for disobedience, he might find an asylum in any church: the clergy of that church were on no account to give him up, but to pay his full value to the master." The fourth council of the same place (A.C. 541) goes further: "If a slave under such circumstances should claim the protection of any Christian, he is bound to afford it, and to redeem the slave at a fair price." Further: "Any Jew who makes a proselyte to Judaism, or takes a Christian slave to himself (probably as wife or concubine), or by the promise of freedom bribes one born a Christian to forswear his faith, and embrace Judaism, loses his property in the slave. The Christian who has accepted his freedom on such terms, shall not presume to fulfil the condition, for a born Christian who embraces Judaism is unworthy of liberty." The first Council of Macon (A.C. 582) enacts, "That according to the laws, both ecclesiastical and civil, the conditions by which a Christian, either as a captive in war or by purchase, has become slave to a Jew, must be respected. But since complaints have arisen that Jews living in the great and small towns have been so shameless as to refuse a fair price for the redemption of such bondsmen, no Christian

can be compelled to remain in slavery; but every Christian has a right to redeem Christian slaves at the price of twelve solidi,* (to such a price had human life fallen,) either to restore them to freedom, or to retain them as his own slaves; for it were unjust that those whom our Saviour has redeemed by his blood, should groan in the fetters of his persecutors." These laws produced little effect; for in the first place they calculated, far beyond the character of the age, on the predominance of Christian charity over the love of lucre, both in the clergy and the laity. Besides, the whole administration of law had fallen into the worst disorder. Every province or district had its separate jurisdiction; no uniformity of system could prevail; and where the commonalty, many of the administrators of the law, and even the clergy, could neither write nor read, the written rescripts of councils were often but a dead letter. The fourth Council of Toledo (A.C. 633) recognised the practice of Jewish slave-dealing as in full force. The tenth at the same place (A.C. 655) complains that "even the clergy, in defiance of the law, sold captives to Jews and heathens." At the close of the sixth century, one of the wisest and most humane pontiffs filled the Papal chair, Gregory the First. The Pope in his pastoral letters alternately denounces, bewails, and by authoritative rebuke and appeal to the better feelings, endeavours to suppress, this "cruel and impious" traffic, which still existed in Italy, Sicily, and the South of France. He writes to Fortunatus, "that he has received an account that a Jewish miscreant has built an altar, and forced or bribed his Christian slaves to worship upon it." The prefect was directed to inflict corporal chastisement on the offender, and to cause all the slaves to receive their freedom. The next year he writes to Venantius, Bishop of Luni, in Tuscany, rebuking him for permitting Christian slaves to come into the power of Jewish masters, contrary to his duty. Those who had been long in the possession of such masters, were to be considered as villains attached to the soil (the Jews, it should seem, were considerable landed proprietors or cultivators of the land in Italy). But if the Jew resisted, or abused his seignorial right to transplant the slave from the soil to which he belonged, he was to lose his lease of land, as well as his right over the slave. Gregory distinguishes between the possession and the trade in slaves. No Jew or heathen, who was desirous of becoming a Christian, was to be retained in slavery. Lest the Jew should complain that he is robbed of his property, this rule is to be observed:—if heathen slaves, bought as an article of trade, within three months after the sale, and before they find another purchaser, wish to embrace Christianity, the Jew shall

* According to the calculation adopted by Gibbon for this period, about 36*s.* of our money.

receive the full price from a Christian slave-purchaser: if after that time, he shall immediately obtain his freedom, as it is evident that the Jew keeps him not for sale, but for service. This was, as it were—within the dominions of the Papacy, at least, almost bordering on his own particular diocese. In the Gallic provinces, as probably his power was less implicitly acknowledged, so his tone is less peremptory. The slaves in such cases were to be repurchased out of the goods of the Church. Gregory writes to Candidus, a presbyter in Gaul:—"Dominic, the bearer of this letter, has with tears made known to us, that his four brothers have been bought by the Jews, and are at present their slaves at Narbonne. We direct you to make inquiry into the transaction, and, if it be true, to redeem them at a proper price, which you will charge in your accounts, *i. e.* deduct from the annual payment made to Rome." Three years earlier he writes to Januarius, bishop of Cagliari, in Sardinia, rebuking him, because certain slaves, belonging to Jews, who had taken refuge in a church, had been given up to the unbelievers. He here declares "that every slave so seeking baptism becomes free, and the treasures of the poor (*i. e.* the goods of the Church) are not to suffer loss for their redemption."

There is a very curious letter to Fortunatus, bishop of Naples, approving his ardent zeal in favour of Christian slaves bought by the Jews in the Gallic provinces. The Pontiff had intended entirely to interdict the trade. But a certain Jew, Basilius, with several others, had waited upon him, and stated that this traffic was recognised by the judicial authorities, and that it was only by accident that Christian slaves were bought among the heathen. In a solemn tone, the Pontiff thus writes to Thierri and Theodebert, Kings of the Franks, and to Queen Brunehaut:—"We are in amazement that, in your kingdom, Jews are permitted to possess Christian slaves. For what are Christians but members of Christ's body, who, as ye know—as we all know, is their head? Is it not most inconsistent to honour the head, and to allow the members to be trampled on by his enemies? We entreat your Majesties to expel this baneful traffic from your dominions—so will ye show yourselves true worshippers of Almighty God, by delivering his faithful from the hands of their adversaries." Another letter of Gregory to Leo, bishop of Catania in Sicily, establishes the curious fact, that the Samaritans were likewise widely dispersed, and shared this traffic with the Jews:—"A circumstance, both revolting and contrary to the law, hath been made known to us—a circumstance, if true, worthy of the strongest reprobation and the heaviest punishment. We understand that certain Samaritans resident at Catania buy heathen slaves, whom they are so daring as to circumcise. You must investigate this affair with impartial zeal, take such slaves

under the protection of the Church, and not suffer these men to receive any repayment. Besides this loss, they must be punished to the utmost extremity of the law." According to the Roman law, which still prevailed in Sicily, the penalty of circumcising slaves was death and confiscation of property. In all other respects, this wise and virtuous Pontiff religiously maintained that tolerance towards the Jews which they enjoyed, with few exceptions, during this period of confusion; and even for some time after the conversion of the barbarian monarchs to Christianity. For all this time the Church was either sadly occupied in mourning over the ravages which enveloped the clergy and the people in common ruin, or more nobly in imparting to the fierce conquerors the humanising and civilising knowledge of Christianity. It had not the power,—we trust, in these times of adversity, that best school of Christian virtue, not the will—to persecute. There is a remarkable picture of the state of the Jews in Africa, in a tract printed among the works of St. Augustine, called the "Altercation between the Synagogue and the Church." The date of this record is uncertain; but it seems earlier, rather than later, as Basnage supposes, than the Vandal conquest of that region. The Synagogue maintains that "it is neither the slave nor the servant of the Church, since her sons are free; and instead of being constrained to wear fetters and other marks of servitude, have full liberty of navigation and of commerce." This seems to indicate considerable extent of trade. On the other hand, the Church rejoins that the synagogue is obliged to pay tribute to the Christians, that a Jew cannot pretend to the empire, or to become a count (comes) or governor of a province; that he cannot enter into the senate or the army; that he is not even received at the tables of men of rank; and that if he is allowed the means of obtaining a livelihood, it is only to prevent his perishing of hunger. Theodoric, the Arian Gothic king of Italy, it has already been observed, openly protected the Jews. His secretary, Cassiodorius, prompted and encouraged this enlightened policy. The king lost no opportunity of expressing his opinion, that the Israelites showed an excessive zeal for the goods and for the peace of this world, while they lost all thought of immortality; but he discountenanced and repressed all insult and violence. He reproved the senate of Rome, because on account of some private quarrel the synagogue had been burned. He strongly rebuked the clergy of Milan, who had endeavoured to make themselves masters of a synagogue and all its property. He repressed the people of Genoa, who had abrogated all the privileges of the Jews, long resident among them—had risen, pillaged, and unroofed the synagogue. The king directed that the Israelites should be reinstated in their privileges, and permitted to rebuild

their synagogue, provided that it was a plain building, and covered no larger space of ground than their former one. This was at the end of the fifth century. It was about the end of the sixth that the Pope himself assumed the saintly office of protector of the oppressed. From several of the letters of Gregory the First, it appears that the Jews had laid their grievances before him in person, and obtained redress. He severely rebuked those whose intemperate zeal had led them to insult the synagogues, by placing the images of the Virgin and the crucified Redeemer within their walls; yet he was by no means remiss in his attempts to convert these unbelievers. The tyrannical and bloody Chilperic, the contemporary king of Paris and Soissons, with the fierce and ignorant ardour of a man who hoped by his savage zeal for Christian faith to obtain remission of his dreadful violations of Christian virtue, compelled the Jews, who seem to have been numerous and wealthy, to receive baptism. But it was observed, that these compulsory converts observed their own Sabbath as strictly as that of the Christians; and Priscus, the head of the nation, openly expressed his abhorrence of the tenets of Christianity. He was imprisoned, released on payment of a large sum of money, but commanded to marry his son to a Christian woman. Phatir, a converted Jew, related to the king by marriage, set on him, murdered him, and fled with his companions to an asylum in the church of St. Julian. The assassin was pardoned, retired into Burgundy, but was killed a short time after. But the Pope employed more gentle and politic, and doubtless more effective, means of conversion. He forbade, as we have said, all outrage or insult; but, as we have also seen, he executed rigidly the Laws of Asylum, by which the Jews daily lost their slaves; and while by his protection he appealed to their better feelings, he laid a temptation in the way of their avarice, by offering remission of taxes to all converted Jews. We shall hereafter see the manner in which Spain maintained its dark distinction of being the first, as well as the most ardent, votary of religious persecution, and the fatal consequences of her implacable intolerance.

Scarcely had the world begun to breathe after the successive shocks which its social state had received from the inroads of the Northern barbarians — scarcely had it begun to assume some appearance of order, as the kingdoms of the Goths, the Vandals, the Lombards, and the Franks, successively arose upon the broken ruins of the Roman empire — when Mahometanism suddenly broke forth, and, spreading with irresistible rapidity over great part of Asia, the north of Africa, and Spain, effected a complete revolution in the government, the manners, and the religion of half the world. The Persian kingdom fell at once, and the Magian religion was almost

extinguished. In the Asiatic provinces, Christianity, excepting in Armenia, was reduced to an inconsiderable and persecuted sect; a magnificent mosque replaced the Jewish temple on the summit of Moriah; the flourishing churches of Africa, the dioceses of Cyprian and Augustine, were yielded up to the interpreters of the Koran, and the cross found a precarious refuge among the mountains of the Asturias, while the crescent shone over the rich valleys of Spain, and the splendid palaces of Grenada and Cordova. Such a revolution, as it submitted them to new masters, could not but materially affect the condition of the Jews. In most respects, the change was highly favourable; for, though sometimes despised and persecuted by the Saracenic emperors and caliphs, in general their state was far less precarious and depressed than under the Christians; and they rose to their great era of distinction in wealth, cultivation, and in letters, under the mild dominion of the Arabian dynasty in Spain.

In order to trace the influence of this great revolution, we return to the East, and survey the state of the Jews—I. Under the Byzantine empire—II. Under the later Persian monarchs —and III. In Arabia. The Greek empire was rapidly verging to decay; the imperial court was a scene of intrigue and licentiousness, more like that of an Asiastic sultan than of the heir of the Roman name; the capital was distracted by factions, not set in arms in support of any of those great principles which dignify, if they do not vindicate, the violence of human passions, but in assertion of the superior skill of dancers and charioteers —the circus, not the senate, was the scene of their turbulence— the actor, not the orator, was the object of popular excitement. An eunuch, Narses, and a Thracian peasant, Belisarius, alone maintained the fame of Rome for valour and ability in war. The Church was rapidly increasing in power, but by no means, notwithstanding the virtues and talents of men like Chrysostom, in the great attributes of the Christian religion—wisdom, holiness, and mercy. The Jews, probably by their industry as traders, and their connexion with their brethren in the East, ministered considerably to the splendour and luxury of the imperial court; but the fall of the Patriarchate, and the dispersion of the community in Palestine, which seems entirely to have lost the centre of unity which it possessed in the religious capital, Tiberias, lowered the whole race in general estimation. They were no longer a native community, or, it might almost be said, a state, whose existence was recognised by the supreme power, and who possessed an ostensible head, through whom the will of the sovereign might be communicated, or who might act as the representative of the nation. They sank into a sect, little differing from other religious communities which refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the established Church. In

this light they are considered in the imperial laws. Hitherto they had enjoyed the rights of Roman citizenship; but the emperors now began to exclude from offices of honour and dignity all who did not conform to the dominant faith. In the sixth year of Justin the Elder, a law was promulgated to the following effect:—All unbelievers, heathens, Jews, and Samaritans, shall henceforth undertake no office of magistracy, nor be invested with any dignity in the state; neither be judges, nor prefects, nor guardians of cities, lest they may have an opportunity of punishing or judging Christians, and even bishops. They must be likewise excluded from all military functions. In case of the breach of this law, all their acts are null and void, and the offender shall be punished by a fine of twenty pounds of gold. This law, which comprehends Samaritans as well as Jews, leads us to the curious fact of the importance attained by that people during the reigns of Justin and Justinian. Hitherto their petty religious republic seems to have lurked in peaceful insignificance; now, not only do its members appear dispersed along the shores of the Mediterranean, sharing the commerce with their Jewish brethren in Egypt, Italy, and Sicily, but the peace of the empire was disturbed by their fierce and frequent insurrections in Palestine. Already in the preceding reign, that of Zeno, their city of Sichem, which had now assumed the name of Neapolis (Naplous), had been the scene of a sanguinary tumult, of which we have only the Christian narrative—the rest must be made up, in some degree, from conjecture. The Samaritans still possessed their sacred mountain of Gerizim, on which they duly paid their devotions; no stately temple rose on the summit of the hill, but the lofty height was consecrated by the veneration of ages. It is not improbable that the Christians, who were always zealously disposed to invade the sanctuary of unbelief, and to purify, by the erection of a church, every spot which had been long profaned by any other form of worship, might look with holy impatience for the period when a fane in honour of Christ should rise on the top of Mount Gerizim. The language of our Lord to the woman of Samaria, according to their interpretation, prophetically foreshowed the dedication of that holy mountain to a purer worship. No motive can be suggested, so probable, as the apprehension of such a design, for the furious, and, as we are told, unprovoked, attack of the Samaritans on the Christian church in Naplous. They broke in on Easter-day—slew great numbers—seized the Bishop Terebinthus in the act of celebrating the Holy Sacrament—wounded him—cut off several of his fingers, as they clung with pious tenacity to the consecrated emblems, which the invaders misused with such sacrilegious and shameless fury as a Christian dared not describe. The bishop fled to Constantinople, appeared before the Emperor, showed

his mutilated hands, and at the same time reminded him of our Lord's prophecy. Zeno commanded the offenders to be severely punished, expelled the Samaritans from Gerizim; and the Christians had at length the satisfaction of beholding a chapel to the Virgin on the peak of the holy mountain, surrounded by a strong wall of brick, where, however, a watch was constantly kept to guard it from the Samaritans. During the reign of Anastasius, some Zealots, led by a woman, clambered up the steep side of the precipice, reached the church, and cut the guard to pieces. They then cried out to their countrymen below to join them; but the timid Samaritans refused to hearken to their call; and Procopius, the governor, a man of prudence and decision, allayed the tumult by the punishment of the offenders. This chapel was still further strengthened by Justinian; and five other churches, destroyed by the Samaritans, rebuilt.

The rankling animosity between the two religions—aggravated, no doubt, by the intolerant laws of Justinian, hereafter to be noticed—broke out in a ferocious, though desperate, insurrection. A certain Julian, by some reported to have been a robber chieftain, appeared at the head of the Samaritans. He assumed, it is averred, the title of king, and even had some pretensions to the character of a Messiah. All around Naplous they wasted the possessions of the Christians with fire and sword, burned the churches, and treated the priests with the most shameless indignities. By one account Julian is said to have entered Naplous while the games were celebrating. The victor was named Nicias; Julian summoned him before his presence, demanded his religion: on his reply that he was a Christian, he struck his head off at a blow. The whole district was a desert; one bishop had fallen in the massacre, and many priests were thrown into prison or torn in pieces. A great force was sent into the province; and, after a bloody battle, the Samaritans were defeated, Julian slain, and Silvanus, the most barbarous enemy of the Christians, taken and put to death. One, however, of the insurgents, named Arsenius, found his way to Constantinople. He was a man of great eloquence and ability, and succeeded in convincing the Emperor, who was usually entirely under the priestly influence, as well as the Empress, that the Christians were the real authors of this insurrection. The ecclesiastics of Palestine were seized with amazement and terror at the progress of this man—whom they characterise as "a crafty and wicked liar"—in the favour of the Emperor. They had recourse to St. Sabas, and induced him to undertake a mission to Constantinople in their defence. The venerable age (he was ninety years old) and the sanctity of Sabas triumphed over, it may be feared, the reason and justice of Arsenius. The Samaritans were condemned; the leaders of the insurrection adjudged to death; the rest of the people expelled,

and interdicted from settling again in Naplous; and, by a strange edict, the Samaritans were no longer to inherit the property of their fathers. Arsenius himself bowed to the storm, and embraced Christianity: many of the Samaritans, at the preaching of Sabas, or more probably to secure their property to their children, followed his example, or pretended to do so, with hypocrisy which may offend, but cannot surprise. The Emperor offered magnificent presents to Sabas: the holy man rejected every personal advantage; but requested a remission of taxes for his brethren, whose fields had been wasted and property burned in the recent tumults.

This apparent success in converting the great part of an obstinate race of unbelievers to the true faith, with some other events of the same nature, no doubt encouraged Justinian in his severe legislative enactments against the Jews and Samaritans. These nations were confounded with the recreant or disobedient sons of the Church, the heretics: they were deprived of all civil dignities, and at the same time compelled to undertake the offices attached to those dignities. Every burthen of society was laid upon them; but the honour and distinction which should be the inseparable rewards of such public services were sternly denied. The proselyting zeal which dictated the constitutions of Justinian entered into the bosom of families, under the specious pretext of securing Christian converts from the unwarrantable exercise of the parental authority. Either supposing that the law which forbade the intermarriages of Samaritans or Jews with Christians was perpetually eluded, or providing for the case of one party becoming a convert while the other adhered to his faith, Justinian enacted that among parents of different religions, the chief authority should rest with the true religion: in defiance of the father, the children were to be under the care of the mother; and the father could not, on the ground of religion, refuse either a maintenance, or his necessary expenses to the child. "Unbelieving parents, who have no other well-grounded cause of complaint against their believing children, are bound to leave them their property, to afford them a maintenance, to provide them with all necessaries, to marry them to true believers, to bestow on them dowries and bridal presents according to the decree of the prefect or the bishop." Further, the true believing children of unbelieving parents, if they have been guilty of no act of delinquency towards them, shall receive that share of their inheritance, undiminished, which would have fallen to them if their parents had died intestate; and every will made in contravention of this regulation is declared null and void. If they have been guilty of any delinquency, they may be indicted and punished; but even then they have a right to a fourth part of the property.

The above edict included both Jews and Samaritans: in the following, an invidious distinction was made. In litigations between Christians and Jews, or Christians among each other, the testimony of a Jew or a Samaritan was inadmissible: in the litigations of Jews among each other, the Jew's testimony was valid; that of a Samaritan as of a Manichean of no value. Another statute enacted that the synagogues of the Samaritans should be destroyed, and whoever attempted to rebuild them should be severely punished. The Samaritans were entirely deprived of the right of bequeathing their property: only true believers might presume to administer to the effects of a heretic, whether he died with or without a will. Thus no Samaritan had more than a life interest in his property; unless his son was an apostate, it was for ever alienated, and went to a stranger, or to the imperial treasury. No Samaritan might bear any office, neither teach nor plead in courts of law: impediments were even placed in the way of his conversion: if he conformed in order to obtain an office, he was obliged to bring his wife and children with him to the church. Not merely could he not bequeath, he could not convey property to an unbeliever; if he did so, it was confiscated to the treasury. The children of mixed marriages must be believers, or forfeit their inheritance; or where this was partly the case, the unbelieving children were excluded. "The true believers alone inherit: if none are members of the Church, it passes to the nearest relations: in default of these, to the treasury. The prefects and bishops are to enforce these statutes in their respective districts, and the infringement of them is to be punished by the severest penalties." These cruel statutes—which sowed dissension in the bosom of every family, caused endless litigations among the nearest relatives, almost offered a premium on filial disobedience, and enlisted only the basest motives on the side of true religion—were either too flagrantly iniquitous to be put in execution, or shocked the cooler judgment of the imperial legislator.

A decree was issued a few years after, modifying these enactments, but in such a manner as perhaps might tempt the sufferers to quote, if they had dared, the sentence of their own wise king, "that the tender mercies of wicked men are cruel." In this edict, after some pompous self-adulation on his own clemency, Justinian declared, that on account of the good conduct of the Samaritans, attested by Sergius, Bishop of Cæsarea, who, to his honour, seems to have interposed in their behalf, the rigour of the former laws was mitigated. The Samaritans were permitted to make wills, to convey property, to manumit slaves, to transact all business among each other. It abandoned all claims of the treasury upon their property; but it retained the following limitation, because it was just that Christian heirs should have

some advantage over unbelievers." Where part of the family had embraced Christianity, and the father died intestate, the children who were true believers inherited to the exclusion of the rest. But in case the latter, at a subsequent period, were converted, they were reinstated in their inheritance, with the loss only of the interest of those years during which they remained obstinate. Where the father made a will, the unbelieving heirs could not claim more than a sixth part; the rest could only be obtained, as above, by the change of their religion. A deceitful peace, maintained by the establishment of a proconsul in Syria, with a considerable body of troops, lasted for about twenty-five years. At the end of that time a new insurrection took place in Cæsarea; the Jews and Samaritans rose, attacked the Christians, demolished the churches, surprised and massacred the prefect Stephanus in his palace, and plundered the building. The wife of Stephanus fled to Constantinople, Adamantius was commissioned to inquire into the origin of the tumult, and to proceed against the guilty with the utmost rigour. Of the real cause we know nothing. Adamantius condemned the insurgents, executed many, confiscated the property of the most wealthy, probably for the restoration of the churches, and reduced the whole province to peace.

As the Samaritans will appear no more in our history, we pursue, to its termination, our account of this people. The Samaritans found means to elude these laws, by submitting to baptism, resuming their property, and then quietly falling back to their ancient faith. A law of Justin, the son of Justinian, denounces this practice, and re-enacts almost the whole iniquitous statute of his father. How far these measures tended to the comparative extinction of the Samaritan race, we cannot ascertain; but, at this time, they had so almost entirely in their hands the trade of money-changing, that a money-changer and a Samaritan, as afterwards a Jew and an usurer, were equivalent terms. Yet, after this period, few and faint traces of their existence, as a separate people, appear in history. In the seventeenth century, it was discovered that a small community still dwelt in the neighbourhood of their holy mountain, and had survived all the vicissitudes of ages, in a country remarkable for its perpetual revolutions; that they still possessed the copy of the Law in the old Samaritan character; and even to this day their descendants, a feeble remnant of this once nnmerous people, are visited with interest by the traveller to the Holy Land.

The zeal of the emperor, while it burned more fiercely against the turbulent and disaffected Samaritans, in whose insurrections the Jews of Palestine seemed to have shared both the guilt and the calamities, did not neglect any opportunity of attempting either by force, or, we can scarcely hesitate to add, fraud, the

proselytism of the Jews dispersed throughout the Eastern empire. The two great means of conversion were penal laws and miracles. Among the boasted triumphs of the reconquest of Africa from the Vandals, was the reduction to the true faith of Borium, a town on the borders of the Pentapolis, where the Jews are said to have had a splendid temple, no doubt a synagogue more costly than usual. The miracles of the age are almost too puerile to relate; we give one specimen as characteristic of the times. It was the custom of the Church to distribute the crumbs of the consecrated Host, which might remain, to children, summoned for that purpose from their schools. While Menas was bishop of Constantinople, the child of a Jewish glass-blower went to the church with the rest, and partook of the sacred elements. The father, inquiring the cause of his delay, discovered what he had done. In his fury he seized him, and shut him up in the blazing furnace. The mother went wandering about the city, wailing and seeking her lost offspring. The third day she sat down by the door of the workshop, still weeping, and calling on the name of her child. The child answered from the furnace, the doors were forced open, and the child discovered sitting unhurt amid the red-hot ashes. His account was, that a lady in a purple robe, of course the Blessed Virgin, had appeared and poured water on the coals that were immediately around him. The unnatural father was put to death, the mother and child baptized. Such were the legends which were to convince that people, who had rejected the miracles of Christ and his Apostles.

The laws were probably little more effective, and deeply imbued with the darkness of the age. An imperial decree, not easily understood, and not worth much pains to understand, was issued, to establish an uniformity in the time at which the Jewish Passover and the Christian Easter were celebrated. The Jews were forbidden, under heavy pecuniary mulcts, from following their own calculations. In the same edict, with singular ignorance of the usages of the people for whom he was legislating, Justinian prohibited the Jews from eating the Paschal Lamb, a practice which they had discontinued for five centuries. But the emperor had an opportunity of inflicting upon Judaism a more fatal blow, of which, it is probable, he himself did not apprehend entirely the important consequences. A schism had arisen in the synagogues, between the teachers and the commonalty, the clergy and the laity of the Jews. With a singular abandonment of their jealousy of all foreign interference in what may be called the domestic concerns of their religion, an appeal was made to the emperor, and the conflicting parties awaited his mandate on a subject, where, one might have supposed, they would rather have looked for the interposition of their God. The great point in dispute was the language in which the

Scripture was to be read, and the expositions made, in the synagogue. On the decision, the dominion of the Rabbins depended—it trembled to its foundations. With the fall of the Patriarchate, the connexion of the scattered synagogues of the West with Palestine had been interrupted; the schools had likewise been entirely closed, or fallen into disrepute; the Semicha, or ordination by the imposition of hands, formerly received in Palestine, was suspended; the learned youth were obliged to seek their education in the schools of Babylonia. Thus they lost the sanctity, which still, in popular opinion, attached to whatever came from the Holy Land; they, probably, were strangers, and by no means well acquainted with the western languages. The people, who had now entirely forgotten both the Hebrew of the Scriptures, and the vernacular language of Palestine, began imperiously to demand the general use of Greek translations. The craft of the Rabbins was in danger; it rested almost entirely on their knowledge of the original Hebrew writings, still more of the Mischnaioth and Talmudic Comments. Hebrew was the sacred language, and the language of learning once superseded by Greek, the mystery would be open to profane eyes, and reason and plain common sense, instead of authority, might become the bold interpreters of the written Law, perhaps would dare to reject entirely the dominion of tradition. In vain had been all their painful and reverential labours on the Sacred Books. In vain had they counted every letter, every point, every mark; and found mysteries in the number of times in which each letter occurred in the whole volume, in its position, in its relation to other letters. The deep and hidden things of the Law were inseparable from the Hebrew character. Besides its plain and obvious meaning, every text was significant of higher matters to the ears of the initiate. All the decisions of the schools, all the sayings of the Rabbins, were locked up in that sacred language. The Mischna, and the Talmud itself, might become a dead letter; for if the Scriptures were read in the vernacular tongue, the knowledge of Hebrew might cease to be a necessary qualification of the teacher. The Rabbins had much reason, and more stubborn prejudices, on their side. The elder wise men had always looked with jealousy on the encroachment of Greek letters. "Cursed be he that eateth swine's flesh, and teacheth his child Greek," had been an old axiom, perhaps, from the time of the Asmoneans. They were fighting for life and death, and armed themselves with all the spiritual terrors they could assume. They fulminated their anathemas; they branded their opponents as freethinkers and atheists. At length the affair came before the emperor. Whether his passion for legislation, which sometimes, even the Christian bishops complained, induced Justinian to intrude into concerns beyond his

province, led him to regulate the synagogue; or whether the disputes ran so high as to disturb the public peace, and demand the interference of the supreme authority, or whether the appeal was, in fact, voluntarily made; an edict was issued, which is still extant among the imperial constitutions. It enacted, that no one, who wished to do so, should be prevented from reading the Greek Scriptures in the synagogue; it enjoined those who read Greek, to use the Translation of the Seventy, which had been executed under the special, though less manifest, influence of the Holy Ghost, because the prophecies relating to Christianity were most clear in that translation; but it did not prohibit the version of Aquila, or any other. It positively interdicted the use of the Mischnah, as the invention of worldly men, which misled the people into miserable superstition. None of the Archiperecitæ, the readers of Peracha, or Extracts of the Talmud, on pain of confiscation of goods, and corporal chastisement, were to forbid the use of other languages, or dare to utter ban or interdict against such practices. On the other hand, freethinking, atheism, and such crimes, were to be severely punished; whoever denied the existence of God, of the angels, the creation, and final judgment, was condemned to death. The law terminated with a solemn admonition to read the Scriptures, so as to improve their spirits and hearts, and increase in knowledge and morality. The law was wise and moderate; but, as Jost observes, the emperor probably prevented its operation by betraying too openly its object—the conversion of the Jews. The spirit of the age was against him—the Rabbins eventually triumphed—the Talmud maintained its authority.

In his former persecuting edicts, the short-sighted emperor had alike miscalculated his own strength and the weakness of the Jews. Rome, in the zenith of her power, might despise the discontents of a scattered people, or a mutinous province, but in these disastrous times, it was dangerous for the feeble Eastern empire to alienate the affections of the meanest of its subjects. The Jews had the power, and could not be expected to want the desire of vengeance. Even in the West they were of some importance. During the siege of Naples by Belisarius, the Jews, who loved the milder dominion of the Gothic kings, defended one quarter of the city with obstinate resolution, and yielded only when the conqueror was within the gates. On the eastern frontier, now that the Persian monarchy on the Tigris was an equal match for the wreck of the Roman empire on the Bosphorus, an oppressed and unruly population, on the accessible frontier of Syria, holding perpetual intercourse with their more favoured, though by no means unpersecuted, brethren in Babylonia, might be suspected of awaiting with ill-suppressed impatience the time when, during some inevitable collision

between the two empires, they might find an opportunity of vengeance on masters, against whom they had so long an arrear of wrong. The hour at length came; but, as the affairs of the Jews in the Eastern empire, at least in Palestine, are now inseparably moulded up with those of Persia, we turn our attention to the Eastern Jews, briefly trace their history down to the time of Justinian, and then pursue the mingled thread to the appearance of Mahomet.

II. From the death of R. Asche, who commenced the Babylonian Talmud, dark were the days of the children of the captivity. During the reigns of the Persian kings from Izdigerdes to Kobad, from about 430 to 530 (A.C.), the dominant Magian religion oppressed alike the Christian and the Jew. The Sabbath, say the Jewish traditions, was taken away. Still, however, the Resch-Glutha, or prince of the captivity, maintained his state, and the famous schools of Nahardea, Sura, and Pumbeditha, were open. Civil discords had nearly destroyed the enfeebled state; and the house of David, from whose loins the princes of the captivity deduced their rank, was well nigh extinct. Here, as elsewhere, great jealousies existed between the temporal and spiritual power: the former attempted, the latter would not endure, encroachment. The rupture took place when it might have been expected that they would have lived in the greatest harmony; for the prince of the captivity, R. Huna, had married the daughter of R. Chanina, the master of the schools. But ambition listens not to the claims of blood and kindred. The Resch-Glutha, or his judge, attempted to interpret the Talmud in the presence of the wise man. Chanina resisted this usurpation of his province. The Resch-Glutha decoyed Chanina into his power, plucked his beard, and cast him forth, interdicting all the inhabitants of the city from affording him shelter, or the necessaries of life. Chanina, we have no better history than this legend to offer, wept and prayed. A pestilence broke out in the royal family, and every soul perished except a child, with which the widowed daughter of Chanina, the prince's wife, was pregnant. Chanina dreamed a dream—he saw himself in a garden, where he cut down all the stately cedars, one young plant alone remained. He was awakened as by a violent blow on the head; it seemed to reproach him for having thus cut off all the lofty cedars of the house of David, and forcibly reminded him of his duty to watch over the single scion of the royal stock. He waited night and day by his daughter's door; neither the fiery heat of noon, nor torrents of rain, could induce him to remove till the child was born. He took him and superintended his education with the most diligent care. In the mean time a certain Paphra, distantly allied to the royal house, bought, like the Roman Didius, the princely dignity, and

enjoyed it for fifteen years. At that convenient time he came to a most ignoble end; a fly flew into his nose, and made him sneeze so violently that he died! The young Zutra ascended the throne. During his reign of twenty years, an enthusiast, named Meir, brought ruin on the whole community. He proclaimed himself, most probably, a Messiah; he pretended that a fiery column preceded his march, and with four hundred desperate followers he laid waste the country. The Persian king, Kobad, speedily suppressed the insurrection. Meir was put to death, and all the heads of the captivity were involved in his fate. The prince of the captivity, Zutra, and R. Chanina his tutor, were hanged. This great insurrection took place in 530, a year before Nushirvan's accession. At this disastrous period, many of the Babylonian Jews wandered from their afflicted settlements; some, it is believed, found their way to the coast of Malabar. A son of Zutra fled to Tiberias, where he renewed the Semicha, or laying-on of hands; and, it is supposed, contributed to disseminate the Babylonian Talmud among the Jews of the West. Chosroes the Just, or Nushirvan, who ascended the throne of Persia in the fifth year of Justinian, 531, was not more favourable to the Jews of Babylonia; their schools were closed by authority; but so great was the impatience of the Palestinian Israelites under the oppressive laws of Justinian, that they looked with anxious hope to, and are reported by Christian writers to have urged, by an offer of 50,000 men, and by the splendid prospect of the plunder of Christian Jerusalem, the hostile advance of the Persian monarch. These hopes were frustrated by the conclusion of an "everlasting peace" between Justinian and Nushirvan, in which the pride of Rome was obliged to stoop to the payment of a great sum of money. The "everlasting peace" endured barely seven years, and the hopes of the Jews were again excited; but their day of vengeance was not yet come. After extending his conquests to Antioch, Nushirvan was constrained by the ability of Belisarius to retreat. Peace was again concluded, Jerusalem remained unplundered, and the Jews and Samaritans were abandoned to the vindictive justice of their former masters. Under Hormisdas, the successor of Chosroes Nushirvan, the Babylonian Jews were restored to their prosperity: their schools in Pumbeditha, Sura, and Nahardea were reopened; a new order of doctors, the Gaonim, the Illustrious, arose; and their prince resumed his state. After the fall and death of the weak Hormisdas, the Jews espoused the party of the usurper Baharam, or Varanes, against the son of Hormisdas, Chosroes the Second, the rightful heir of the throne, and by no means, we believe with Gibbon, the parricide, who fled to implore, and obtained the assistance of Maurice, Emperor of the East. Among the executions which followed

the triumphant restoration of Chosroes to the throne of his ancestors, the Jews had their full share. There was a new Antioch built by Nushirvan, and peopled with the inhabitants of the old city, whom he transported thither, and who were struck with agreeable astonishment at finding the exact counterpart of every house and street of their former residence. The Jews formed a considerable part of this community, and when the storm first burst on the city, Nabod, the general of Chosroes, inflicted on them the most dreadful penalties for their disloyalty; some were cut off by the sword, others tortured, others reduced to slavery. But this was vengeance, not persecution; the Jews submitted, and made their peace with Chosroes. When that king, summoned alike by gratitude and ambition, prepared to burst on the Byzantine empire, to revenge on the barbarous usurper Phocas, the murder of his friend and protector Maurice, and that of his five sons, the Palestinian Jews were in a state of frantic excitement, still further aggravated by the persecutions of Phocas, who compelled a great number of their brethren to submit to baptism. Ever rash in their insurrections, they could not wait the appointed time: they rose in Antioch, set the splendid palaces of the principal inhabitants on fire, slew numbers, treated the Patriarch Anastasius with the worst indignity, and dragged him through the streets till he died.

Phocas sent Bonosus and Cotto against the insurgents, who defeated them with great loss, and revenged, as far as they had time, the outrages which had been committed in all quarters. But they were compelled to retreat, and the Jews beheld, in a paroxysm of exultation, the unresisted squadrons of Chosroes pouring over the frontier: Antioch surrendered without a blow.

Chosroes turned towards Constantinople; his general, Carusia, advanced to the conquest of Palestine and Jerusalem. The Jews arose at his approach; from Tiberias and Nazareth they joined him in great numbers, till their force amounted, according to report, to 24,000 men. Before the capture of Jerusalem, new causes of exasperation were added to the dreadful arrears of ancient vengeance. In Tyre it is said that the incredible number of 40,000 Jews had taken up their dwelling. They sent secret messengers to all their brethren in Palestine, in Damascus, in Cyprus, in the mountainous districts of Galilee, and in Tiberias, to assemble suddenly before the walls of that city, on the night of the Christian Easter. The conspiracy reached the ears of the Christians. The Bishop and powerful citizens seized the most wealthy of the Jews, threw them into prison, and put the gates and walls in the best possible state of defence. The Jews appeared, and revenged themselves by the destruction of the suburbs, for the failure of their surprise; but every time a Christian church, the great object of their animosity, was set on

fire, the besieged struck off the heads of a hundred Jewish prisoners, and cast them over the wall. This horrible retaliation produced no effect, twenty churches sank into ashes, and the heads of 2000 Jews lay bleaching on the sand. At length, on a rumour of the advance of the imperial forces, the Jews retreated to join their brethren in the easier achievement of entering, under the protection of their Persian allies, the streets of Christian Jerusalem. It had come at length, the long-expected hour of triumph and vengeance; and they did not neglect the opportunity. They washed away the profanation of the holy city in Christian blood. The Persians are said to have sold the miserable captives for money. The vengeance of the Jews was stronger than their avarice; not only did they not scruple to sacrifice their treasures in the purchase of these devoted bondsmen, they put to death without remorse all they had purchased at a lavish price. It was a rumour of the time that 90,000 perished. Every Christian church was demolished; that of the Holy Sepulchre was the great object of furious hatred; the stately building of Helena and Constantine was abandoned to the flames; "the devout offerings of three hundred years were rifled in one sacrilegious day." But the dream of Jewish triumph was short; the hope of again possessing, if not in independence, under the mild protection of the Persian monarch, the holy city of their forefathers, vanished in a few years. The Emperor Heraclius, who seemed to slumber on the throne of Byzantium, like another Sardanapalus, suddenly broke the bonds of sloth and pleasure; after a few campaigns, conducted by the Roman with equal boldness and ability, the Persian monarch, instead of arraying his victorious troops under the walls of Byzantium, trembled within his own insecure capital; and the provinces which he had overrun, Syria and Egypt, passed quietly under the sway of their former masters. Heraclius, himself, visited Jerusalem as a pilgrim, where the wood of the true Cross, which had been carried away to Persia, was reinstated with due solemnity, and the Christian churches restored to their former magnificence. If the clergy enforced upon the kneeling and penitent emperor the persecution of the Jews, it must be acknowledged that provocation was not wanting; for how many of them had been eye-witnesses of, perhaps sufferers in, the horrible atrocities committed on the capture of the city. Yet we have no authentic account of great severities exercised by Heraclius. The law of Hadrian was re-enacted, which prohibited the Jews from approaching within three miles of the city—a law which, in the present exasperated state of the Christians, might be a measure of security or mercy, rather than of oppression.

BOOK XXII.

JUDAISM AND MAHOMETANISM.

Jews in Arabia—Jewish Kingdom in Homeritis—Rise of Mahomet—Wars against the Arabian Jews—Progress of Mahometanism—State of Spain—Cruel Laws of the Visigothic Kings—Conquest of Spain by the Moors—Persecuting Laws in France.

DURING the conflict between the Persian and Roman emperors, a power was rapidly growing up in the secret deserts of Arabia, which was to erect its throne upon the ruins of both. Mahomet had already announced his religious doctrine—"There is but one God, and Mahomet is his prophet"—and the valleys of Arabia had echoed with the triumphant battle-cry of his followers, "The Koran or death." The Jews were among the first of whom Mahomet endeavoured to make proselytes—the first opponents—and the first victims of the sanguinary teaching of the new Apostle. For centuries, a Jewish kingdom, unconnected either with the Jews of Palestine or Babylonia, had existed in that district of Arabia called, in comparison to the stony soil of one part and the sandy waste of the other, Arabia the Happy. Of their origin we have no distinct account; but among the various afflictions and dispersions of the Jewish people, it would have been extraordinary if a place of refuge so near, and at the same time so secure, had not tempted them to venture on the perils of the desert—which, once passed, presented an almost insuperable barrier to the pursuit of an enemy. Their mercantile brethren, who visited the ports of the Red Sea, might bring home intelligence of the pleasant valleys which ran down to the coast, and from which gales of aromatic sweetness were wafted to their barks as they passed along. Ancient tradition pointed, and probably with truth, to these regions, as the dwelling of that famous queen of Sheba who had visited their great king in his splendour; and in the hospitable dominions of her descendants, the race of Solomon's subjects might find refuge. In some respects, the Arabian tribes were their brethren: they seem to have entertained great respect, if they did not learn it from the Jews, for the memory of Abraham;—they practised circumcision in Sabæa, like the Jews, on the eighth day, and they abhorred swine's flesh. However they came there, Jewish settlers, at least

one hundred and twenty years before Christ, had built cities and castles, and established an independent kingdom. Arabian tradition (we dare not dignify it with the name of history) assigns a Jewish king to the district of Homeritis, about that period, named Abu-Carb-Asaad. It adds the inconsistent circumstance, that he first strewed with carpets the sacred temple of Mecca, called the Caaba. If this be true, Judaism in Arabia must have been more social and tolerant than elsewhere; for the Caaba, before the time of Mahomet, was, undoubtedly, a temple of idolatrous worship; and though the Jew might assert that the God of Israel maintained the first place, many associate or subordinate deities claimed their portion in the sacrifices of Mecca. The line of Jewish kings in Homeritis is continued, though in a broken series; but we have no space for these barren annals, and pass on to the last of these Homeritish kings, who reigned and fell a short time before the rise of Mahometanism. The feuds of Christians and Jews spread into these retired and fertile valleys; and connected, perhaps, with political circumstances, inflamed the warlike habits of tribes in which the old Arabian blood was far from extinct. Christianity had first penetrated into Yemen in an Arian form, probably during the reign of Constantius, son of Constantine the Great. With the Arians, the Jews, as usual, seem to have lived on terms of amity. The Catholic faith spread from the other side of the Red Sea, under the protecting influence of the powerful kings of Ethiopia, or Abyssinia. Eles-baan, the king of that country, had extended his conquests over the opposite shore of the Red Sea; and Dunaan, the Jewish King of Homeritis, after many defeats, had been obliged to pay tribute to the Ethiopian. But his restless spirit disdained submission; every defeat only kindled the burning desire of vengeance and independence. The invasions of the Ethiopian, dependent on the precarious navigation of the Red Sea, were often suspended—probably, at certain periods, were entirely cut off. Dunaan resolved on the bold measure of attempting the sudden extermination of the Christian power in Yemen; after the loss of their allies, the Abyssinians would find it difficult to maintain their footing in the country. He seized a favourable opportunity, rose, and executed all the Christians within his power; and appeared before the walls of Nagra, their chief city, at the head of 120,000 men. He summoned the inhabitants to take down the cross, which stood on a height above the city, and to deny the Christian religion. A singular negotiation ensued. The besieger demanded the acknowledgment of the Unity of God, as the supreme head of the church, and the denial of a plurality of persons in the Godhead. The Christians readily acknowledged the Unity, but refused to yield on the other point. On their refusal, Dunaan gave the signal for the execu-

tion of many of his Christian captives in the sight of their brethren, and the sale of others as slaves. At length, on a promise of freedom of conscience, the Christians opened their gates, but the perfidious Arab violated the terms—threw Areth and others of the leaders into chains, and then demanded Paulus, the bishop, who had formerly been among his most eloquent opponents. The bishop had been for two years in his grave, but Dunaan revenged himself on his lifeless bones, which were disinterred and burned. Many priests, monks, and nuns, as the most active of his adversaries, suffered the same fate—and obtained, in the estimation of their brethren, the honours of martyrdom. Dunaan then tried arguments on Areth and the rest of his prisoners, to convince them of the absurdity of worshipping a crucified God. On the rejection of his arguments, he had recourse to more summary means of conviction—threats of instant death; these likewise were unavailing. Areth and his companions submitted cheerfully to execution—they could not well do otherwise—for their wives and daughters had before crowded forth, as if they were hastening to a bridal, to partake in the glory of suffering for their faith. Such, with many more particulars, is the tenor of a letter ascribed to Dunaan himself, and addressed to Al Mender, a prince of the Saracens, whose alliance he courted. We confess we doubt, or rather we feel assured, that this letter is either entirely fictitious, or greatly interpolated. The crimes of Dunaan, and the wrongs of the Christians, did not remain long unavenged. With the spring, Eles-baan, and a formidable force of 120,000 men, invaded the region. Dunaan, after an obstinate defence, was defeated, and lost his life; and in his person expired the Jewish kingdom of the Homerites. After his death, Abraham, son of Areth, founded a Christian kingdom, which scarcely acknowledged the sovereignty of the feeble son of Eles-baan. The Christian dynasty in its turn was overthrown by the conquering arm of the Persians, and Arabia was reckoned among the subject realms of Chosroes the Second.

But though they had lost their royal state, the Jews were still numerous and powerful in the Arabian peninsula; they formed separate tribes, and maintained the fierce independence of their Ishmaelitish brethren. Mahomet manifestly designed to unite all those tribes under his banner. While his creed declared implacable war against the worshippers of fire, it respected the doctrines of the Jews, and at least of the less orthodox Christians. The Apostle of God was the successor, greater indeed, of the former delegates of heaven, Moses and Isha (Jesus). It was only the fire of the Magians which was at once extinguished, and the palace of Chosroes, which shook to its foundations, at his birth. All the traditions which the old Arabian creed had

preserved from immemorial ages, or with which it had been impregnated from the Jews resident in Arabia, still find their place in the Koran; and Abraham, the common father of the two races, holds the most conspicuous rank in their religious history. Jerusalem was appointed the first kebla of prayer; and in the nocturnal journey, during which the Prophet was transported to the holy city of the Jews, the mysterious winged horse, the Borak, arrested its course to pay homage to Mount Sinai, and to Bethlehem, the birth-place of Jesus. To the first part of the new creed, every Jewish heart would at once respond, "There is but one God"—why should not their enthusiasm, their impatience in awaiting the too-long-delayed Messiah, their ambition, or their avaricious eagerness to be glutted with the plunder of misbelievers, induce them to adopt the latter clause, "and Mahomet is his Prophet?" But the Jews stood aloof in sullen unbelief; they disclaimed a Messiah sprung from the loins of Hagar the bondwoman. Nothing remained but to employ the stern proselytism of the sword; the tone of Mahomet changed at once—the Israelites were taunted with all the obstinacy and rebellion of their forefathers; and the Koran bitterly mocks their vain hope, "that the fires of hell shall touch them only for a few days." The storm fell first on the Kainoka, a tribe who dwelt in Medina. In the peremptory summons to embrace Islamism, were these words:—"Lend to the Lord on good interest!"—"Surely," said the sarcastic Phineas, the son of Ayubah, "the Lord must be poor to require a loan!" The fiery Abubeker struck him a violent blow, and declared that, but for the treaty existing between the tribes, he would have smote off his head. An accidental tumult gave rise to the first open warfare. A Jewish goldsmith insulted an Arabian maiden—the Arabs slew the offender. The Jews were in a violent commotion, when Mahomet sent them the peremptory alternative, "Islamism or war." "We are ignorant of war," answered the Jews; "we would eat our bread in peace; but if you force us to fight, you shall find us men of courage." They fled to a neighbouring citadel, and made a gallant defence for fifteen days, at the end of which they were forced to surrender. Mahomet issued immediate orders for a general massacre—he was hardly prevailed upon by the powerful Abdollah, son of Obba, to spare their lives—their wealth was pillaged. Their arms fell to the lot of the conquerors, and Mahomet arrayed himself in a cuirass, which either the Jews or his followers asserted to have belonged to King David; they added, in defiance of Jewish history, that he had it on when he slew Goliah. The miserable tribe, thus plundered and defenceless, was driven to find a settlement on the frontier of Syria. The turn of the tribe of Nadhir came next, but they provoked their fate by a treacherous attempt to

assassinate the Prophet at a peaceful banquet. They were besieged in their castle, and constrained to surrender, though with all the honours of war: their wealth was confiscated, by a special revelation of the Koran, to the sole benefit of Mahomet himself and the poor; while the merciless edict pursues them into the next world, and, for their resistance to the Prophet, condemns them to everlasting hell-fire. The vanquished Nadhirites retreated from the neighbourhood of Medina—they joined the Koreish, the inveterate enemies of Mahomet, and the Jews of Koraidha, in a new war against the Prophet. On the very evening of the day on which Mahomet won the memorable battle of the "Ditch," against the Koreish, he advanced to extirpate the Jews of Koraidha—his followers even neglected, without rebuke, the evening prayer, in their thoughts of vengeance. The Angel Gabriel, they believed, led the way, and poured terror into the hearts of the Koraidhites. Even Caab, the son of Asad, the brave author of the war, counselled surrender. They descended from their castle, hoping to obtain mercy through the intercession of their allies. The judgment was left to the venerable Saad, the son of Moadh. Saad was brought, sick and wounded, into the camp. "Oh, Abu-Amru," (it was the name of Saad,) cried the Jews, "have mercy upon us!" Saad uttered his judgment with awful solemnity—"Let all the men be put to death, and the women and children be slaves." —"A divine judgment," exclaimed the fierce Prophet—"a judgment from the highest of the seven Heavens." Seven hundred Jews were dragged in chains to the market-place of Medina—graves were dug—the unhappy wretches descended into them—the sword did its office, and the earth was heaped over their remains. The inflexible Prophet looked on without emotion, and this horrible butchery is related with triumph in the Koran. The next Jewish victim was the powerful Salam—he was assassinated in his bed by order of the Prophet. The Jews of Khaibar now alone preserved their independence. Khaibar was a district, six days' journey to the south-east of Medina; rich in palm-trees, and fertile in pastures, and protected by eight castles, supposed to be impregnable. The Apostle led forth to war two hundred horse, and fourteen hundred foot; as he entered the territory of Khaibar he exclaimed to his troops—"On with redoubled speed." He then turned to heaven in prayer—"Lord of the Heavens, Lord of the Earths, Lord of the Demons, and all that they lead into evil—Lord of the Winds, and all they disperse and scatter—grant us the spoil of this city, and preserve us from evil." Allah had before promised him great booty: the evil he apprehended was, the poison which was afterwards given to him by a Jewish woman. The prayer ended, he cried again, "Forward, in the

name of Allah." The Jews of Khaibar were slumbering in peaceful repose—their first castle, Naem, was taken by assault; the second, Nataa, the castle of Asad, son of Moad, made a more vigorous defence. The Moslemites were reduced to great extremities, for the country had been wasted, and all the palm-trees destroyed. At length Nataa fell, and Mahomet became master of an immense booty in corn, dates, oil, honey, flocks of sheep, cattle, and asses, and armour of all sorts:—one author adds, that they brought to the Prophet a camel-skin full of collars, bracelets, garters, ear-rings, and buckles, all of gold, with an immense number of precious stones. Alkamus, the third citadel, made a still more gallant resistance. It was here that Ali distinguished himself—he planted the standard on the walls—he clove the skull of Marhab, the great champion of the Jews, through his buckler, two turbans, and a diamond, which he wore in his helmet, till the sword stuck between his jaws. Abu-Rafe, an eye-witness, declares, that the "Strong Lion" seized the gate of the city, which eight men could not lift,* and used it as a buckler. On the capture of Alkamus, Kenana, the chief, was horribly tortured, to induce him to betray the secret hiding-place of his treasures; but the patient Jew endured to the utmost, and a more merciful Islamite relieved him by striking off his head. Three more of the castles fell. The two last surrendered on the promise that the lives of the besieged should be spared.† The inhabitants of the cities of Fadai and Khaibar capitulated on the condition of surrendering half the revenue of their fields and pastures, which they were still to cultivate, to the use of the Prophet; but Mahomet reserved the right of exiling them according to his good pleasure—a right which was afterwards exercised by the Caliph Omar, who alleged the dying injunction of the Prophet, that but one faith should be permitted to exist in Arabia. The Jews of Khaibar were transplanted to Syria; yet it is supposed that some vestiges of their creed may still be traced among the Arab tribes of that district.

But the persecution of the Jews by the Mahometans was confined to the limits of the Arabian peninsula. Under the empire of the Caliphs, which rapidly swallowed up the dominions of Persia, and many provinces of the Eastern empire, this people might rejoice in the change of masters. Jerusalem yielded an easy conquest to the triumphant Omar, and though the Jews might behold with secret dissatisfaction the magnificent mosque of the conqueror usurp the sacred hill on which the Temple of Solomon

* "Abu-Rafe," observes Gibbon, in his usual caustic vein, "was an eye-witness—but who will be witness for Abu-Rafe?"

† It was during this war, that a Jewish woman made Mahomet a present of a poisoned sheep—he tasted it, but was warned not to eat any more; still its fatal effects lurked in his constitution.

stood, yet still they would find consolation in the degradation of the Christians, and the obscurity into which the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was thrown; and even, perhaps, might cherish the enthusiastic hope that the new temple might be destined for a holier use. Some Christian writers accuse the Jews of a deep-laid conspiracy to advance the triumph of Mahometanism; but probably this conspiracy was no more than their united prayers and vows, that their oppressors might fall before a power which ruled them on the easy terms of tribute, the same which they exacted from all their conquered provinces. This union of their hearts was natural; they might well rejoice in the annihilation of the throne of Persia, for Izdigerd, the last of her kings, had commenced a fierce persecution of the Jews in his dominions; and the Christians could lay little blame to their faithful attachment as subjects. No doubt, as the tide of Moslemite conquest spread along the shores of Africa, the Jews exulted, rather than deplored the change of masters; 40,000 of their race were found by Amrou in Alexandria, at the conquest of that city, and suffered no further oppression than the payment of tribute. In one country alone, it is probable, that they took a more active interest, than their secret prayers and thanksgivings, in the triumph of the Crescent. Spain had already taken the lead in Jewish persecution, Spain maintained its odious distinction, and Spain had without doubt reason to rue the measures which set a great part of its most industrious population in justifiable hostility to its laws and government, and made them ready to hail the foreign conqueror as a deliverer and benefactor. The lust of Roderick, and his violation of the daughter of Count Julian, led not more directly to the subjugation of his country, than the barbarous intolerance of his ancestors towards the Jews. Their wrongs, in the violence done to their consciences, were not less deep than that suffered by the innocent Caava; their vengeance was less guilty than that of the renegade Julian.

For a century their wrongs had been accumulating. As early as the reign of Recared, the first Catholic king of the Goths, they had attained unexampled prosperity in the Peninsula. They were, to a great extent, the cultivators of the soil, which rewarded their patient industry with the most ample return; and often the administrators of the finances, for which they were well qualified by their knowledge of trade. Bigotry, envy, and avarice, conspired to point them out as objects of persecution. Laws were passed, of which the spirit may be comprehended from the preamble and the titles:—"Laws concerning the promulgation and ratification of statutes against Jewish wickedness, and for the general extirpation of Jewish errors. That the Jews may not celebrate the Passover according to their usage; that the Jews may not contract marriage according to their own customs;

that the Jews may not practise circumcision; that the Jews make no distinction of meats; that the Jews bring no action against Christians; that Jews be not permitted to bear witness against Christians: of the time when their converted descendants are admissible as witnesses: of the penalties attached to the transgressions of these statutes by the Jews: against the circumcision of slaves by the Jews." These laws, however, do not at first seem to have come into operation. It is suspected, from a passage in a letter of Pope Gregory, that the Israelites paid a large sum of money for their suspension. A statute of Recared's successor, Sisebut, complained of the neglect of his predecessor's law, which forbade Jews from having Christian slaves, and declared all such slaves free. Sisebut was excited, it is said, by the Emperor Heraclius, who had found out that his empire was threatened with danger from the circumcised, and, ignorant of the secret growth of Mahometanism, determined to extirpate the dangerous race throughout the world. Among the smouldering ruins of the Christian churches, and the vestiges of recent Christian massacre in Jerusalem, Heraclius might unhappily have found stronger reasons for the persecution of the Jews: but as we have no satisfactory evidence of his having wreaked his vengeance in his own dominions, it may be doubted whether his jealous vigilance extended so far as to the extremity of the West. Sisebut must bear alone the shame, he probably thought, alone inherit the glory of his oppressive measures. The Jews were commanded, at once, either to abandon their religion, or to leave the dominions of the Goths. According to their own account, they assembled with tears and groans in the court of the palace, obtained an audience, and held a singular theological debate with their royal antagonist. The king declared that he was constrained by his conscience to force them to receive baptism. They adduced the example of Joshua, who did not, they said, compel the Canaanites to accept the law of Moses, but allowed them peace on condition of their observing the seven Noachic precepts. The king, perplexed by this daring historical argument, replied that he recognised no authority superior to his own; that it was his bounden duty to enforce his law, because all who were not regenerate in baptism must perish everlastingly. The Jews replied, that as the Israelites, who despised the Holy Land, were sufficiently punished by being excluded from its blessings, so they would pay an adequate penalty, by being excluded from eternal life. Sisebut rejoined, that men might be left to themselves to accept or refuse temporal advantages, but that they must be forced to receive spiritual blessings, as a child is forced to learn his lessons. But the king's orders were more effective than his arguments. The Jews were thrown into prison, and treated with the utmost rigour. Some

fled into France or Africa, others abandoned their religion, 90,000 are reported to have submitted to baptism: but how far their hearts renounced their creed, or how speedily they relapsed, must remain uncertain. In the next reign but one, that of Sisenand, the Jews obtained a relaxation of the oppressive statutes, probably from an unexpected quarter. The rare example was displayed of a synod of clergy in that age, of Spanish clergy, openly asserting the tenets of reason and Christian charity. The fourth Council of Toledo enacted, "that men ought not to be compelled to believe, because God will have mercy on those on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth. As man fell by his own free will in listening to the wiles of the serpent, so man can only be converted by his free acceptance of the Christian faith." Yet, with remarkable inconsistency, the Council likewise decreed, "that all who had embraced the faith must be constrained to adhere to it, and to remain within the Church. For as they had received the blessed sacrament, the holy name of God would be blasphemed, and the faith disgraced, by their falling off." The gleam of light and mercy was but transient. The sixth Council of Toledo (it is probable that the wise and good Isidore of Seville had died in the interval) indignantly disclaimed the tolerant spirit of the former synod. It praised Suintila the Second for his violent proceedings against the Jews, and blessed God that they possessed a prince so full of ardour for the faith. They enacted that every king on his accession should take an oath to execute these laws, and passed an anathema on that sovereign who should neglect this indispensable part of his royal duty. Under Recescuinth, the eighth Council of Toledo, A. C. 653, re-enforced the obligation of the king to execute the laws against the Jews with the utmost severity. To this Council a curious petition was presented. The undersigned Jews expressed their readiness to submit to the law; the only indulgence they requested was an exemption from being constrained to eat pork, a food to which they could not habituate themselves, however disguised by cookery. But the most extraordinary fact in all this history is, that not only were these laws ineffective in the conversion or extirpation of the Jews, but that there were Christians who embraced Judaism. One of the Visigothic laws indignantly enacts the punishment of death for such an offence. "Even many of the clergy," declares the tenth Council of Toledo, "a fact monstrous and unutterable, pursue an execrable commerce with the ungodly, and do not scruple to sell to them Christian slaves, and thus give them up to be converted to Judaism." The ninth Council had decreed, that all baptized Jews were bound to appear in the church, not only on Christian, but also on Jewish holy days, lest, while professed Christians, they should practise secret Judaism. But the twelfth Council of Toledo, in the reign

of Ervig, far surpassed its predecessors in the elaborate cruelty of its enactments, even if aimed only at Jews professing Christianity;—for there is a singular ambiguity in the wording of the law—it appears generally to include all Jews, but most of its provisions seem especially directed against conformists to the Church. Are we to suppose that the Church, only legislating for its members, intended these laws only for Jews within its pale? or that this conformity had been so general as to comprise nearly all the Jews within the realm? The Jews were assembled in the church of the Holy Virgin, at Toledo, and the resolutions of this Christian assembly were read aloud. The preamble complained that the crafty Jews had eluded all former laws, and attributed the failure of these statutes to the severity of the punishment enacted, which was death in all cases—contrary, it was added, to the Holy Scriptures. The penalties of the new statutes were mitigated, but not in mercy. The general punishment was 100 lashes on the naked body; after that the offender was to be put in chains, banished, and his property confiscated to the lord of the soil. This was the penalty for profaning the name of Christ, rejecting the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, blaspheming the Trinity—for not bringing children or servants, themselves or their dependants, to baptism—for observing the Passover, the New Moon, the feast of Tabernacles, (in these cases, on real conversion, the land was restored,) for violating the Christian Sabbath, or the great festivals of the Church, either by working in the field, or in manufacture. If these days were desecrated by a servant, the master was liable to a fine. The circumcision of a child was more cruelly visited, on the man, by mutilation—on the woman, by the loss of her nose and the seizure of her property. The same penalty was attached to the conversion of a Christian to Judaism. The former punishment—scourging imprisonment, banishment, and confiscation—was incurred by those who made a difference in meats. An exemption was granted to new converts, who were not constrained to eat swine's flesh if their nature revolted against it. The same penalty fell on all who intermarried within the sixth degree of relationship. Such marriages were declared null; the property was to be divided among the children, if not Jews. If there were no children, or only children educated in Judaism, it fell to the lord of the soil. No marriage was hereafter to be contracted, without a clause in the act of dower that both would become Christians. All who offended against this law, even the parents concerned in such a marriage, were to be fined or scourged. All subjects of the kingdom who harboured, assisted, or concealed the flight of a Jew, were to be scourged, and have their property confiscated. Whoever received bribes from a Jew to conceal his practice of Judaism, was fined thrice the sum he

had received. The Jew who read, or allowed his children to read, books written against Christianity, suffered 100 lashes; on the second offence the lashes were repeated, with banishment and confiscation. Christian slaves of Jews were declared free; the Jews had no right of emancipating them; but a given time was allowed, in which they might sell those of whom they were possessed. As many Jews, in order to retain their Christian slaves, pretended to Christianity, the whole race were commanded, by a given day, to bring their slaves for sale, or publicly to embrace Christianity. If not immediately baptized, they were to lodge a solemn protest of their faith with the bishop; and all converts were to take an oath, of which the form was subjoined —an oath of terrific sublimity, which even now makes the reader shudder, when he remembers that it was forced upon unwilling consciences, and perhaps taken by those who secretly renounced its obligations. All Jewish slaves, by embracing Christianity, obtained their freedom. No Jew could take any office by which he might have authority over, or constrain a Christian, except in certain cases where power might be granted by the feudal lord. In such a case, if he abused the law, he was punished by the loss of half his property, or by stripes. Even the noble who granted such a power was liable to a fine, or, in default of payment, to the same ignominious punishment. No Jew might be intendant, house-steward, or overseer. Should a bishop, priest, or ecclesiastic, commit the property of the Church to a Jewish intendant, his property was to be confiscated—in default, himself burnt. No Jew could travel from one town or province to another, without reporting himself to the bishop or judge of the place. They were forced to eat, drink, and communicate with Christians; they could not move without a certificate of good behaviour and a passport. On the Jewish Sabbath and holy days they were all to assemble before the bishop. The bishop was to appoint women to overlook their wives and daughters. The spiritual person, who took a bribe to relax his vigilance, was to be degraded and excommunicated. Whoever protected a Jew against his spiritual overseer, was to be excommunicated and pay a heavy fine. No civil judge could act in any case of this kind without the concurrence of the priesthood, if their presence could be procured. The remission of penalties might be granted, on a certificate of Christian behaviour. All spiritual persons were to communicate these statutes to the Jews in their respective dioceses and cures. Such were the acts of the twelfth Council of Toledo: but happily laws, when they are carried to such an extreme of cruelty as to shock the general feeling, usually prevent their own execution. The Council might enact, but the people would carry into effect but imperfectly these horrible scenes of scourging and confiscation.

Wealth, notwithstanding the menaces of the law, would purchase immunity and exemption; and, though many fled, and many probably outwardly conformed, the successor of Ervig, Egica, found it expedient to relax the laws, so far as to allow baptized Jews all the privileges of citizens, which before were but jealously or imperfectly bestowed. Fear may have extorted this concession; but the fear of the monarch shows how ineffective the former laws must have been, if the Jews were still so numerous as to be formidable. Already the shores of Africa were beginning to gleam with the camps of the Saracens, who threatened to cross the narrow strait, and overwhelm the trembling Gothic monarchy; and no wonder if the impatient Jews hourly uttered vows, or held secret correspondence with their free brethren in Africa, to accelerate the march of the victorious deliverer. The year after, a council was again held at Toledo: the king denounced a general conspiracy of the Jews, to massacre the Christians, subdue the land, and overthrow the monarchy. "Already," declared the king, "this people, defiled by the blood of Christ, and infamous for the profanation of their oaths, have meditated ruin against the king and kingdom—and proclaiming that their time is come, have begun the work of slaughter against the Catholics." The affrighted and obsequious churchmen instantly passed a decree to confiscate all the property of the Jews to the royal treasury—to disperse the whole race, as slaves, through the country—to seize all their children under seventeen years of age—to bring them up as Christians, marry them to Christian wives, and to abolish for ever the exercise of the Jewish faith. A great flight of the Jews probably took place; for Witiza, the successor of Egica, attempting too late to heal the wounds by conciliation, granted them permission to return into the Gothic states, with full rights of freedom and citizenship. But their vows had been heard, or their intrigues had been successful; they returned, and to the enjoyment of all rights and privileges of freedom—not indeed under Christian kings, but under the dominion of the Moorish Caliphs, who established their rule over almost the whole of Spain. The munificence of these sovereigns bears the appearance of gratitude for valuable services, and confirms the suspicion that the Jews were highly instrumental in advancing the triumph of the Crescent. Their reward was a golden age of freedom, of civilisation, and of letters. They shared with and emulated their splendid masters in all the luxuries and arts which soften and embellish life, during that era of high, though, if we may so say, somewhat barbaric civilisation, under which the southern provinces of Spain became that paradise for which they were designed by nature.

France had obeyed the signal of Spain, and hung out the bloody flag of persecution. But her measures were ill-combined,

and probably worse executed; for many of the fugitives from Spain sought and found comparative security among their brethren in Gaul. Early in the seventh century, A. C. 615, Clotaire the Second, in a council of the clergy, issued a decree, disqualifying the Jews from all military or civil offices which gave them authority over Christians. The Council of Rheims (627) annulled all bargains entered into by Jews for the purchase of Christian slaves; that of Chalons, on the Marne, prohibited the Jews from selling Christian slaves beyond the frontier of the kingdom. The devout Dagobert, it is said, though probably with as little truth, instigated like his contemporary, Sisebut of Spain, by the emperor Heraclius, issued an edict, commanding all Jews to forswear their religion or leave the kingdom. But in the northern part of France this edict was so little enforced, that a Jew held the office of tax-collector in the city of St. Denis; in the south, where they were far more numerous and wealthy, they carried on their trade with uninterrupted success—and the wiser monarchs of that great kingdom altogether renounced the intolerant policy of the Merovingian race.

BOOK XXIII.

GOLDEN AGE OF JUDAISM.

The Jews under the Caliphs—Rise of Karaism—Kingdom of Khosar—Jews under the Byzantine Empire—Jews, breakers of Images—Jews of Italy—Jews under Charlemagne and Louis Debonnaire—Agobard, Bishop of Lyons—Jews in Spain—High State of Literature—Moses Maimonides.

WE enter upon a period which we shall venture to denominate the Golden Age of the modern Jews. To them, the Moslem crescent was as a star, which seemed to soothe to peace the troubled waters, on which they had been so long agitated. Throughout the dominions of the Caliphs, in the East, in Africa, and in Spain; in the Byzantine empire; in the dominions of those great sovereigns, Charlemagne, his predecessor and successor, who, under Divine Providence, restored vigour and solidity to the Christian empire of the West, and enabled it to repel the yet unexhausted inroads of Mahometanism; everywhere we behold the Jews not only pursuing unmolested their lucrative and enterprising traffic, not merely merchants of splendour and

opulence, but suddenly emerging to offices of dignity and trust, administering the finances of Christian and Mahometan kingdoms, and travelling as ambassadors between mighty sovereigns. This golden age was of very different duration in different parts of the world; in the East it was, before long, interrupted by their own civil dissensions, and by a spirit of persecution which seized the Moslemite sovereigns. In the Byzantine empire, we are greatly in want of authentic information, both concerning the period in question, and that which followed it. In the west of Europe it was soon succeeded by an age of iron. In Spain, the daylight endured the longest—to set in deep and total darkness.

The religious persecutions of the Jews by the Mahometans were confined within the borders of Arabia. The Prophet was content with enforcing uniformity of worship within the sacred peninsula which gave him birth, and where the holy cities of Mecca and Medina were not to be profaned by the unclean footstep of an unbeliever; or rather his immediate successors rose, or degenerated, shall we say, from stern fanatics to ambitious conquerors. "The Koran or the sword" was still the battle cry; but whoever would submit to the dominion of the triumphant Caliph, or render himself useful in the extension of his conquests, might easily evade the recognition of the Prophet's title. The Jews had little reason to regret, or rather, had ample cause to triumph in the ruin of their former masters—though, doubtless, in the general plunder their wealth did not escape, yet here, as in the North, they would not scruple to make up their losses, by following in the train of the yet fierce and uncivilised conqueror, and by making use of their superior judgment, or command of money, to drive a lucrative bargain with the plunderer. Whenever a commissariat was wanting to the disorganised hordes, which followed the Crescent with irresistible valour, the cornships or caravans of the Jews would follow in the wake of the fleet or army. At the capture of Rhodes, the celebrated fallen Colossus, which once bestrode the harbour of that city, one of the wonders of the world, was sold to a Jew of Emesa, who is reported to have loaded nine hundred camels with the metal. The greater and more certain emoluments of the mercantile life would lead the Jews to addict themselves more and more to traffic, and to abandon the cultivation of the soil, which they had hitherto pursued in many places—for as the Moslemite sovereigns levied a disproportioned tribute on the believer and the unbeliever, the former paying only a tenth, the latter a fifth, or even a third, of the produce, the Jew would readily cede his land, which remunerated him so ill, for trade which offered, at least, the chance of rapid wealth.

When the Caliphs began to delegate to others the sword of conquest or extermination, and to establish themselves in the

splendid state of peaceful sovereigns, the Jews were equally useful in teaching these stern barbarians the arts and luxuries of civilised life. The Hebrew literature was admirably adapted to the kindred taste of the Arabians. The extravagant legends of the Talmud would harmonise with their bold poetical spirit; their picturesque apologues were, probably, the form of instruction in which the Arab tribes had ever delighted to listen to moral wisdom; even the niceties of their verbal disputes would not be without charm to their masters, who soon began to pay attention to the polish of their own rich and copious language. Already, in the time of Omar, the second caliph, and his successor Abdalmelech, a trust of great importance, the coinage, had been committed to the care of a Jew. Either shocked that faithful Moslemites should use money stamped with an image, or eager to assume that distinction of sovereignty, the uttering coin, the caliph instructed the Jew to substitute the emphatic sentence, "say there is one God, one." The traffic of the Jews would disseminate that coin which their art had enabled them to provide. The caliph readily acknowledged as his vassal the Prince of the Captivity, who maintained his state as representative of the Jewish community; probably, through him the tribute was levied on his brethren. A singular story is told of Omar the Second, which illustrates the high degree of credit which the Jews were permitted to attain in the court of the caliphs. Omar, a secret follower of Ali, whose name was still cursed in the mosques, was anxious to reconcile his people to the name of the Prophet's vicar upon earth. An innocent comedy was got up in his court, in which a Jew played a principal part. The Jew came boldly forward, while the throne was encircled by the splendid retinue of courtiers and people, and asked in marriage the daughter of the caliph. Omar calmly answered, "How can I give my daughter in marriage to a man of another faith?" "Did not Mahomet," rejoined the Jew, "give his daughter in marriage to Ali?" "That is another case," said the caliph, "for Ali was a Moslemite, and the commander of the faithful." "Why, then," rejoined the Jew, "if Ali was one of the faithful, do ye curse him in your mosques?" The caliph turned to the courtiers and said, "Answer ye the Jew?" A long silence followed, broken at length by the caliph, who arose, and declared the curse to be rejected as impious, and ordered these words to be substituted in the prayer:—"Forgive us, Lord, our sins, and forgive all who have the same faith with us." At a later period, A.C. 753, under Abu Giafar Almansor, we find the Jews entrusted with the office of exacting a heavy mulct laid upon the Christians. Under this fostering government the schools flourished, those in Sura and Pumbeditha were crowded with hearers: the Gaonim, or the Illustrious, were at the height of their fame; they formed

a sort of senate, and while the Prince of the Captivity maintained the sovereign executive power, they assumed the legislative. Their reign was for the most part undisturbed, though sometimes a rapacious Caliph, or an over-zealous Iman, might make them feel that the sword of authority still hung over them, and that the fire of zealous Islamism was not yet burned out. Giafar the Great is reported to have framed an edict to force Jews and Christians to embrace Islamism. The long and unaccustomed interval of peace, and the free intercouse with their enlightened masters, introduced a spirit of bold inquiry, which threatened, even at this zenith of its power, to shake the dominion of the Rabbins to its basis. The Karaites, the Protestants of Judaism, who perhaps had never entirely been extinct, began to grow again into a formidable sect. The older Karaites (it is quite uncertain when they assumed the name) probably fell into disrepute through the abuse of their doctrines by the unpopular Sadducees. After the fall of Jerusalem, Pharisaism, under its more regular and organised form, Rabbinism, obscured her once dangerous rival; the Sadducean doctrine was probably too loosely rooted in the heart to withstand the hour of trial; the present world presented such a scene of interminable dreariness to those who denied a world to come, that we cannot wonder if their creed refused to support them, when the first obstinacy of resistance had worn away. The Sadducees dwindled into an unnoticed sect: and, though the worst part of their doctrines might retain a secret hold on the hearts of the unprincipled, it could no longer balance the prevailing power of Pharisaism, which was the main support both of the spiritual and temporal thrones—the sole acknowledged doctrine of the national universities. Karaism was revived in its purer form, rejecting entirely the authority of tradition, and resting its whole faith on the letter of the written Law; the Cabala, the Mischna, the Gemara—all Talmudic lore — the Karaites threw indignantly aside. The Luther of this reformation, which perhaps was not less rapidly diffused for its similarity to the simpler creed of Islamism, was named Anan, who, with his son Saul, revolted from Rabbinism. What is known concerning the lives of these men, rests chiefly on the authority of the Rabbins, and must be received with the same mistrust as the accounts of our own Reformers from the writings of their adversaries. In a contest for the succession to the princedom of the Captivity, or to some other high office, Anan was passed by, and his younger brother appointed. Embittered by the affront, Anan assembled the wreck of the Sadducean party, so called probably by contempt, and persuaded them to name him to the dignity. Tumults arose—the government interfered—and Anan was thrown into prison. Anan recovered his freedom, some say by a large sum of money, which his

followers gladly paid—as he gave out that he had been visited in a dream by the prophet Elias, who encouraged him in his adherence to the pure law of Moses—but his success was chiefly owing to an artifice suggested by an Arabian philosopher, whom he met with in the prison. He demanded of the Vizier a public disputation with his adversaries, and represented the only cause of their differences to be a dispute about the period of the new moon. The Caliph was a dabbler in astronomy; and Anan, by dexterously adopting his opinion, obtained a triumph. The Karaites retired to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, to maintain in peace their simple creed—in their adherence to which, the sight of the Holy City might confirm them; and that thus a pure and righteous people might be ready to hail the accomplishment of its last article. The following were, and still are, the Articles of the Karaite belief:—I. That the world was created: II. That it had an uncreated Creator: III. That God is without form, and in every sense one: IV. That God sent Moses: V. That God delivered the Law to Moses: VI. That the believer must deduce his creed from the knowledge of the law in its original language, and from the pure interpretation of it: VII. That God inspired the rest of the prophets: VIII. That God will raise the dead: IX. That God will reward and punish all men before his throne: X. That God has not rejected his unhappy people, but is purifying them by affliction, and that they must daily strive to render themselves worthy of redemption through the Messiah, the son of David. The Karaites formed a regular community, under their Nasi, which name afterwards gave place to that of Hachem; they have since spread into many countries, where they are hated and denounced as heretics by the Rabbins.

If their own writers deserve credit at a period not very distant from this, the Jews in the East attained to a still more eminent height of power and splendour. Judaism ascended the throne of a great kingdom on the west of the Caspian Sea—a kingdom before the strength of which the Persian monarchy trembled, and endeavoured to exclude its inroads by building a vast wall, the remains of which still excite the wonder of the traveller—while the Greek empire courted its alliance. The name of this realm was Khazar, or Khozar;* it was inhabited by a Turcoman tribe, who had gradually abandoned their nomadic habits and maintained considerable commerce: their capital, Bilangiar, was situated at the mouth of the Wolga, and a line of cities stretched across from thence to the Don. They exchanged dried fish, the furs of the north, and slaves, for the gold and silver, and the luxuries of southern climates. Merchants of all

* Basnage discredited the whole story, as he could not trace the existence of such a kingdom; but Des Guignes, and the more recent accounts of the Russian empire, have satisfactorily proved that point.

religions, Jews, Christians, and Mahometans, were freely admitted, and their superior intelligence over his more barbarous subjects induced one of their kings, Bulan (A.C. 740), to embrace the religion of the strangers. By one account he was admonished by an angel—by another he decided in this singular manner between the conflicting claims of Christianity, Moslemism, and Judaism. He examined the different teachers apart, and asked the Christian if Judaism was not better than Mahometanism—the Mahometan whether it was not better than Christianity. Both replied in the affirmative; on which the monarch decided in its favour,—by one statement secretly, by another openly, embraced the faith of Moses, and induced learned teachers of the law to settle in his dominions. Judaism became a necessary condition on the succession to the throne, but there was the most liberal toleration of all other forms of faith. The dynasty lasted for above two centuries and a half: and when R. Hasdai, a learned Jew, was in the highest confidence with Abderrahman, the caliph of Cordova, he received intelligence of this sovereignty possessed by his brethren, through the ambassadors of the Byzantine emperor. After considerable difficulty Hasdai succeeded in establishing a correspondence with Joseph, the reigning king. The letter of Hasdai is extant, and an answer of the king, which does not possesss equal claims to authenticity. The whole history has been wrought out into a religious romance called Cosri, which has involved the question in great obscurity: Basnage rejected the whole as a fiction of the Rabbins—anxious to prove that "the sceptre had not entirely departed from Israel:" Jost inclines to the opinion that there is a groundwork of truth under the veil of poetic embellishment.

We travel westward, not, as usually, to sadden our eyes and chill our hearts with tales of persecution and misery, but to behold the Jews the companions and confidential ministers of princes. We pause to glean the slight and barren information which we possess of the state of the Jews in the Byzantine empire. The writers of the opposite party accuse the Jews as instigators and abettors of the Iconoclastic emperors (the destroyers of images); and a fable equally irreconcilable with chronology and history, has been repeated of their zeal in this, by some called sacrilegious, warfare. It is said that they instigated the Caliph Yezid the Second to order the demolition of images in his dominions. The outraged saints were revenged by the untimely death of Yezid, attributed to their prayers. The successor of Yezid acknowledged, it is added, his father's impiety, and determined to wreak vengeance on his advisers. They fled; but two of them resting near a fountain in Isauria, beheld a youth, driving an ass, laden with petty merchandise. They looked on him with fixed eyes, saluted him as the future emperor,

but at the same time they strongly urged his compliance with the second commandment of the Law. Unfortunately, among the few facts which are known of the period is this, that Leo the Isaurian, in the early part of his reign, persecuted the Jews. It is highly probable, that when the emperors gave the signal for havoc, the Jews, stimulated by covetousness as well as religious zeal, would not be the last to strip or break in pieces, or melt, the costly ornaments, and even the images themselves, made of the precious metals. We may conceive the religious horror which the devout image-worshipper would feel, when the unclean hands of the circumcised either seized, or bought from authorised plunderers, the object of his profound adoration, and converted it, like any other object of traffic, to profane uses. But inured to odium, the Jew would little fear to encounter it, for the gratification at once of his revenge and his avarice. We know little further of their state, but that they were under the avowed protection of some of the succeeding emperors. Constantine Copronymus, probably on account of his hatred of images, was called a Jew; and Nicephorus and Michael the Stammerer are named, as extending their paternal care over this usually proscribed race.

In Italy we know little of the condition of the Israelites; but the silence of history concurs with the single fact with which we are acquainted, to represent those days as days of peace. The Pope Zacharias found it necessary to interdict not only the old grievance, the possession of Christian slaves by Jews, but also unlawful sexual intercourse and marriage between the two races.

Whatever guilt, either of secret perfidy* or prayer for the success of the invader, might attach to the Jewish inhabitants of the south of France, during the invasion of that country by the Moors of Spain; when the barrier of the Pyrenees was established by the valour of Charles Martel, and by the ability of the new race of sovereigns who succeeded to the feeble Merovingians, Pepin and Charlemagne; these monarchs not merely refrained from all retribution, but displayed the more enlightened policy of conciliation towards their wealthy and useful subjects. The Jews were only restricted in the possession of Christian slaves, subjected to the general marriage law of the empire, commanded to observe the prohibited degrees, and to conform to the general law of dower. The offender was liable to a fine

* They are accused of betraying Toulouse to the enemy; but the siege of that city by the Moors appears altogether apocryphal. The singular custom which certainly existed for a considerable period in Toulouse, by which a syndic or representative of the Jews was constrained to appear before the authorities and receive three boxes on the ear, originated no doubt in some other unknown cause.

of 100 sous, and to suffer 100 stripes. Their commerce was unrestricted, except by a limitation enforced on Charlemagne, rather by the irreverent covetousness of the clergy, than by the misconduct of the Jews. Bishops, abbots, and abbesses were only prevented, by a severe inhibition, from pledging or selling to the circumcised the costly vestments, rich furniture, and precious vessels of the churches. To the flourishing commerce of the Israelites, the extended dominions of Charlemagne opened a wide field; from the ports of Marseilles and Narbonne their vessels kept up a constant communication with the East; in Narbonne they were so flourishing that, of the two prefects, or mayors of the city, one was always a Jew: and, as we shall presently see, the most regular and stately part of the city of Lyons was the Jewish quarter. The superior intelligence and education of the Jews, in a period when nobles and kings, and even the clergy, could not always write their names, pointed them out for offices of trust. They were the physicians, the ministers of finance, to nobles and monarchs; and when Charlemagne, either with some secret political design, or from an ostentatious show of magnificence, determined on sending an ambassador to the splendid Caliph, Haroun al Raschid, Europe and Asia beheld the extraordinary spectacle of a Jew, named Isaac, setting forth on this mission, with two Christian counts, who died on the road, and conducting the political correspondence between the courts of Aix-la-Chapelle and Bagdad. It cannot be wondered if this embassy gave rise to the wildest speculations in that ignorant age, both as to its objects and its event. It was given out that the Caliph granted Judæa as a free gift to Charlemagne, others limited his generosity to Jerusalem, others to the key of the Holy Sepulchre. The secret objects probably never transpired beyond the councils of Charlemagne; but it was known that Isaac returned with presents of a wonderful nature from the East. Among these was an enormous elephant of such importance that his death is faithfully chronicled by the monkish annalists; apes, a clock, and some rich robes, doubtless of silk. Isaac acquitted himself with such ability, that he was entrusted by his imperial protector with another mission to the same quarter.

The golden age of the Jews endured, in still increasing prosperity, during the reign of Charlemagne's successor, Louis the Debonnaire, or the Pious. At his court the Jews were so powerful, that their interest was courted by the presents of nobles and princes. His most confidential adviser was a Jewish physician, named Zedekiah. The wondering people attributed his influence over the Emperor to magic, in which he was considered a profound adept. The monkish historians relate, with awe-struck sincerity, tales of his swallowing a whole cart of hay, horses and

all, and flying in the air like Simon Magus of old. A sort of representative of the community, the master of the Jews, resided within the precincts of the court. The general privileges of the race were preserved with rigid equity. They were permitted to build synagogues; their appeals were listened to with equal—their enemies said, with partial—justice; they had free power to traffic, and to dispose of real or personal property. They had even interest to procure the alteration of certain markets which were customarily held on their Sabbath, to another day. Besides this general protection, several charters are extant, granting special privileges to certain Jewish communities and individuals. One to the Jews of Languedoc, securing to them the right of disposing of hereditaments, such as land, houses, mills, water-courses, &c.; another to a certain Domat Rabbi, and his brother Samuel, granting them exemption from various tolls and taxes—permission to hire Christian slaves, who were however not to be forced to work on Sundays and holidays—and generally to deal in slaves. Every litigation with a Christian was to be settled by the evidence of three Jews and three Christians. It forbade all persons to encourage their Christian slaves in disobedience. It took the persons of the above-named under imperial protection. Their death was to be punished at the price of ten pounds of gold. They were not to be submitted to the ordeal of fire or water, nor scourged—but allowed in every respect the free observance of their law.

Agobard, bishop of Lyons, beheld with jealous indignation this alien people occupying the fairest part of his city, displaying openly their enviable opulence;—their vessels crowded the ports—their bales encumbered the quays—their slaves thronged the streets. In a Christian city, the Church seemed to vail its head before the Synagogue. He endeavoured, by the exercise of his episcopal authority, to prevent that approximation of the two races which seemed rapidly advancing. He forbade his flock, among other things, to sell Christian slaves to the Jews—to labour for the Jews on Sundays—to eat with them during Lent—to buy the flesh of animals slain by them—or to drink their wine. The Jews considered these laws an infringement of their rights; they appealed to their royal protector for redress. A commission of inquiry was issued; the bishop was commanded to withdraw his obnoxious edicts. Agobard was at Nantes. He declared himself ready to submit to the royal decree, but proceeded to offer a petition to the king against his adversaries. He accused them (a strange charge!) of selling unwholesome meat, which, he said, they called Christian's meat, and spoiled wine, to the Christians. He accused them of cursing the Christians in their synagogues. He accused them of the insufferable pride with which they boasted of the royal favour. He complained of

the bad effects produced by the concession of the change of the market day, and that the Jewish had many more hearers than the Christian preachers. He added the more weighty charge, that the Jews frequently stole Christian children to sell them as slaves. This petition was followed by a long theological argument, to prove the wisdom and justice of persecuting the Jews. He pressed St. Paul into his service. He cited, with as little justice, the example of many of the most illustrious bishops—Hilary and Sidonius Apollinaris. He entered into long details of the absurdities taught by the Rabbins, (among the rest he charged them with holding the eternity of the letters of the alphabet,) and of the blasphemies which they uttered concerning Christ. It was all in vain: the court turned a deaf ear to his complaints, and the bishop set off for Paris, to try the influence of his personal weight and character before his sovereign. He was received with cold civility—constrained to wait in an ante-chamber while the counsellors of state laid his appeal before the king, and then received permission to retire to his diocese. He wrote another despatch, bitterly inveighing against the influence and conduct of the Grand Master of the Jews. But his sorrows were poured forth more fully into the confidential bosom of Nebridius, bishop of Narbonne, whom he called upon to co-operate with him in separating the Christians from a people who, he says, "are clothed with cursing as with a garment. The curse penetrates into their bones, their marrow, and their entrails, as water and oil flow through the human body. They are accursed in the city and the country, at the beginning and ending of their lives. Their flocks, their meat, their granaries, their cellars, their magazines, are accursed." His denunciations were as unavailing as his petitions, while an instance is related of an officer of the palace joining the synagogue, the bishop was constrained to complain once more of the violence offered to a Jewess, who had embraced Christianity.

In the reign of Charles the Bald, the Jews maintained their high estate, but dark signs of the approaching age of iron began to lower around. The active hostility of the clergy was no longer checked by the stern protection of the royal authority. In Lyons many converts were made, by whose agency so many children were seduced from their parents, that the Jews were obliged to send their offspring for education to the less zealous cities of Vienne, Macon, and Arles. Remigius, the bishop of Lyons, announced his triumph to the king, and desired that the bishop of Arles might be admonished to follow the example of his zeal. The councils began again to launch their thunders; that of Meaux re-enacted the exclusion of the Jews from all civil offices. This decree was followed up by that of Paris. But in the distracted state into which the kingdom soon fell, probably

these ordinances were not executed. If it be true that Charles the Bald was poisoned by the famous Jewish physician of his father, Zedekiah, an act, which so weakened the royal authority, was a measure most pernicious to his countrymen—who, instead of being under the protection of a powerful monarch, fell rapidly under the dominion of those countless petty independent sovereigns who rose under the feudal system, whose will was law, and whose wants would not submit to the slow process of exaction and tribute, but preferred the raising more expeditious supplies by plunder and massacre.

It was in Spain that the golden age of the Jews shone with the brightest and most enduring splendour. Yet, during its earlier period, from the conquest by the Moors till towards the end of the tenth century, when, while Christian Europe lay in darkness, Mahometan Cordova might be considered the centre of civilisation, of arts, and of letters, though we are certain that the Jews, under the enjoyment of equal rights and privileges, rivalled their masters, or rather their compatriots, in their advancement to wealth, splendour, and cultivation; though they had their full share, or, perhaps, as more intelligent, a disproportionate share in the high ministerial and confidential offices of the court; though by the perpetual intercourse kept up with their brethren in the East, we may safely infer that by land along the North of Africa, and by sea along the course of the Mediterranean, their commerce was pursued with industry and success; yet we have not much distinct information concerning their state and proceedings. In fact, it is difficult to discriminate them from the race among whom they lived on terms of the closest amity during these halcyon days. In emulation of their Moslemite brethren, they began to cultivate their long disused and neglected poetry; the harp of Judah was heard to sound again, though with something of a foreign tone—for they borrowed the rhythm peculiar to the Arabic verse. Yet, though but a feeble echo of their better days, we would gladly explore this almost hidden source of Jewish poetry. There too Rabbinism, while its throne was tottering to decay in the East, found a refuge, and commenced a new era of power and authority. The Talmud was translated into Arabic, under the auspices of Moses "clad in sackcloth," one of the most learned men of the East, whom a singular adventure cast upon the hospitable shore of Spain, and through whom the light of learning, which, by the rapid progress of the iron age of Judaism in Babylonia, by the extinction of the authority of the Prince of the Captivity, the dispersion of the illustrious teachers, and the final closing of the great schools, seemed to have set for ever, suddenly rose again in the West, in renewed and undiminished splendour. Three Babylonian Rabbins, of great distinction, of whom R. Moses was one, fell

into the hands of a Spanish pirate. The wife of Moses accompanied him in his voyage—the high-minded woman, dreading defilement, looked to her husband for advice; Moses uttered the verse of the Psalm—"The Lord said, I will bring again from Bashan, I will bring again from the depths of the sea." She plunged at once into the ocean, and perished. Moses was brought as a slave to Cordova, and redeemed, though his quality was unknown, by a Jew. One day he entered the synagogue, clad in a scanty sackcloth—Nathan, the judge of the Jews in Cordova, presided. In the course of the debate the slave displayed such knowledge, that Nathan exclaimed, "I am no more judge—yon slave in sackcloth is my master, and I his scholar." Moses was installed by acclamation as head of the community. Moses, and his son and successor, Enoch, enjoyed the protection of Hasdai, the son of Isaac, the minister of the caliph; and though the learned pre-eminence of this family was disturbed by the rivalry of R. Joseph, to whom the task of translating the Talmud had been committed, yet such was the popularity of his grandson, Nathan, and such the wealth of his compatriots, that as often as the head of the Jewish community went forth to enjoy the delicious refreshment of the groves and gardens near Cordova, he was attended by his admiring disciples in immense numbers, and in most sumptuous apparel—it is said that 700 chariots swelled his pomp.

The long line of learned descendants, which formed the great school of Arabico-Jewish learning, belongs to the history of their literature, for which our work has no space. This line stretched away to the end of the twelfth century, when it produced its greatest ornament—the wise Maimonides, the first who, instead of gazing with blind adoration, and unintelligent wonder, at the great fabric of the Mosaic Law, dared to survey it with the searching eye of reason, and was rewarded by discovering the indelible marks of the Divine wisdom and goodness. Maimonides was beyond his age and country: he retreated to the court of the Sultan of Egypt, in Cairo, where he lived in the highest estimation, as the royal physician: he was anathematised by the more superstitious of his brethren, but in later ages, the more enlightened the race of Israel, the higher has stood the fame of him, whom his ardent admirers proclaimed a second Moses.

We revert to a sadder spectacle—the rapid progress of the Iron Age of Judaism, which, in the East and in the West, gradually spread over the Jewish communities, till they sank again to their bitter, and, it might almost seem, indefeasible inheritance of hatred and contempt: they had risen but to be trampled down by the fiercer and more unrelenting tread of oppression and persecution. The world, which before seemed to have made a sort of tacit agreement to allow them time to

regain wealth that might be plundered, and blood that might be poured forth like water, now seems to have entered into a conspiracy as extensive, to drain the treasures and the blood of this devoted race.

Kingdom after kingdom, and people after people, followed the dreadful example, and strove to peal the knell of the descendants of Israel; till at length, what we blush to call Christianity, with the Inquisition in its train, cleared the fair and smiling provinces of Spain of this industrious part of its population, and self-inflicted a curse of barrenness upon the benighted land.

BOOK XXIV.

IRON AGE OF JUDAISM.

Persecutions in the East—Extinction of the Princes of the Captivity—Jews in Palestine—in the Byzantine Empire—Feudal System—Chivalry—Power of the Church—Usury—Persecutions in Spain—Massacres by the Crusaders—Persecutions in France—Philip Augustus—Saint Louis—Spain—France—Philip the Fair—War of the Shepherds—Pestilence—Poisoning of the Fountains—Charles the Fourth—Charles the Fifth—Charles the Sixth—Final expulsion from France—Germany—The Flagellants—Miracle of the Host at Brussels.

OUR Iron Age commences in the East, where it witnessed the extinction of the Princes of the Captivity, by the ignominious death of the last Sovereign, the downfall of the schools, and the dispersion of the community, who from that period remained an abject and degraded part of the population. Pride and civil dissension, as well as the tyranny of a feeble despot, led to their fall. About the middle of the ninth century, both the Jews and Christians suffered some persecution under the Sultan Motavakel, A. C. 847. An edict was issued prohibiting their riding on lordly horses, they were to aspire no higher than humble asses and mules; they were forbidden to have an iron stirrup, and commanded to wear a leather girdle. They were to be distinguished from the faithful by a brand-mark, and their houses were defaced by figures of swine, devils, or apes: the latter addition throws some improbability on the story. About this time Saccai was Prince of the Captivity, towards the middle of the tenth century (934), David Ben Saccai held that high office. It

has been conjectured that the interval was filled by a line of hereditary princes. The learned aristocracy, the Heads of the Schools, seem likewise to have been hereditary. The race of that of Sura expired, and the Resch-Glutha, David Ben Saccai, took upon himself to name an obscure successor, called Om. Tob. His incompetency became apparent, and R. Saadias was summoned from Egypt. Saadias was a great opponent of the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul, a received article of the Jewish creed. Perpetual feuds distracted this singular state. The tribunals of the Resch-Glutha, and the Masters of the School, the civil and spiritual powers, were in perpetual collision. David, the prince, laid his ban on Saadiah, Saadiah hurled back the ban upon the prince, and transferred the sovereignty to his brother. For seven years this strife lasted, till at length peace was restored, and the whole community beheld, with the utmost satisfaction, the Prince of the Captivity, who, on the death of his brother, regained his uncontested authority, entering the house of the Master of the School to celebrate together the joyful feast of Purim. The peace remained unbroken till the death of the Prince of the Captivity and that of his son. Saadiah became the guardian of his grandson. Saadiah was a man noted for the strictest justice, and his literary works were esteemed of the highest value. Both the great dignities seem to have been united in the person of Scherira, who ruled and taught with universal admiration in the school of Pherutz Schabur. At the end of thirty years Scherira felt the approach of age, and associated his son, Hai, in the supremacy. But the term of this high office drew near. A violent and rapacious sovereign filled the throne of the Caliphs. He cast a jealous look upon the powers and wealth of this vassal sovereign. Scherira, now 100 years old, and his son, Hai, were seized either with or without pretext, their riches confiscated, and the old man hung up by the hand. Hai escaped to resume his office, and to transmit its honours and its dangers to Hezekiah, who was elected Chief of the Captivity. But after a reign of two years, Hezekiah was arrested with his whole family by the order of the Caliph. The schools were closed—many of the learned fled to Egypt or Spain, all were dispersed, among the rest two sons of the unfortunate Prince of the Captivity effected their escape to Spain, while the last of the House of David, (for of that lineage they still fondly boasted,) who reigned over the Jews of the dispersion in Babylonia, perished on an ignominious scaffold.

The Jewish communities in Palestine suffered a slower but more complete dissolution. If credit is to be given to any of the facts in that extravagant compilation, the Travels of Benjamin of Tudela, which bears the date of the following century,

from A. C. 1160 to 1173,* we may safely select his humiliating account of the few brethren who still clung, in poverty and meanness, to their native land. There is an air of sad truth about the statement, which seems to indicate some better information on this subject than on others. In Tyre, Benjamin is said to have found 400 Jews, glass-blowers. The Samaritans still occupied Sichem, but in Jerusalem there were only 200 descendants of Abraham, almost all dyers of wool, who had bought a monopoly of that trade. Ascalon contained 153 Jews. Tiberias, the seat of learning and of the kingly patriarchate, but 50. This account of Benjamin is confirmed by the unfrequent mention of the Jews in the histories of the later Crusades in the Holy Land, and may, perhaps, be ascribed in great measure to the devastations committed in the first of these depopulating expeditions. It is curious, after surveying this almost total desertion of Palestine, to read the indications of fond attachment to its very air and soil, scattered about in the Jewish writings; still it is said, that man is esteemed most blessed, who, even after his death, shall reach the land of Palestine and be buried there, or even shall have his ashes sprinkled by a handful of its sacred dust. "The air of the land of Israel," says one, "makes a man wise;" another writes, "He who walks four cubits in the land of Israel is sure of being a son of the life that is to come." "The great Wise Men are wont to kiss the borders of the Holy Land, to embrace its ruins and roll themselves in its dust." "The sins of all those are forgiven who inhabit the land of Israel." He who is buried there is reconciled with God, as though he were buried under the altar. The dead buried in the land of Canaan come first to life in the days of the Messiah. He who dies out of the Holy Land dies a double death. Rabbi Simeon said, "All they who are buried out of the land of Canaan must perish everlastingly; but for the just, God will make deep caverns beneath the earth, by which they will work their way till they come to the land of Israel; when they are there, God will breathe the breath of life into their nostrils, and they will rise again."

In the Byzantine empire, if we may place any reliance on the same doubtful authority, the numbers of the Jews had greatly diminished. Corinth contained 300 Jews; Thebes 2000 silk-workers and dyers. Two hundred cultivated gardens at the foot of Parnassus. Patras and Lepanto contained a small number. Constantinople, 2000 silk-workers and merchants, with 500 Karaites. They inhabited part of Pera, were subject to the

* The object of this author seems to have been not unlike that of the celebrated Sir John Mandeville, to throw together all he had ever heard or read of the strange and unvisited regions of the East.

ordinary tribunals, and were often treated with great insult and outrage by the fanatic Greeks.

We pursue our dark progress to the West, where we find all orders gradually arrayed in fierce and implacable animosity against the race of Israel. Every passion was in arms against them. The monarchs were instigated by avarice; the nobility by the warlike spirit generated by chivalry; the clergy by bigotry; the people by all these concurrent motives. Each of the great changes which were gradually taking place in the state of society, seemed to darken the condition of this unhappy people, till the outward degradation worked inward upon their own minds; confined to base and sordid occupations, they contracted their thoughts and feelings to their station. Individual and national character must be endowed with more than ordinary greatness, if it can long maintain self-estimation after it has totally lost the esteem of mankind; the despised will usually become despicable. We proceed in a few brief sentences (all our limits will allow) to explain the effects of the more remarkable changes in society, which developed themselves during these dark ages, as far as they affect the character and condition of the Jewish people. 1st. The feudal system. 2nd. Chivalry. 3rd, The power of the clergy. 4th. The almost general adoption of the trade of money-lending and usury by the Jews themselves: and then pursue the course of time which will lead us successively to the different countries in which the Jews were domiciliated.

I. In that singular structure, the feudal system, which rose like a pyramid from the villains or slaves attached to the soil to the monarch who crowned the edifice, the Jews alone found no proper place. They were a sort of out-lying caste in the midst of society, yet scarcely forming part of it; recognised by the constitution, but not belonging to it; a kind of perpetual anomaly in the polity. Their condition varied according to the different form which the feudal system assumed in different countries. In that part of Germany which constituted the Empire, the Jews, who were always of a lower order than their brethren in Spain and the South of France, were in some respects under the old Roman law. By this law their existence was recognised, freedom of worship in their synagogues was permitted, and they were exempted from all military service. The last was a privilege not likely to be extorted from them. The noble profession of arms would have been profaned by such votaries.

The whole Jewish community were considered as special servants of the imperial chamber, *i. e.*, the Emperor alone could make ordinances affecting the whole body, and the whole body could demand justice, or make appeal to their liege lord. But this imperial right would not have been recognised by the great

vassals, as allowing the emperor to seize, punish, plunder, or in any manner to interfere with the Jews domiciliated in their several feuds. In fact, while the community was subject to the liege lord, the great feudatories and the free cities either obtained by charter, of which there are numerous instances, or assumed with a strong hand, or were persuaded by the Jews themselves to accept, dominion over the Israelitish inhabitants of their domains. The high and remote tribunal of the Emperor would afford inadequate protection for any oppressed Jew; he was glad to have a nearer and more immediate court of appeal. Travelling, as the Israelites perpetually did, from town to town, from province to province, the fierce baron might respect the passport, which was always absolutely necessary, of some powerful noble, some princely bishop, or some wealthy community of free burghers, while he would have smiled in scorn at the general imperial edict for allowing Jews to pass unmolested. In some cities, as in Worms, there were regular officers appointed to protect the Jews, who could not perform any of their ceremonies or processions in public without these guardians to guard them from the violence of the populace. In Italy, at least in the south, besides the doubtful protection of the Emperor, they acknowledged the more powerful authority of the Pope. They were supposed to be in some manner under the special jurisdiction of the see of Rome. In the south of France they seem to have been considered as a kind of foreign vassals of the great feudatories; in the North, of the king. For while the edicts of the sovereign for their expulsion and readmission into the land were recognised in the North, they seem to have been executed either imperfectly or not at all in the South. The general effect of the feudal system was to detach the Jews entirely from the cultivation of the soil, though it worked more slowly in some countries—in the South of France and Spain—than in others. They could not be lords, they were not serfs—they would not serve, or by the older law were exempted from military service to their lords. But this almost extra-legal protection under the great vassals was of course subject to every caprice of the lawless and ignorant petty chieftains who exercised these local sovereignties. It was obtained only by proving to the liege-lord that it was his interest to protect; and his eyes, blinded by ignorance and perhaps bigotry, could only be opened to his real interests by immediate and palpable advantages. The Jew must pay largely for precarious protection: he was only tolerated as a source of revenue, and till almost his life-blood was drawn, it would be difficult to satisfy the inevitable demands of a needy and rapacious master.

II. Chivalry, the parent of so much good and evil, both in its own age and in he spirit which has descended from it and

become infused into the institutions and character of modern Europe, was a source of almost unmitigated wretchedness to the Jew, unless in so far as the splendour which the knight might display in his arms and accoutrements was a lucrative source of traffic. The enterprising Jew often probably made a considerable commission on the Milan corslet, the Damascus or Toledo blade, the gorgeous attire which the knight wore, or the jewels in which his lady glittered in the tournament.* Magnificence was the fashion of the times, and magnificence would often throw the impoverished noble into the power of the lowly man of traffic. But the knight was bound by the tenure of his order to hate and despise the Jew. Religious fanaticism was inseparable from chivalry. When Clovis, the king of the Franks, embraced Christianity, while the pious preacher was dilating on the sufferings of the crucified Redeemer, the fiery convert sprang up, and exclaimed, "Had I and my brave Franks been there, they dared not to have done it." The spirit of this speech was that of the knighthood of the middle ages. What they could not prevent they could revenge. The knight was the servant of God, bound with his good sword to protect his honour, and to extirpate all the enemies of Christ and his Virgin Mother. Those enemies were all unbelievers, more particularly the Jew, whose stiff-necked obstinacy still condemned him; he was as deadly a foe as if he had joined in the frantic cry of *crucify him, crucify him.* The only refuge of the Jew from the hatred of the knight was in his contempt; he was not suffered to profane his sword with such vile blood; it was loftier revenge to trample him under foot. But the animosity without the pride of this chivalrous feeling descended to the lower orders; he who could not presume to show his zeal for his Redeemer on the person of a Moslemite unbeliever, contented himself with the humbler satisfaction of persecuting a Jew. In awful disregard of the one great Atonement, it was a prevailing feeling that men might wash away their sins by the blood of their infidel fellow-creatures. We shall see this inhuman sentiment dreadfully exemplified in the history of the crusaders.

III. The power of the clergy, no doubt, tended greatly to increase this general detestation against the unhappy Jew: their breath was never wanting to fan the embers of persecution. In that age of darkness, hatred of heresy and unbelief was the first article in the creed of him who taught the religion of love. But it is remarkable that not only were there splendid and redeeming instances of superiority to this unchristian spirit, (they will here-

* This has not escaped the author of that noblest of historical romances, Ivanhoe, who on this point is as true to history as in the rest of the work he is full of the loftiest spirit of poetry.

after be noticed,) but it was only in the dark and remote parts of the Christian world that this total gloom prevailed. Light still shone in the centre; of all European sovereigns, the Popes, with some exceptions, have pursued the most humane policy towards the Jews. In Italy, and even in Rome, they have been more rarely molested than in other countries. They have long inhabited in Rome a separate quarter of the city, but this might have been originally a measure at least as much of kindness as contempt—a remedy against insult rather than an exclusion from society. The adversaries of the Roman Church may ascribe this to "the wisdom of the serpent," which discovered the advantages to be derived from the industry of the Jews, rather than to "the gentleness of the dove;" but where humanity is the result, let us not too invidiously explore its motives. Since the reign of Innocent the Second (1130), at the accession of the Pope, the Jews have been permitted to approach the presence of the pontiff, and to offer a copy of their Law. The pontiff receives their homage, and mildly expresses his desire that their understandings may be enlightened to perceive the hidden meaning of their own sacred volume. In the remote provinces it is to be feared that religious animosity was often aggravated by that hatred which unprincipled men feel towards those who possess the secret of their crimes. The sacred property of the Church was still often pawned by the licentious monks or clergy: no one would dare to receive the sacred pledge but a Jew, who thus frequently became odious, not only as an importunate creditor, but as exposing, by clamorous and public demands of payment, transactions never meant to meet the light.

IV. But avarice and usurious practices were doubtless charged, not without justice, against the race of Israel. In the nation and the individual, the pursuit of gain, as the sole object of life, must give a mean and sordid cast to the character. To acquire largely, whether fairly or not, was the highest ambition of the Jew, who rarely dared or wished to spend liberally. All the circumstances of the times contributed to this debasing change. The more extended branches of commerce were almost entirely cut off. Their brethren in the East had lost their wealth; the navigation of the Mediterranean was interrupted by the Norman pirates; the slave-trade had entirely ceased or was prohibited, as well by the habits of the times as by law. In the cities and free towns they were excluded by the jealous corporate spirit from all share in their privileges. The spirit of the age despised traffic, and the merchant is honourable only where he is held in honour. The Jews no doubt possessed great wealth; what was extorted from them is ample proof of the fact, and some of them by stealth enjoyed it; but even the wealthiest and most liberal were often obliged to put on the sordid demeanour, and affect

the miserable poverty of the poor pedlar of their own nation, whose whole stock consisted in his pack of the cheapest portable articles.

This necessity of perpetual deception could not but have a baneful effect on the manners and mind of the people. The chief trade seems to have been money-lending, of which, till they were rivalled and driven out of the open market by the Lombards, they were the sole possessors. This occupation was not likely to diminish either their own sordid meanness or their unpopularity. The ignorance of the age denounced all interest for money alike as usury. The Jew was judged out of his own Law, and all the Scriptural denunciations against usury were brought forward, especially by the clergy, to condemn a traffic of which they felt and submitted to the necessity. The condemnation of usury by the Church, as unlawful, contributed, with the violence of the times, to render the payment of the usurer's bond extremely insecure. He argued, not unfairly, that the more precarious, the greater ought to be his gains: he took refuge in fraud from violence and injustice. Society was at war with the Jew; some sudden demand of tribute, or some lawless plunderer, would sweep away at once the hard-wrung earnings of years; the Jew, therefore, still practised slow and perpetual reprisals, and reimbursed himself, from the wants of the needy, for his losses from the violent. Demolish his secret hive: like the ant, the model suggested by his wise king, he would reconstruct it again, and ever at the expense of his enemy. It was, generally throughout the world, the Christian, who, according to our universal Master of Nature, would spit upon and spurn the Jew; and the Jew, who, when he found his advantage, would have the pound of flesh nearest the heart of his bondsman. It was a contest of religious zeal which had degenerated into the blindest bigotry, and associated itself with the most ferocious and unchristian passions, against industry and patience, which had made a forced but intimate alliance with the most sordid craft and the most unfeeling avarice, to the utter extinction of every lofty principle of integrity and honour.

It is time to proceed to our melancholy task, the rapid picture of the Iron Age of Judaism in the West. The first dark scene in our tragic drama is laid in a country where we should least expect to find it, the Arabian kingdom of Grenada. It was brought on by the imprudent zeal of the Jews. The nation was in the highest degree of prosperity and esteem; R. Samuel Levi was at once prince of his own nation and vizier of the king, when one of the Wise Men, Joseph Hallevi, attempted to make converts among the Moslemites. The stern orthodoxy of Islamism took fire, the rash teachers were hanged, the race persecuted, and 1500 families, of whom it was said that he who had

not heard of their splendour, their glory, and their prosperity, had heard nothing, sunk into disgrace and destitution.

A few years after, the Christian monarch, Ferdinand the Great, as though determined not to be outdone in religious zeal by his rival, the Moslemite king, before he undertook a war against the Moors, determined to let loose the sword against the Jews in his own territories. To their honour, the clergy interfered, prevented the massacre, and secured, not only the approval of their own consciences, but likewise that of the Pope, Alexander the Second, who, citing the example of his predecessor, Gregory the Great, highly commended their humanity. The sterner Hildebrand assumed a different tone; he rebuked Alfonso the Sixth for having made laws restoring to the Jews certain rights, submitting, as the pontiff declared, the Church to the synagogue of devils.

Of all people the zealous Jews must have beheld with the greatest amazement the preparations for the crusades, when the whole Christian world, from the king to the peasant, was suddenly seized with a resolution to conquer the Holy Land of *their* fathers, in order that they might be masters of the sepulchre of the crucified Nazarene. But the times must have opened a most extensive field for traffic and usury; and no doubt the Jews, suppressing their astonishment, did not scruple to avail themselves of such a golden opportunity of gain. Nothing was too valuable, too dear, or too sacred, but that it might be parted with to equip the soldier of the Cross. If the more prudent and less zealous monarchs, like our William the Second, or nobles or churchmen, profited by the improvident ardour of their compatriots to appropriate, at the lowest prices, their fair fields, and goodly inheritances, no doubt the Jews wrung no unprofitable bargains from the lower class of more needy and as reckless adventurers. Arms and money must be had; and the merchant or usurer might dictate his own terms. But little did this prudent people foresee the storm which impended over them. The nation was widely dispersed in Germany; some statutes of King Ladislaus show their existence in Hungary; in Bohemia they had rendered good service, and lived on amicable terms with the Christians; in Franconia they were numerous; but their chief numbers and wealth were found in the flourishing cities along the banks of the Moselle and the Rhine. When the first immense horde of undisciplined fanatics of the lowest order, under the command of Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless, and the guidance of a goose and a goat, assembled near the city of Treves, a murmur rapidly spread through the camp, that, while they were advancing to recover the sepulchre of their Redeemer from the Infidels, they were leaving behind worse unbelievers, the murderers of the Lord. With one impulse the

crusaders rushed to the city, and began a relentless pillage, violation, and massacre of every Jew they could find. In this horrible day men were seen to slay their own children, to save them from the worse usage of these savages; women, having deliberately tied stones round themselves that they might sink, plunged from the bridge, to save their honour and escape baptism. The rest fled to the citadel as a place of refuge. They were received by the bishop with these words:—"Wretches, your sins have come upon you; ye who have blasphemed the Son of God and calumniated his Mother. This is the cause of your present miseries—this, if ye persist in your obduracy, will destroy you body and soul for ever." He reproached them with their disregard of Daniel's prophecy of our Lord's coming, and promised protection to their persons, and respect to their property, on their conversion and baptism. Micha, the head of the Jews, mildly requested instruction in the Christian tenets; the bishop repeated a short creed; the Jews, in the agony of terror, assented. The same bloody scenes were repeated in Metz, in Cologne, in Mentz, in Worms, in Spire. In Cologne two hundred were dragged from the river into which they had thrown themselves, and hewn in pieces. In Worms they took refuge in the bishop's palace, but it was besieged; and, to escape worse horrors, they slew each other. In Spire they were more successful; they offered a large sum for the bishop's protection—the appeal was irresistible. The locust band passed on; everywhere the tracks of the crusaders were deeply marked with Jewish blood. A troop, under Count Emico, offered the same horrid sacrifices to the God of Mercy, in the cities on the Maine and the Danube, even as far as Hungary, where the influence of the king, Coloman, could not arrest his violence. How little horror these massacres excited, may be judged from the coolness with which they are related by the faithful representatives of the spirit of the times, the monkish historians. The Emperor Henry the Fourth alone saw their atrocity; in an edict issued from Ratisbon, he permitted such Jews as had been baptized by force to resume their religion, and ordered their property to be restored. At this period many took refuge in Silesia and Poland.

Half a century elapsed for the Jews to multiply again their devoted race, and to heap up new treasures to undergo their inalienable doom of pillage and massacre. A second storm was seen gathering in the distance; and, like a bird of evil omen, which predicts the tempest, the monk Rodolph passed through the cities of Germany to preach the duty of wreaking vengeance on all the enemies of God. The terrible cry of Hep, the signal for the massacre of the Jews, supposed to be an abbreviation of "Hierosolyma est perdita—Jerusalem is lost,"—ran through the cities of the Rhine. The Jews knew who were included under

the fatal designation of Christ's enemies; some made a timely retreat, but frightful havoc took place in Cologne, Mentz, Worms, Spire, and Strasburg. They found an unexpected protector, the holy St. Bernard, who openly reprobated these barbarities, and, in a letter to the Bishop of Spire, declared that the Jews were neither to be persecuted nor put to death, nor even driven into exile. The Pope, Eugenius the Third, espoused the same humane part; and it has been conjectured that his release of all debts due to Jewish usurers, was a kind of charitable injustice, to diminish the general odium against this unhappy people. The turbulent Rodolph was shut up in his cloister.

These atrocities, however (and we cannot lament our want of space, which prevents us from entering more at large into such and similar crimes), were the acts of a fanatic mob in the highest state of religious intoxication. We must now behold a mighty sovereign and his barons uniting in deeds, if less sanguinary, not less unjust. Both in the north and south of France, the Jews were numerous and wealthy. In the south they were the most flourishing; they were more mingled with the people, were not entirely dispossessed of their landed property, and were sometimes called to manage the finances of the great feudatories. In the north, though, as in Paris, often obliged to inhabit a separate part of the city, they were spread through the whole country, and had not entirely given up their literary pursuits; their academy at Troyes had produced some of their most eminent writers. But public detestation lowered upon them with a threatening aspect. Stories were propagated, and found an easy belief among ignorant and prejudiced minds, of the most blasphemous and sanguinary crimes perpetrated by the Jews. A renegade monk accused them of intelligence with the infidel sovereigns of Palestine. It was generally believed that they often decoyed Christian children into their houses, and crucified them alive; that, by bribery or theft, they would obtain possession of the consecrated Host, and submit it to every kind of insult. Yet both king and nobles felt that to this odious race they stood in the humiliating relation of debtors. The lavish expenditure caused by the crusades, and the heavy exactions of the government, made it necessary to raise money on any terms. Their only alternative lay between the Jews and the few Lombard money-lenders, whom St. Bernard seems to mean, when he denounces certain Christians as more extortionate usurers than the Jews. Thus the Jews had a hold upon almost all the estates of the country, they had mortgages on half Paris, and scarcely any one but had some article in pawn; even the clergy, whose pleasures were not without expense, had committed vessels, reliquaries, even reliques, to the profane hands of these relentless extortioners, who probably scrupled little to wring the greatest

profit from the general distress. The Jews stood to the rest of society something in the relation of the patricians in early Rome and in Athens to the impoverished commonalty, but without their power. Such was the state of affairs on the accession of the ambitious Philip Augustus. During his youth, it is said that a Jew (whether, as is often the case, the frequent mention of a crime had excited some man of disordered imagination to perpetrate it) had crucified a young man named Richard, at Pontoise; the body was brought to Paris, and wrought many miracles. No sooner had Philip ascended the throne, than he took a short way to relieve his burthened subjects, by an edict, which confiscated all debts due to the Jews, and commanded them to surrender all pledges in their hands. Among the effects, a golden crucifix, and a Gospel adorned with precious stones, were found. The Jews were peacefully assembled in their synagogues on the Sabbath (February 14), when suddenly all these buildings were surrounded by the royal troops, and the Jews dragged to prison, while the officers took possession of their houses. A new edict followed (April), which confiscated all their unmoveable goods, and commanded them instantly to sell their moveables and to depart from the kingdom. In vain they appealed to the nobles and to the ministers of the Gospel; holy bishops as well as fierce barons closed their ears against the supplications of unfortunate creditors and obstinate unbelievers. Obliged to part with their effects at the lowest prices, the Jews sadly departed, amid the execrations of the people, and bearing away little but their destitute wives and children from the scenes of their birth and infancy. The decree was rigidly executed in the royal domains; in the south of France the great vassals paid less respect to the royal edict, and the Jews were still found in those provinces, sometimes in offices of trust.

But strange as it might appear to them, the nation was neither more wealthy, nor the public burthens less grievous, after this summary mode of wiping off the national debt. Before twenty years had elapsed, France beheld her haughty monarch bargaining with this detested race for their re-admission into the country; and, what is no less extraordinary, the Jews, forgetting all past injustice in the steady pursuit of gain, on the faith of such a king, settling again in this inhospitable kingdom, and filling many streets of Paris which were assigned for their residence. It was not till twenty years after, that an edict was issued to regulate their usurious exactions and the persons to whom it might be lawful to lend money. They might not lend to an artisan, nor to any man who had no heritable property; nor to a monk or spiritual person, without the consent of his superior; to no other person, soldier, burgher, or trader, without the consent of his lord. The sacred treasures of the Church were on no account to

be taken in pledge; nor any implement or beast used in agriculture. The interest was limited to two deniers on the livre weekly, which would make nearly 50 per cent. yearly. The other articles of this decree regulated the payment of existing debts. Philip Augustus, and some of his barons, made another ordinance for the regulation of debts to Jews: it enforced their having a common seal and the register of their debts under appointed officers. In the south, their condition was still comparatively prosperous; it was among the bitter charges of Pope Innocent the Third against Raymond, the heretical Count of Toulouse, that he employed Jews in high official situations.

On the accession of Louis VIII. he gratified his impoverished barons with a new decree, which at once annulled all future interest on debts due to the Jews, and commanded the payment of the capital within three years, at three separate instalments. The Jews were declared attached to the soil, and assigned as property to the feudatories. In the crusade against Raymond, the seventh Count of Toulouse, it was among the terms of his submission, that he should no longer employ Jewish officers.

Louis IX. ascended the throne, a man whose greatness and whose weakness make us alternately applaud and reprobate his claim to the designation of Saint. But his greatness was his own, his weakness that of his age. Unhappily it was this darker part of his character which necessarily predominated in his transactions with the Jews. Already during his minority an edict had been passed, again prohibiting all future interest on debts due to Jews. Louis himself entered into the policy of forcing them to give up what was considered the nefarious trade of usury. Another law (soon after his accession) recognised the property of each baron in his Jews, whom he might seize by force on the estate of another. In 1234, Louis, for the welfare of his soul, annulled one-third of all debts due to Jews. No bailiff might arrest or maltreat a Christian for any debt due to a Jew, or force him to sell his moveables. The populace readily concurred with their devout monarch in the persecution of their creditors. Louis was actuated by two motives, both grounded on religion; one, implacable hatred towards the enemies of Christ, the other, a conscientious conviction of the unlawfulness of usury. The Lombards and Cahorsins shared in the devout abhorrence of the saintly monarch. Much of his injustice may be traced to a desire of converting the Jews from usurious money-lenders into laborious artisans. But policy entered little into the minds of the populace. In 1239, they rose upon the Jewish quarter in Paris, and committed frightful ravages; their example was followed in Orleans and many other considerable cities. The great vassals were not behind in lawless barbarity. The assize of Brittany surpassed the worst fanaticism

or injustice of sovereign or people. It was held by John the Red, at Ploermel. It complained that husbandry was ruined by the usurious exactions of the Jews. It banished them from the country, annulled all their debts, gave permission to those who possessed their property to retain it; it prohibited any molestation or information against a Christian who might kill a Jew; in other words, it licensed general pillage and murder. The next ordinance of the pious Louis was aimed not only at the usuries, but also at the religion, of the Jews. Something of awe mingled with the general feeling of detestation against this devoted race. The Jews were suspected of possessing much dark knowledge, which they employed to wreak their revenge on Christians. They were in alliance with evil spirits. They were the masters of many fearful secrets and cabalistic spells. A council prohibited their practising as physicians, for who knew by what assistance they might heal? The great source as well of their blasphemies against Christ, as of these dangerous and mysterious secrets, was their dark and unintelligible Talmud. An edict was issued for the destruction of these volumes. Four-and-twenty carts-full of ponderous tomes were committed to the flames in Paris.

Could St. Louis have completed his task, and eradicated the Talmud from the hearts of the Jewish people, he might have shaken the Rabbinical power, and inflicted a fatal blow upon the religion. Many of the wise men fled, to secure their treasures of knowledge. The emigration was well timed for Louis, who wanted money for his crusade. The goods of the emigrants and their debts were seized for the use of the king. One thing was yet wanting to crown the cup of misery. Notwithstanding his marked and indelible features, in the common dress of the country, the Israelite might escape the blind fury of the populace. To complete his outlawry, and to mark him out as an object of inevitable persecution, it was ordained that he should wear a sort of conspicuous outward brand upon his dress: this was called the Rouelle. It was to be worn by both sexes, and consisted of a piece of blue cloth on the front and on the back of the garment. This device originated in the clergy. It was enacted by the Council of Lateran, under Innocent the Third (a pontiff more hostile than his predecessors to the Jews), as a general usage throughout Christianity. It was enforced by other councils, as at Rouen and at Arles. It was finally made a law of the realm by St. Louis, in the year before his death, who thus bequeathed to the miserable subjects, whom he had oppressed during his life, a new legacy of shame and calamity.

We are fatigued, our readers also are perhaps equally so, with the dreary prospect which, like the desert wilderness, still spreads before us. We know not where to look for gleams of

Christian mercy through these clouds of fanaticism and injustice. In Germany, indeed, the emperors strove against the spirit of the age; that most extraordinary character, Frederick the Second, aggravated the suspicions which attached to his Christianity, on account of his high-minded resistance to the Papal power, by extending what was deemed unchristian protection over this proscribed race. They brought him intelligence that three Christian children had been found dead, at the time of the Passover, in the house of a Jew. "Let them be buried, then," coolly replied the philosophic emperor. But the emperor rendered the Jews a more effectual service, by instituting an investigation of the fact, whether Jews were bound to murder children on that day. The cause was decided by grave theologians to the acquittal of the Jews from this monstrous charge. We pass over many similar incidents, which show the barbarous credulity of the Christians, and pause only to relate the most extravagant of all. When the victorious hordes of the Mongolian Tartars threatened to overrun the whole of Europe, the Jews are said to have held a meeting, to have solemnly recognised this wild people as brethren, descendants of their own ancestors, and determined to assist their plans of conquest over their Christian oppressors. For this purpose they made proposals to the emperor to enter into a feigned league with the fierce savages, to supply them with the rich wine of the country, which they promised to mingle with poison. The waggons set forth with their freight; they were stopped on the bridge over the Danube by a collector of tolls; they insisted on passing free, as being employed on a service of vital interest to the empire. The toll-collector suspected their truth—forced open one of the casks—which was found to contain arms. Yet even this tale was received with ready credulity.

The council of Vienna, A.C. 1267, urged still farther that most dangerous plan of persecution, the total separation of the Jews from the society, and consequently from the sympathies, of their fellow-men. They were interdicted the use of Christian baths and inns; they might employ no Christian servant, nor farm any toll. A severe mulct was thought necessary against their criminal connexion with Christian women. They were commanded to wear a distinctive dress, a pointed cap. There were other clauses enforcing the payment of dues to the Christian clergy, respect for Christian ceremonies, and the prohibition to all Christians to join in social intercourse or to buy meat of the Jews.

In Spain, the darkness gathered more slowly; as the Christian kingdoms gradually encroached on the still retreating Mahometans, the Jews seem to have changed their masters with no great reluctance, and the moderation or the policy of the sovereigns of Castile and Aragon usually refrained from any act

which might array these useful subjects against them. The Jews were still frequently entrusted with the administration of the finances; and, as they were permitted to maintain a loftier rank in society, so they did not disgrace that rank by those base and extortionate practices to which they sank or were reduced under less generous masters; they were respected, and respected themselves. Their own writers relate the improbable history of a persecution under the good Alfonso the Chaste; but, if true, it was little more than a court intrigue of a Christian endeavouring to supplant a Jewish favourite. On the fatal occasion of assembling a fanatic mob of crusaders, they did not entirely escape; the storm fell upon 12,000 Jews who inhabited Toledo, but the King Alfonso of Castile interfered in their behalf, and the Pope, Honorius III., openly rebuked all violence, but recommended the cruel measure of enforcing a distinctive mark upon the dress. During these days of peace, several converts of eminence were made to the Church: an open dispute was held in Barcelona, between two of the most powerful advocates of the two religions; and the work of Raimond Martin, under the quaint title of the Dagger of the Faith, an extraordinary book for its age, which arose out of the controversy, gives no mean idea of the talents of the disputants. Jewish literature and poetry still flourished in this genial region.

We return to France to witness a repetition of the same extraordinary proceedings which signalised the reign of Philip Augustus: the monarch oppressing, and finally expelling the Jews, his successor reduced by his poverty to enter into an ignominous treaty with these exiles, and the indefatigable Jews as readily returning to undergo the same or worse calamities. Philip III. enforced and increased the severity of the laws of Louis IX. Philip IV. (the Fair), after some vain attempts to wean the Jews from their usurious dealings, and to enforce their adoption of commercial habits, after selling his protection to individuals, and even limiting the power of the clergy over their persons, adopted the policy of Philip Augustus, the total expulsion of the race. In one day (the 22d July, 1306), the most wealthy Jews of Languedoc were seized, their goods sold, and their debts confiscated to the crown. The same scene took place in Paris: their synagogues were converted into churches, their cemeteries desecrated, their grave-stones torn up and used for building. Five years after, whether the law of expulsion had been imperfectly executed, or many of them had stolen back to the place of their former abode, or whether they had been allowed to return to prove their own debts for the advantage of the crown, a second total expulsion took place, and the soil of France was for a time secured from the profanation of the feet of the circumcised.

Yet scarcely had the son of Philip the Fair, Louis X., ascended the throne, than the disordered state of the royal finances constrained the submission of the king and all his nobles to the readmission of the Jews; and the Jews without hesitation consented to purchase, at a considerable price, the happiness of inhabiting a land where they had already been thus plundered and maltreated. Unhappy race—the earth perhaps offered them no safer asylum! They were permitted to settle in the kingdom of France for twelve years; their cemeteries, their synagogues, and their sacred books, were restored; they were encouraged to reclaim before the tribunals such debts as had not been recovered by the royal commissioners, of which they were to receive one-third, the other two-thirds went to the king. The secret motive of this mercy is sufficiently clear. But dearly did they purchase the precarious life which they led in this unsettled land. The next king, Philip the Long, issued an ordinance, in some degree favourable to the Jews on the royal domains, but they were exposed to the tyranny of their lords the barons, to the jealousy of the clergy, and to the usurpations of the Inquisition, eagerly watching an opportunity to comprehend them within its fatal sphere. But these evils, through strong faith,—it may be feared, through far stronger avarice,—might have been endured. A worse and more unforeseen devastation burst upon their heads. This was the rising of the peasants. Long before, during the captivity of St. Louis, a multitude of the lowest orders had assembled, and announced their intention, or rather their Divine commission, to rescue their beloved saint and king. They had signalised their zeal by great barbarities against the Jews. Now a more general commotion took place; under the guidance of a priest and a monk, the peasants and shepherds drew together from all quarters: their design they probably knew not themselves. Some vague prophecies were said to be received among them, that the Holy Land was to be conquered only by shepherds and by the poor in spirit. They travelled in still increasing masses, committing no violence or outrage, entreating bread at the gates of the wondering cities for the love of God. They had neither arms nor discipline—many were without shoes. The flocks, the labours of the field, were abandoned as they passed; young and old fell into their ranks. They marched in a kind of order behind a banner with a white cross. So they traversed the kingdom from Bourges, one party northward to Paris, where the government was appalled by their appearance; the greatest number spread into Languedoc. They were driven only by famine to excesses against their Christian brethren, but by the sternest fanaticism to the most relentless barbarities against the Jews. Everywhere this unhappy race, which the government could not have

protected if it would, were pillaged, massacred, or put to the torture. Where they could, they fled to the fortified places; 500 made their escape to Verdun, on the Garonne; the governor gave them a tower to defend; the shepherds assailed them, set fire to the gates; the desperate Jews threw their children, in hopes of mercy, down to the besiegers, and slew each other to a man.

In almost all the cities of Languedoc these frightful scenes took place, yet this was but the beginning of sorrows. An epidemic pestilence followed in the ensuing year. But a people in such a state of excitement could not look to the natural causes of such a visitation, the universal distress and famine consequent on the general abandonment of labour, and the wide-spread devastation. Dark rumours were propagated that the fountains, and even the rivers, of the kingdom had been poisoned. Public detestation pointed at once to the authors of this dire crime, the lepers and the Jews; the lepers as the agents, the Jews as the principals. A correspondence was said to have been detected between the king of Tunis and other infidel kings and the Jews, offering them large rewards for their co-operation in this diabolic scheme. The poor lepers were first tortured to confess, and on their confession condemned. The Jews' turn came next; the pope, John XXII., had seized the opportunity of their misery, during the preceding year, to aggravate it by denouncing their detestable sorceries and magic, and by commanding their Talmuds to be burned. The Papal sanction was thus given to the atrocities which followed. In many provinces, says a chronicler, especially in Aquitaine, the Jews were burned without distinction. At Chinon a deep ditch was dug, an enormous pile raised, and 160 of both sexes burned together. Many of them plunged into the ditch of their own accord, singing hymns, as though they were going to a wedding. Many women with their children threw themselves in to escape forcible baptism. At Paris, those alone were burned who confessed their crimes, but the richest were detained in prison to verify their confiscated debts. The king received from their spoils 150,000 livres.

In the midst of this, Philip V. died, and the heir, King Charles IV., graciously pardoned the survivors, on condition of a large payment: 57,000 livres were assessed on the Jews of Languedoc; they were permitted to leave their prisons to collect the sum required, and then, as the height of mercy, allowed to gather together the rest of their effects and depart from the kingdom. A third time the same strange scene was enacted. A second pestilence, in 1348, completed the wretchedness of the few Jews that remained in this desolated country: while themselves were perishing by hundreds, the old accusation of poisoning the wells

was renewed, and the sword of vengeance let loose to waste what the plague had spared.*

The Jews, driven in this merciless manner from the country where their portion had been the unrestrained excesses of the boors, and legal punishment as authors of a great national calamity, the pestilence, by which themselves had suffered so dreadfully—loaded in short with every popular outrage and calumny, began nevertheless to steal back into a land where their sordid industry still found a harvest; and no sooner were the distresses of the kingdom at their height, through the civil wars, the conquests of the English, and the captivity of the king (John), than they opened a negotiation with the regent to purchase the privilege of returning to this land of lawlessness and blood. Menecier, of Vesoul, conducted the treaty on the part of the Jews. The terms were not finally arranged till the return of the king, though it seems, by the appointment of Louis, Count d'Etampes, as guardian of the Jews, that they had entered the kingdom during the regency. The price of admission into the kingdom was fixed at fourteen florins for a man and his wife; for children and servants, one florin two tournois; the price of residence at seven florins annually for man and wife: children and servants, one florin. The treaty was for twenty years. The Jews might buy houses, possess synagogues, cemeteries, and their sacred books. They were no longer under baronial jurisdiction, but under the king, represented by his officer, the guardian of the Jews. They were free from all other taxes except land-tax. The interest of money was fixed at four deniers the livre weekly—double the former standard. They might defend their houses and property from unlawful attacks. They could not be challenged to trial by battle. They were not to be compelled to hear Christian sermons. Finally, all their former privileges were confirmed. For some time the position of the Jews seemed materially improved; though still pursued by the clergy and the people with unmitigated hatred, they had detached the crown from the hostile confederacy. In Languedoc the clergy published an excommunication against all who should furnish the Jews with fire, water, bread, or wine. The civil power, the Marshal d'Audenham, interposed, and repressed the fiery zeal of the Church. Charles the Fifth renewed the treaty, first for six, afterwards for ten years. The crown began to have open dealings with, and to raise loans from, the Jews. The prudent Menecier de Vesoul, their acknowledged representative, appears to have conducted their affairs with great address; the worst grievance must have been their being still

* They were received with kindness by Clement VI., in the territory of Avignon.

compelled to wear a distinguishing mark upon their dress; but even this they obtained permission to lay aside on a journey. But with their wealth, their danger inevitably increased. Whether honest or usurious, their gains were wrung from an impoverished nobility and people. During the administration of the Duke of Anjou, a tumult took place, arising out of the heavy burthens of the people. The nobles cried aloud for the expulsion of the Jews; the people wreaked their rage partly on the archives where their debts were registered, partly on the Jews, who were pillaged and slain, their children torn from their mothers' arms, and carried to the churches to be baptized. The strong arm of authority allayed for a time, but could not suppress, the brooding storm of popular emotion. During the early part of the reign of Charles the Sixth, the Jews were treated with equity and consideration; in the frequent disputes which arose about the registering and recovery of their debts, they obtained equal justice; in one respect alone they were unfortunate—they were withdrawn from the special jurisdiction of the king, and submitted to the ordinary tribunals. But the distresses of the country still increased; with the distresses, the difficulty of obtaining money: every order lay at the mercy of the money-lender. But former calamities did not teach the Jews moderation; regardless that they were arraying against themselves both nobles and people, they went on accumulating their perilous riches, till, like a thunder-clap, the fatal edict burst upon them, commanding them once more to evacuate the kingdom, though on milder terms, with the liberty of receiving all debts due to them, and of selling their property. The cause of this change in the royal policy is probably to be sought in the malady of the unhappy king. His confessor was perpetually at his ear, urging to the disordered and melancholy monarch the sin of thus protecting an accursed people from the miseries to which they were deservedly doomed by the wrath of God. The nobles hated them as debtors, the people as fanatics. The queen was won over, and the advice of those few wise counsellors who represented the danger of depriving the country of the industry of such a thriving and laborious community, was overborne by more stern advisers. An accusation made without proof against the Jews of Paris, of the murder of a convert to the Church, aggravated the popular fury. Four of the most wealthy were scourged two successive Sundays in all the cross-roads of Paris, and bought their lives at the price of 18,000 francs. The rest were allowed a month to wind up their affairs; and the whole Jewish community crossed for the last time the borders of France, for a long and an indefinite period of banishment.

The history of the German Jews during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries displays the same dreary picture of a people,

generally sordid, sometimes opulent, holding their wealth and their lives on the most precarious tenure. No fanatic monk set the populace in commotion, no public calamity took place, no atrocious or extravagant report was propagated, but it fell upon the heads of this unhappy caste. Fatal tumults were caused by the march of the Flagellants, a set of mad enthusiasts, who passed through the cities of Germany, preceded by a crucifix, and scourging their naked and bleeding backs as they went, as a punishment for their own offences and those of the Christian world. These fanatics atoned as they supposed, rather than aggravated, their sins against the God of mercy, by plundering and murdering the Jews in Frankfort and other places. The same dark stories were industriously propagated, readily believed, and ferociously avenged, of fountains poisoned, children crucified, the Host stolen and outraged. The power of their liege lord and emperor, even when exerted for their protection, was but slightly respected and feebly enforced, especially where every province and almost every city had or claimed an independent jurisdiction. Still persecuted in one city, they fled to another, and thus spread over the whole of Germany, Silesia, Brandenburgh, Bohemia, Lithuania, and Poland—oppressed by the nobles, anathematised by the clergy, hated as rivals in trade by the burghers in the commercial cities, despised and abhorred by the populace. Of the means by which the general hatred was exasperated and kept alive, we will select one legend (the story has its parallel in almost every country), which is commemorated, to their infinite shame, in the enlightened city of Brussels to the present day, by a solemn procession of the clergy, and the exposition of the Host. It is taken from a book regularly reprinted and sold, and which all faithful members of the church are directed to receive as undoubted truth, because "charity believeth all things!!"—A Jew, named Jonathan of Enghien, desired to possess himself of the consecrated Host in order to treat it with the sacrilegious insult by which that impious race delighted in showing their hatred to Christianity. He applied to one John of Louvain, whose poverty could not resist the bribe of sixty golden coins, called moutons d'or. John mounted by night into the chapel of St. Catherine, stole the pix with its sacred contents, and conveyed it to Jonathan. The Jew, triumphant in his iniquity, assembled his friends, when they blasphemed the Host in the most impious manner, but abstained from piercing it with their knives till the approaching Good Friday. In the mean time, on account of the murder of their son, Jonathan's wife persuaded him to migrate to Brussels. There the Host was borne into the synagogue, treated with the grossest insult, then pierced with knives. The blood poured forth profusely, but the obdurate Jews, unmoved by the miracle, dispersed tranquilly to their homes. Having done this, they

resolved to send their treasure to Cologne. They made choice of a woman, unfortunately for them, secretly converted to the Catholic faith, as the bearer. Her poverty, but not her will, consented: but during the night, seized with remorse of conscience, she determined to denounce the crime to the clergy. The consequences may be anticipated: all the Jews were arrested, put to the torture, convicted, condemned to be torn by red-hot pincers, and then burned alive. The picture of their sufferings as they writhed on the stake is exhibited with horrid coolness, or rather satisfaction, in the book of the legend. And this triumph of the faith, supported, it is said, by many miracles, is, to the present day, commemorated in one of the first Christian cities in Europe.

BOOK XXV.

JEWS IN ENGLAND.

First Settlement—William Rufus—Henry II.—Coronation of Richard I. —Massacre at York—King John—Spoliations of the Jews—Henry III.—Jewish Parliament—Edward I.—Statute of Judaism—Final Expulsion from the Realm.

IN the dark ages England was not advanced beyond the other nations of Europe in the civil or religious wisdom of toleration. While the sovereign authority—that of the pope in Italy, of the emperor in Germany, and of the kings in Spain — frequently held in check the fierce animosities of the nobles, the clergy, and the populace, against their Israelitish subjects; with rare exceptions the kings of England, like those of France, joined in the inhuman and impolitic confederacy against them. There were Jews in England under the Saxons. The ecclesiastical constitutions of Egbright, Archbishop of York, A. C. 740, prohibit Christians from appearing at Jewish feasts. They are named in a charter to the monks of Croyland, A. C. 833. They are said to have purchased from William the Conqueror the right of settlement in the country. His son, William Rufus, shocked the devout feelings of his people, by his open intercourse with the enemies of Christ. He appointed a public debate in London between the two parties, and profanely swore, "by the face of St Luke," that if the Rabbins defeated the Bishops, he would turn Jew himself. The Jews boasted that they obtained the victory, while the trembling people, in a thunder-storm and an

earthquake, recognised the wrath of God against the irreligious king. But William was unmoved; he received at Rouen the complaint of certain Jews, that their children had been seduced to the profession of Christianity. Their petition was supported by a liberal offer of money. Many, either from conviction or confiding in the king's protection, abjured their new faith. One Stephen offered sixty marks for his son's restoration to Judaism, but the son had the courage to resist the imperious monarch. "Get thee hence, quickly," said the king, "and obey, or, by the face of St. Luke, I will cause thine eyes to be plucked out of thine head." The young man temperately adhered to his determination. The king yielded, on which the Jew demanded back his money; the monarch unwillingly restored half. Rufus gave still deeper offence, by farming to Jews the vacant bishoprics. During this reign Jews were established in Oxford and in London. In the former city they had three halls, for the accommodation of youth:—Lombard Hall, Moses Hall, and Jacob Hall. They taught Hebrew to Christian as well as Jewish students. They were not, however, permitted a burial-ground — their only cemetery was in St. Giles, Cripplegate, in London.* As history is silent about them for a short period, we may conclude that they were growing in opulence, and, consequently, in public detestation. In the 10th of Stephen the same dark tales began to be bruited abroad which were so readily credited on the Continent;—they are said to have crucified a youth at Norwich.

This crime," their historian shrewdly observes, "they are never said to have practised but at such times as the king was manifestly in want of money." The same atrocity was imputed to them at Gloucester, and at St. Edmondsbury. At the latter place the churchmen derived further advantage besides aggravating the general hatred against the Jews;—the body of the youth was interred with great solemnity, and his tomb wrought frequent miracles.* Nor did the king (Henry the Second) overlook this favourable opportunity for filling his coffers: twelve years before, he had extorted a large sum from the Jews—5000 marks — and banished many, probably those who refused to accede to his terms. Other anecdotes illustrate their increasing wealth and unpopularity. They are charged with having lent money to some of the adventurers for Ireland, who undertook that enterprise contrary to the king's order; and with receiving in pledge some of the sacred treasures of the church of St. Edmondsbury: it is to be hoped that this transaction had no connexion with the horrible charge related above.† The most

* They afterwards obtained a piece of burial-ground, the site on which the beautiful tower and part of Magdalene College stand.

† "Others," says the author of Anglia Judaica, "were grown so presumptuous as to scoff at and ridicule the highest dignitaries of the Church."

remarkable evidence of their wealth is, that at a parliament held at Northampton, to raise a tax for an expedition to the Holy Land, the whole Christian population was assessed at 70,000*l.*—the Jews alone at 60,000*l.* The abandonment of the expedition, and the death of the king, prevented the levying of this enormous burthen. But Henry's death, instead of relieving them from oppression, was the accidental cause of a worse calamity—it gave an occasion for all the passions, which had long been brooding within the hearts of the people, to break forth into fierce and undisguised hostility. The whole nation crowded to the coronation of the brave Richard the First. Among the rest the Jews were eager to offer their allegiance, and to admire the splendour of the spectacle. They came in such apparel as suited the occasion, and were prepared with costly offerings to the new sovereign. But the jealous courtiers, and the whole people, demanded the exclusion of such notorious sorcerers from the royal presence, who were likely to blast all the prosperity of the reign by their ill-omened appearance. Peremptory orders were issued that none should be admitted. A few strangers incautiously ventured, supposing themselves unknown, into the abbey; they were detected, maltreated, and dragged forth, half dead, from the church. The news spread like wild fire; the populace rose at once, broke open the houses of the Jews which they suspected, and found, to conceal under a modest exterior incalculable wealth: they pillaged and set fire on all sides. The king sent the chief justiciary, Sir Richard Glanville, to arrest the tumult. Avarice and hatred were too strong for authority, and during the whole night the scene of plunder and havoc went on. The king, when the people, satiated with their booty, had retired, ordered a strict investigation. Many were apprehended—three were hanged; but such seems to have been the state of the public

For we read that a certain Jew, having the honour about this time to travel towards Shrewsbury, in company with Richard Peche, archdeacon of Malpas, in Cheshire, and a reverend dean, whose name was Deville, amongst other discourse, which they condescended to entertain him with, the archdeacon told him that his jurisdiction was so large as to reach from a place called Ill Street, all along till they came to Malpas, and took in a wide circumference of country. To which the infidel, being more witty than wise, immediately replied, "Say you so, Sir? God grant me, then, a good deliverance. For it seems I am riding in a country where Sin is the archdeacon, and the Devil himself the dean—where the entrance into the archdeaconry is Ill Street, and the going from it Bad Steps;" alluding to the French words "Péché and Malpas." Our author is grievously offended at these liberties being taken with such reverend personages; but charitably concludes, that so facetious a Jew would hardly have been concerned in such tragical crimes as they were charged with. The story rather indicates that the clergy and the Jews sometimes met on terms of amity; and it is curious as showing the mixture of French and English which seems to have prevailed in the language of the time.

feeling, that the government either would not, or dared not, revenge the wrongs inflicted on the Jews: of the three, two suffered for robbing a Christian, on pretence of his being a Jew; one for setting fire to the house of a Jew, which burned down the next, belonging to a Christian. One Benedict, to save his life, had submitted to baptism. He appealed to the king to release him from his compulsory engagement. The king referred this new case to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was present. The Archbishop Baldwin, who was more used to handle the battle-axe than to turn over tomes of casuistry, answered, though bluntly, perhaps with more plain sense than his more learned brethren might have done, "Why, if he is not willing to become a servant of God, he must even continue a servant of the devil." The intelligence of the vengeance wrought by the citizens of London on the enemies of the Lord, probably likewise of the rich spoil they had obtained, spread rapidly throughout the country. All England was then swarming with fanatic friars preaching the Crusade, and fierce soldiers, of all classes, who had taken up the cross. The example of London sounded like a tocsin, and directed their yet untried zeal and valour against the wealth and the infidelity of the Jews. At Norwich, at Edmondsbury, at Stamford, the Jews were plundered, maltreated, slain. At Lincoln they took timely warning—and, with the connivance of the governor, secured themselves and their more valuable effects in the castle. At York, more disastrous scenes took place. Benedict, the relapsed convert, was a native of that city, but died in London of the ill-usage he had received. His friend Jacimus (Joachim) returned to York with the sad intelligence; but scarcely had he arrived when he found the city in a state of the most alarming excitement. The house of Benedict, a spacious building, was attacked: the wife and children of Benedict, with many others who had fled there as to a place of strength, were murdered; the house burned to the ground. Joachim, with the wealthiest of the Jews, took refuge in the castle with their most valuable effects; those who were not sufficiently expeditious were put to the sword —neither age nor sex was respected; a few only escaped by submitting to baptism.

The Jews within the citadel, whether on good grounds or not, suspected that secret negotiations were going on between the governor of the castle and the populace, for their surrender; the governor, it was subtly spread abroad among them, was to be repaid for his treachery by a large share of the plunder. The desperate men felt that they had but one alternative; they seized the opportunity of the governor's absence in the town, closed the gates against him, and boldly manned the citadel. The sheriff of the county happened to be in the town with an armed force. At the persuasion of the indignant governor, and the populace

he gave the signal for attack; but, alarmed at the frantic fury with which the rabble swarmed to the assault, he endeavoured to revoke his fatal order, but in vain. A more influential body, the clergy, openly urged on the besiegers. A canon regular, of the Premonstratensian order, stood in the midst of the ferocious multitude, in his surplice, shouting aloud, "Destroy the enemies of Christ; destroy the enemies of Christ." Every morning this fierce churchman took the sacrament, and then proceeded to his post, where he perished at length, crushed by a great stone from the battlements. The besieged, after a manful resistance, found their fate unavoidable. A council was summoned. Their Rabbi, a foreigner, a man educated in one of their schools of learning, and universally respected for his profound knowledge of the Law, rose up. "Men of Israel," he said, "the God of our Fathers, to whom none can say, 'What doest thou?' calls upon us to die for our Law. Death is inevitable; but we may yet choose whether we will die speedily and nobly, or ignominiously, after horrible torments and the most barbarous usage—my advice is, that we voluntarily render up our souls to our Creator, and fall by our own hands. The deed is both reasonable, and according to the Law, and is sanctioned by the example of our most illustrious ancestors." The old man sat down in tears. The assembly was divided; some declared that he had spoken wisely: others, that it was a hard saying. The Rabbi arose again, and said, "Let those who approve not of my proposal, depart in peace." Some few obeyed, and left the place—the greater number remained unmoved upon their seats. They then arose, collected their most precious effects, burned all that was combustible, and buried the rest. They set fire to the castle in many places, cut the throats of their wives and children, and then their own. The Rabbi and Joachim alone survived. The place of honour was reserved for the Rabbi; he first slew Joachim, then pierced himself to the heart. The next morning the populace rushed to the assault with their accustomed fury. They beheld flames bursting from every part of the castle; and a few miserable wretches, with supplications and wild cries, running to and fro on the battlements, who related the fate of their companions; they entreated mercy; they offered to submit to baptism. No sooner were the terms accepted, and the gates opened, than the fanatic multitude poured in, and put every living being to the sword. Not content with this triumph, they rushed to the cathedral, demanded all the bonds and obligations, which had been laid up there in the archives, and cast them all into an enormous bonfire. The king might perhaps have forgiven their former crime, the massacre of his unoffending subjects, but this was an inexpiable offence—treason against his exchequer—as all these debts would have fallen to the Crown.

Geoffrey Rydal, Bishop of Ely, the Chancellor, was sent to York, to investigate the affair, but the ringleaders of the riot fled for a time to Scotland, the chief citizens entered into recognisances; nor does it appear that any persons paid the penalty of the law for this atrocious massacre, by which 500 or 1500 men (the numbers vary) were put to death.

On his return from captivity, Richard directed his attention to the affairs of the Jews; the justices on their circuits were ordered to inquire who were the murderers, and what became of the property which had been seized: all who were in possession of these effects, and had not compounded by a fine, were to be brought to justice. The whole community was placed under certain statutes. The Jews were formally recognised as belonging to the Crown. Their property was to be registered, on pain of forfeiture. No bonds or obligations were to be valid, unless made in the presence of two lawyers, Jews, two lawyers, Christians, with two public notaries, and enrolled; a fee to the Crown was due on the enrolment of every bond. Two justices of the Jews were appointed, who attended at the exchequer to superintend this important branch of the royal revenue; there was likewise an officer named the Jews' Escheator.

John, previous to his accession, had probably many dealings with the Jews; he knew their value, as a source of revenue, and commenced his reign with heaping favours upon them, by which more were daily tempted to settle in the kingdom. It might almost seem that this weak and unprincipled, but crafty prince, had formed a deliberate scheme of allowing them to accumulate ample treasures, in order that hereafter he might reap a richer harvest of plunder, and render himself independent of his unruly subjects. Their high priest received a patent for his office from the king. He was styled in the deed, "our Beloved and our Friend" (*dilectus et familiaris noster*). The next year a charter was issued, restoring the Jews in England and Normandy to all the privileges enjoyed under Henry the First. They might settle where they pleased; they might hold lands and fees, and take mortgages. They were to be tried only in the king's court, or before the governors of his royal castles. Their oath was valid as evidence—a Christian and a Jewish witness were of equal weight. In disputes with Christians, Jews were to be tried by their own peers. They might freely buy and sell, excepting the sacred vessels and furniture of the Church. All the subjects of the realm were called upon to protect the Jews and their chattels, as the chattels of the king. Four thousand marks were paid for this charter. By another statute, their own suits were to be determined by their own Law. The favour of John was not likely to conciliate that of his subjects. All classes looked on the Jews with darker jealousy. The same defamatory

tales were repeated of their crucifying children; and the citizens of London, probably envious of their opulence, treated them with many indignities. The king wrote a strong rebuke to the mayor and to the barons of London, in which he commended the Jews to their protection, stating that he attributed the recent outrages only to the fools, not to the discreet citizens, of the metropolis: on a sudden, impatient, as it were, that any part of his subjects should suppose him capable of a long effort of justice, or yielding with his accustomed weakness to the immediate pressure of his necessities, or perhaps rejoicing in thus having prepared himself subjects for spoliation, in whose behalf neither the imperious Pope nor his refractory barons would interfere, John passed to the extreme of cruelty against the miserable Jews. Every Israelite, without distinction of age or sex, was imprisoned, their wealth confiscated to the exchequer, and the most cruel torments extorted from the reluctant the confession of their secret treasures. The story of the Jew of Bristol is well known, who was to lose a tooth a day till he betrayed his hoards. Ten thousand marks of silver were required of this wealthy merchant; he obstinately lost seven teeth, and saved the rest by paying the ransom demanded. The king gained 60,000 marks by this atrocious proceeding. A second time demands equally extravagant were made; and these unhappy wretches, who paid so dearly for the privilege of being the vassals of the Crown, were still further plundered by the barons, as belonging to the king. Their treasures in London were seized, and their houses demolished to repair the walls, by these stern assertors of the liberties of the land. Yet the regulations relating to the Jews in the Great Charter, though not perhaps quite equitable, were by no means wanting in moderation. If a man died in debt to a Jew, the debt bore no interest, till the heir came of age. The wife was to receive her dower, and the children their maintenance; the debt was to be discharged out of the residue.

The first act of the Guardians of the Realm under Henry the Third, was to release the Jews who were in prison, and to appoint twenty-four burgesses of every town where they resided, to protect their persons and property. They were exempted from spiritual jurisdiction, and amenable only to the king and his judges; but they were commanded to wear a distinctive mark on their dress, two stripes of white cloth or parchment. But the avowed protection of the Crown could not shield them from the jealousy of the merchants whose traffic they injured, the hatred of the people, and the bigotry of the clergy. The Wardens of the Cinque Ports imprisoned several Jews on their landing in England. The government interfered, but enacted that all Jews should report themselves and be enrolled by the justices of the Jews immediately on their landing, and not quit the kingdom

again without a passport. But the Church was their more implacable enemy: among many enactments, similar to those which had been passed in other kingdoms (one against Jews keeping Christian slaves), Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Hugh of Wells, Bishop of Lincoln, prohibited all Christians, on fear of ecclesiastical censure, from selling them the necessaries of life. The Crown again interfered, and commanded all good subjects to defy the spiritual interdict. But these days of peace did not continue long—they offered too great temptation to an impoverished king, in perpetual contest with his subjects. Their offences were said to call for punishment—they dared to sue even the clergy on their bonds; probably in England, as in other countries, their sordid spirit, ever watchful to make reprisals on society, might give countenance to many scarcely perhaps exaggerated stories of their usurious extortions. A crime was now laid to their charge, much more probable than the tales of their crucifying children—their tampering with and clipping the coin of the realm. A sudden demand was made (A.C. 1230) of a third of their movables, to be paid into the Exchequer. It was followed in two years by another of 18,000 marks; in 1236, by a third of 10,000 marks.* Yet the royal confidence in the inexhaustible resources of the Jews, and the popular prejudice that they could only be supplied by nefarious, if not by magical or supernatural means, were confirmed not only by the discharge of these enormous demands, but by other indications of opulence, which could not be drained even by such unprecedented exactions. The daughter of Hamon, a Jew of Hereford, paid to the king 5000 marks as a relief. A baron's heir paid for his barony only 100 marks—a knight's fee 100 shillings. Aaron of York compounded for a payment of 100 marks a-year to be free from taxes. Aaron solemnly declared to Matthew Paris, that the king had exacted from him in seven years 30,000 marks of silver—besides 200 of gold, paid to the queen. Yet a few years after, the nation beheld the curious spectacle of a Jewish Parliament regularly summoned. Writs were issued to the sheriffs, with most extraordinary menaces of punishment in case of disobedience, to return six of the richest Jews from the more considerable towns, two from those where they were fewer in number.† This Parliament met, and, like other parliaments, was graciously informed by the sovereign that he must have money—20,000 marks was the sum demanded.

* About this period a housewas opened in London for the reception of Jewish converts; it was in Chancery Lane. Its site is now occupied by the Rolls.

† Southampton and Newcastle had petitioned that no Jews might be permitted to reside within their walls. This privilege was extended to other towns.

His Majesty's faithful Jews could boast no parliamentary privileges, nor were permitted to demand freedom of debate. They were sent home to collect the money as speedily as possible; it was to be assessed and levied among themselves; and as this enormous charge was not immediately forthcoming, the collectors were seized, with their wives and children, their goods and chattels, and imprisoned.

Our history has a melancholy sameness—perpetual exactions, the means of enforcing them differing only in their degrees of cruelty. The Parliament began to consider that these extraordinary succours ought at least to relieve the rest of the nation. They began to inquire into the king's resources from this quarter, and the king consented that one of the two justices of the Jews should be appointed by Parliament. But the barons thought more of easing themselves than of protecting the oppressed. The next year a new demand of 8000 marks was made, under pain of being transported to Ireland; and, lest they should withdraw their families into places of concealment, they were forbidden, under the penalty of outlawry and confiscation, to remove wife or child from their usual place of residence. During the next three years 60,000 marks more were levied. How then was it possible for any traffic, however lucrative, to endure such perpetual exactions? The reason must be found in the enormous interest of money, which seems to have been considered by no means immoderate at fifty per cent.; certain Oxford scholars thought themselves relieved by being constrained to pay only twopence weekly on a debt of twenty shillings. In fact, the rivalry of more successful usurers seems to have afflicted the Jews more deeply than the exorbitant demands of the king. These were the Caorsini, chiefly Italian bankers, though named from the town of Cahors, employed by the Pope to collect his revenue. It was the practice of these persons, under the sanction of their principal, to lend money for three months without interest, but afterwards to receive five per cent. monthly, till the debt was discharged: the former device was to exempt them from the charge of usury. The king, at one time, attempted to expel this new swarm of locusts; but they asserted their authority from the Pope, and the monarch trembled. Nor were their own body always faithful to the Jews. A certain Abraham, who lived at Berkhampstead and Wallingford, with a beautiful wife who bore the heathen name of Flora, was accused of treating an image of the Virgin with most indecent contumely; he was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, but released on the intervention of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, on payment of 700 marks. He was a man, it should seem, of infamous character, for his brethren accused him of coining, and offered 1000 marks rather than he should be released from prison. He revenged himself

by laying information of plots and conspiracies entered into by the whole people, and the more probable charge of concealment of their wealth from the rapacious hands of the king. This led to a strict and severe investigation of their property.

The distresses of the king increased; and as his Parliament resolutely refused to maintain his extravagant expenditure, nothing remained but to drain still farther the veins of the Jews. The office was delegated to Richard, Earl of Cornwall, his brother, who, from his wealth, the king might consider possessed of some secret for accumulating riches from hidden sources. The Rabbi Elias was deputed to wait on the prince, expressing the unanimous determination of all the Jews to quit the country, rather than submit to further burthens—their trade was ruined by the Caorsini; they could scarcely live on the miserable gains they now obtained. Their departure from the country was a vain boast, for whither should they go? The edicts of the King of France had closed that country against them, and the inhospitable world scarcely afforded a place of refuge. Earl Richard treated them with leniency, and accepted a small sum. But the next year the king renewed his demands —his declaration affected no disguise: "It is dreadful to imagine the debts to which I am bound. By the face of God, they amount to 200,000 marks; if I should say 300,000, I should not go beyond the truth. Money I must have, from any place, from any person, or by any means." The king's acts display as little dignity as his proclamation. He actually sold to his brother Richard all the Jews in the realm for 5000 marks, giving him full power over their property and persons:—our records still preserve the terms of this extraordinary bargain and sale. Popular opinion, which in the worst times is some restraint upon the arbitrary oppressions of kings, in this case would rather applaud the utmost barbarity of the monarch, than commiserate the wretchedness of the victims; for a new tale of the crucifixion of a Christian child, called Hugh of Lincoln, was now spreading horror throughout the country. The fact was confirmed by a solemn trial, and the conviction and execution of the criminals. It was proved, according to the mode of proof in those days, that the child had been stolen, fattened on bread and milk for ten days, and crucified in the presence of all the Jews in England. But the earth could not endure to be an accomplice in the crime; it cast up the buried remains, and the affrighted criminals were obliged to throw it into a well, where it was found by the mother—the body was canonised, and pilgrims crowded to the Church of Lincoln, to pay their devotions before the infant martyr. Great part of this story refutes itself; but we have already admitted the possibility, that among the ignorant and fanatic Jews there might be some who, exasperated

by the constant repetition of this charge, might brood over it so long as at length to be tempted to its perpetration. How deeply this legend sunk into the public mind, may be conceived from Chaucer's Prioress's Tale:

> "O young Hew of Lincoln, slain also
> By cursed Jews, as it is notable."

The rest of the reign of Henry the Third passed away with the same unmitigated oppressions of the Jews; which the Jews, no doubt, in some degree revenged by their extortions from the people. The contest between the royal and ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the Jews was arranged by certain constitutions, set forth by the king in council. By these laws no Jew could reside in the kingdom, but as the king's serf. Service was to be performed in the synagogue in a low tone, so as not to offend the ears of Christians. The Jews were forbidden to have Christian names for their children.

The Jews had probably passed back to the crown, on the election of Richard as king of the Romans. They were again sold to Prince Edward; by Prince Edward, as they probably thought a more dire calamity, made over to certain merchants of Dauphiny. Yet, after the battle of Lewes, the Jews of London, Lincoln, and Northampton, were plundered, as having conspired with the king against his barons. The king gave countenance to these sinister reports, by breaking his bargain with the prince, and resuming the Jews into his own power; and from this time he seems to have treated them with greater lenity, which only exposed them to the vengeance of the barons. It has been observed, that oppression, which drives even wise men mad, may instigate fanatics to acts of phrenzy. An incident which occurred at Oxford will illustrate this truth. While the Chancellor and the whole body of the university were in solemn procession to the reliques of St. Frideswide they were horror-struck by beholding a Jew rush forth, seize the cross which was borne before them, dash it to the ground, and trample upon it with the most furious contempt. The offender seems to have made his escape in the tumult, but his brethren suffered for his crime. Prince Edward was then at Oxford; and, by the royal decree, the Jews were imprisoned, and forced, notwithstanding much artful delay on their part, to erect a beautiful cross of white marble, with an image of the Virgin and Child, gilt all over, in the area of Merton College;* and to present to the proctors another cross of silver, to be borne in all future processions of the university. The last solemn act of Henry of

* Walter de Merton purchased of a Jew the ground on which the front of his College was erected.

Winchester was a statute of great importance; it disqualified the Jews altogether from holding lands or even tenements, except the houses of which they were actually possessed, particularly in the City of London, where they might only pull down and rebuild on the old foundations. All lands or manors were actually taken away; those which they held by mortgage, were to be restored to the Christian owners, without any interest on these bonds. Henry almost died in the act of extortion; he had ordered the arrears of all charges to be peremptorily paid under pain of imprisonment. Such was the distress caused by this inexorable mandate, that even the rival bankers the Caorsini, and the Friars themselves were moved to commiseration, though some complained that the wild outcries raised in the synagogue on this doleful occasion disturbed the devotion of the Christians in the neighbouring churches.

The death of Henry released them from this Egyptian bondage; but they changed their master, not their fortune. The first act of Edward's reign regulated the affairs of the Jews exactly in the same spirit: a new talliage was demanded, which was to extend to the women and children; the penalty of non-payment was exile, not imprisonment. The defaulter was to proceed immediately to Dover, with his wife and children, leaving his house and property to the use of the king. This edict was followed up by the celebrated Act of Parliament concerning Judaism, the object of which seems to have been the same with the policy of Louis IX. of France, to force the Jews to abandon usury, and betake themselves to traffic, manufactures, or the cultivation of land. It positively prohibited all usury, and cancelled all debts on payment of the principal. No Jew might distress beyond the moiety of a Christian's land and goods; they were to wear their badge, pay an Easter offering of threepence, men and women, to the king. They were permitted to practise merchandise, or labour with their hands, and to hire farms for cultivation for fifteen years. On these terms they were assured of the royal protection; but manual labour and traffic were not sources sufficiently expeditious for the enterprising avarice of the Jews. Many of them, thus reduced, took again to a more unlawful and dangerous occupation, clipping and adulterating the coin. In one year 280 were executed for this offence in London alone. But not all the statutes, nor public executions, nor the active preaching of the Dominican Friars, who undertook to convert them, if they were constrained to hear their sermons, could either alter the Jewish character, still patient of all evil, so that they could extort wealth; or suppress the still increasing clamour of public detestation, which demanded that the land should cast forth from its indignant bosom this irreclaimable race of rapacious infidels. The king

listened to the public voice, and the irrevocable edict of total expulsion from the realm was issued. Their whole property was seized at once, and just money left to discharge their expenses to foreign lands, perhaps equally inhospitable. The king, in the execution of this barbarous proceeding, put on the appearance both of religion and moderation. He expressed his intention of converting great part of his gains to pious uses, but the Church looked in vain for the fulfilment of his vows. He issued orders that the Jews should be treated with kindness and courtesy on their journey to the seashore. But where the prince by his laws thus gave countenance to the worst passions of human nature, it was not likely that they would be suppressed by his proclamations. The Jews were pursued from the kingdom with every mark of popular triumph in their sufferings; one man, indeed, the master of a vessel at Queenborough, was punished for leaving a considerable number on the shore at the mouth of the river, when, as they prayed to him to rescue them from their perilous situation, he answered, that they had better call on Moses, who had made them pass safe through the Red Sea; and, sailing away with their remaining property, left them to their fate. The number of exiles is variously estimated at 15,060 and 16,511; all their property, debts, obligations, mortgages escheated to the king. The convents made themselves masters of their valuable libraries, one at Stamford, another at Oxford, from which the celebrated Roger Bacon is said to have derived great information; and long after, the common people would dig in the places they had frequented, in hopes of finding buried treasures. Thus terminates the first period of the History of the Jews in England.

BOOK XXVI.

JEWS EXPELLED FROM SPAIN.

Zeal of the Clergy—New Christians—Inquisition—Expulsion of the Jews—Sufferings in Italy—in Morocco—in Portugal—Subsequent Miseries in that Kingdom.

FRANCE and England had thus finally, it might appear, purified their realms from the infection of Jewish infidelity. Two centuries after their expulsion from England, one after that from France—Spain, disdaining to be outdone in religious persecu-

tion, made up the long arrears of her dormant intolerance, and asserted again her evil pre-eminence in bigotry. The Jews of Spain were of a far nobler rank than those of England, of Germany, and even of France. In the latter countries they were a caste—in the former, as it were, an order in the state. Prosperous and wealthy, they had not been generally reduced to the sordid occupations and debasing means of extorting riches, to which, with some exceptions, they had sunk in other countries. They were likewise the most enlightened class in the kingdom—they were cultivators and possessors of the soil; they were still, not seldom, ministers of finance; their fame as physicians was generally acknowledged, and probably deserved—for they had in their own tongue, or in Arabic, the best books of the ancient writers on medicine; and by their intercourse with the East, no doubt, obtained many valuable drugs unknown in the West. Though they had suffered in Navarre and the adjacent districts by the insurrection of the shepherds, which spread through that region, and were accused in that province, as in the South of France, of causing the dreadful epidemic which ensued, by poisoning the fountains, they were long defended by the wise policy of the kings, both in Aragon and Castile, from the growing jealousy of the nobles, and the implacable animosity of the clergy. This protection of the Jews was charged as a crime against Pedro the Cruel by his brother, Henry of Transtamare. Bertrand du Guesclin and his followers, when they marched into Spain to dethrone Pedro, assumed a white cross as the symbol of a holy war, and announced their determination to exterminate the Jews. "Pedro," said Bertrand to the Black Prince, "is worse than a Saracen, for he holds commerce with the Jews." They acted up to their declaration—no quarter was given to Moor or Jew—"Kill all like sheep and oxen," was the relentless order, "unless they accept baptism." But however Henry might conciliate his French allies by entering into their intolerant spirit to gain his throne, he was too wise to follow it when the throne was won. The Cortes seized every opportunity of invading the privileges and increasing the burthens of the Jews; for the nobles, as in other countries, bore impatiently the mortgages with which their estates were encumbered, and were eager to revenge on their creditors the shame and inconvenience of their embarrassments. The Cortes of Burgos raised the protection-money of the Jews—that of Valladolid attempted to renew an act prohibiting them to practise as physicians, surgeons, or apothecaries, as well as to hold high offices about the court—they also made bitter complaints of their usurious practices. But the clergy beheld with still deeper sentiments of animosity so large a part of the population disdaining their dominion, and refusing tribute to the Church—perhaps holding profitable bonds on the estates of the

cathedrals and convents. Religious zeal was still further animated by pride, avarice, and jealousy—they began to preach against them with fatal, if not convincing, energy. At the voice of Martin, bishop of Niebla, the population of Seville rose, plundered the Jewish houses, and at length the whole quarter was in flames. Cordova, Toledo, Valencia, and other cities, with the island of Majorca, followed the example. Plunder and massacre raged throughout the realm in defiance of the civil authority, and even of that of the king: the only way of escape was to submit to baptism. The number of these enforced converts is stated at 200,000. The old calumnies of insulting the Host were spread abroad with great industry; and in all parts the clergy, with incessant activity, laboured to keep up the flame. The most prominent and successful of these missionaries was Vincent Ferrier, who traversed the country followed by a train of bare-footed penitents, bewailing their sins and scourging themselves as they went, while the earth was stained with their blood. His miracles and his preaching are said to have changed 35,000 Jews to sincere Christians. The Antipope, Benedict XIII. (Peter de Luna), maintained the last retreat of his authority in his native country of Aragon. A solemn disputation was held in his presence, in which an apostate Jew, who had assumed the name of Hieronymo de Santa Fé, is reported to have heaped confusion on the discomfited Rabbins, who maintained the cause of Judaism. The pope assisted his advocate by a summary mode of argument—he issued an edict, commanding the Talmud, the bulwark of his antagonists, to be burned, and all blasphemers against Christianity to be punished. The Jews were declared incapable of holding civil offices—one synagogue alone was to be permitted; and after some other enactments it was ordered, that all Jews should attend Christian sermons three times a-year; but probably the deposal of Benedict annulled this law. Another apostate Jew, Paul of Burgos, took an active part against his persecuted brethren. This state of affairs lasted through the greater part of the fifteenth century. The clergy, often seconded by the nobles, watched every opportunity of increasing the number of their enforced converts; the populace were ever ready to obey the tocsin of their spiritual leaders, and to indulge, under their holy sanction, the desire of plunder or revenge. The union of the two kingdoms in the persons of Ferdinand and Isabella was the crisis of the fate both of the new Christians and of the unconverted Jews. Notwithstanding their apparent and recorded triumphs, the clergy had long mistrusted their own success: not only in the conformists themselves did there appear a secret inclination to their former religious usages, and but a cold and constrained obedience to the laws of the Church, but from generation to generation the hereditary evil lurked in their veins. The

new Christians, as they were called, formed a kind of distinct and intermediate class of believers; they attended the services, they followed the processions, they listened to the teaching of the Church, but it was too evident that their hearts were far away, joining in the simpler service of the synagogue of their fathers, and in their secret chambers the usages of the Law were observed with the fond stealth of old attachment. To discover how widely Jewish practices still prevailed, nothing was necessary but to ascend a hill on their Sabbath, and look down on the town or village below; scarce half the chimneys would be seen to smoke; all that did not, were evidently those of the people who still feared to profane the holy day by lighting a fire.

The clergy summoned to their assistance that stern and irresistible ally, the Inquisition. This dread tribunal had already signalised its zeal by the extermination of the Albigenses, and the desolation of the beautiful province of Languedoc. Alphonso di Goyeda, prior of the Dominicans in Seville, urged the monarchs to bless their kingdom by the erection of a similar office, that the whole realm might be reduced to the unity of the faith. Ferdinand hesitated from worldly wisdom, Isabella from gentleness of heart. But the fatal bull was obtained from the Pope, Sextus the Fourth, empowering the monarchs to nominate certain of the clergy, about forty years of age, to make strict inquisition into all persons suspected of heretical pravity. In this evil hour a work was published by some misguided Jew, reflecting on the government of Ferdinand and Isabella, and probably on the Christian religion. It was answered by Ferdinand of Talavera, the queen's confessor, who thus acquired new influence, unfavourable to the Jews, over the vacillating mind of the queen. In September, 1480, two Dominicans, Michael Morillo and John de St. Martin, were named Inquisitors. Even the Cortes beheld with reluctance — the very populace with terror—the establishment of this dreadful tribunal; and, as it were, to enlist still worse passions in the cause, a third of the property of all condemned heretics was confiscated to the use of the Holy Office; another third was assigned for the expenses of the trial—the last third went to the crown. The tribunal established its head-quarters at Seville, and assumed at once a lofty tone; denouncing vengeance against all, even the highest nobles —the Duke of Medina Sidonia, the Marquis of Cadiz, and the Count d'Arcos, into whose domains many of the new Christians had fled—if they should presume to shelter offenders from their justice. The dreadful work began—victims crowded the prisons. The convent was not sufficiently spacious for their business, and the Inquisitors moved to the Castel de Triana, near Seville. Secret denunciations were encouraged—not to denounce, was a crime worthy of death. The Inquisitors published an edict of

grace, inviting all who sincerely repented of their apostasy to manifest their repentance; in which case they might escape the confiscation of their property, and receive absolution. If they allowed the time of grace to elapse, they incurred the severest penalties of the law. Many came in and surrendered, but a dreadful oath was extorted from them to inform against their more criminal brethren. In one year 280 were burned in Seville alone; 79 were condemned to perpetual imprisonment in their loathsome cells—17,000 suffered lighter punishments. A spot of ground was set apart near this beautiful city, not for the innocent amusement of the people, nor even for their more barbarous, yet manly, bull-fights, but as the Quemadero, the place of burning. It contained four statues, called the four Prophets, to which the unhappy victims were bound. The diagnostics of this fatal disease of new Christianity were specified with nice minuteness. There were twenty-seven symptoms of the disorder. Among these (we have not space to recite the whole), were the expectation of the Messiah—the hope of justification by the Law of Moses—reverence for the Sabbath shown by wearing better clothes, or not lighting a fire—observing any usage of their forefathers relating to meats—honouring the national fasts or festivals—rejoicing on the feast of Esther, or bewailing the fall of Jerusalem on the 9th of August—singing psalms in Hebrew without the *Gloria Patri*—using any of the rites, not merely of circumcision, but those which accompanied it—of marriage or burial—even of interring the dead in the burying-place of their forefathers. Mariana himself, the Spanish historian, while he justifies the measure by its success, ventures to express the general terror and amazement of the whole people, that children were thus visited for the offences of their forefathers—that, contrary to the practice of all tribunals, the criminal was not informed of the name of his accuser, nor confronted with the witnesses—that death should be the punishment awarded for such offences—and that informers should be encouraged to lurk in every city or village, and listen to every careless conversation; —"a state of things, as some thought, not less grievous than slavery, or even than death." The ministers of confiscation and execution spread through Spain; many of the new Christians fled to France, to Portugal, and to Africa. Some, condemned for contumacy, ventured to fly to Rome, and to appeal to the Pope against their judges. The Pope himself trembled at his own act. He wrote to the sovereigns, complaining that the Inquisitors exceeded their powers. It was but a momentary burst of justice and mercy. Under the pretext of securing their impartiality, the number of Inquisitors was increased; the whole body was placed under certain regulations; and at length the Holy Office was declared permanent, and the too-celebrated Thomas

de Torquemada placed at its head. Its powers were extended to Aragon; but the high-spirited nobles of that kingdom did not submit to its laws without a resolute contest—for many of those who held the highest offices were descended from the new Christians. The Cortes appealed to the king and to the Pope, particularly against the article which confiscated the property of the criminals—contrary, as they asserted, to the laws of Aragon. While their appeal was pending, the Inquisitors proceeded to condemn several new Christians. The pride of the nation took fire; an extensive conspiracy was organised; and the Inquisitor Arbues was assassinated in the cathedral of Saragossa. But the effects of this daring act were fatal, instead of advantageous, to the new Christians. The horror of the crime was universal. The old Christians shrunk from their share in the conspiracy, and left their confederates to bear all the odium and the penalty of the atrocious deed. The Inquisitors proceeded to exact a frightful retribution. Two hundred victims perished. Many of the noblest families were degraded by beholding some one of their members bearing the *san-benito*, as confessed and pardoned heretics. Though their chief victims were selected from those who were suspected of secret Judaism, yet the slightest taint of Judaism in the blood, and among the Aragonese nobility this was by no means rare, was sufficient to excite the suspicion, and, if possible, the vengeance of the Inquisitors.

The unconverted Jews, however they might commiserate these sufferings, still, no doubt, in their hours of sterner zeal, acknowledged the justice of the visitation which the God of their fathers had permitted against those who had thus stooped to dissemble the faith of their forefathers. Their pusillanimous dereliction of the God of Abraham had met with severe, though just, retribution; while those who, with more steadfast hearts, had defied their adversary to the utmost, now enjoyed the reward of their holy resolution in their comparative security. But their turn came. In 1492 appeared the fatal edict commanding all unbaptized Jews to quit the realm in four months; for Ferdinand and Isabella, having now subdued the kingdom of Grenada, had determined that the air of Spain should no longer be breathed by any one who did not profess the Catholic faith. For this edict, which must desolate the fairest provinces of the kingdom of its most industrious and thriving population, no act of recent conspiracy, no disloyal demeanour, no reluctance to contribute to the public burthens, was alleged. The whole race was condemned on charges, some a century old, all frivolous or wickedly false—crucifixions of children at different periods, insults to the Host, and the frequent poisoning of their patients by Jewish physicians. The Jews made an ineffectual effort to avert their fate. Abarbanel, a man of the greatest learning, the boast of

the existing race of Jews, and of unblemished reputation, threw himself at the feet of the king and queen, and offered, in the name of his nation, an immense sum to recruit the finances of the kingdom, exhausted by the wars of Grenada. The Inquisitors were alarmed. Against all feelings of humanity and justice the royal hearts were steeled, but the appeal to their interests might be more effectual. Thomas de Torquemada advanced into the royal presence, bearing a crucifix. "Behold," he said, "him whom Judas sold for thirty pieces of silver. Sell ye him now for a higher price, and render an account of your bargain before God."

The sovereigns trembled before the stern Dominican, and the Jews had no alternative but baptism or exile. For three centuries their fathers had dwelt in this delightful country, which they had fertilised with their industry, enriched with their commerce, adorned with their learning. Yet there were few examples of weakness or apostasy; the whole race—variously calculated at 300,000, 650,000, or 800,000—in a lofty spirit of self-devotion, (we envy not that mind which cannot appreciate its real greatness,) determined to abandon all rather than desert the religion of their fathers. They left the homes of their youth, the scenes of their early associations, the sacred graves of their ancestors, the more recent tombs of their own friends and relatives. They left the synagogues in which they had so long worshipped their God; the schools where those wise men had taught, who had thrown a lustre which shone, even through the darkness of the age, upon the Hebrew name. They were allowed four months to prepare for this everlasting exile. The unbaptized Jew found in the kingdom after that period was condemned to death. The persecutor could not even trust the hostile feelings of his bigoted subjects to execute his purpose; a statute was thought necessary, prohibiting any Christian from harbouring a Jew after that period. They were permitted to carry away their moveables, excepting gold and silver, for which they were to accept letters of change, or any merchandise not prohibited. Their property they might sell; but the market was soon glutted, and the cold-hearted purchasers waited, till the last instant, to wring from their distress the hardest terms. A contemporary author states, that he saw Jews give a house for an ass, and a vineyard for a small quantity of cloth or linen. Yet many of them concealed their gold and jewels in their clothes and saddles; some swallowed them, in hopes thus at least to elude the scrutiny of the officers. The Jews consider this calamity almost as dreadful as the taking and ruin of Jerusalem. For whither to fly? and where to find a more hospitable shore? Incidents, which make the blood run cold, are related of the miseries which they suffered. Some of those from Aragon found their way into Navarre; others to the

seashore, where they set sail for Italy, or the coast of Morocco; others crossed the frontier into Portugal. "Many of the former were cast away, or sunk," says a Jewish writer, "like lead, into the ocean." On board the ship which was conveying a great number to Africa, the plague broke out. The captain ascribed the infection to his circumcised passengers, and set them all on shore, on a desert coast, without provisions. They dispersed; one, a father, saw his beautiful wife perish before his eyes—fainted himself with exhaustion—and, waking, beheld his two children dead by his side. A few made their way to a settlement of the Jews. Some reached the coast of Genoa, but they bore famine with them; they lay perishing on the shore,—the clergy approached with the crucifix in one hand and provisions in the other,—nature was too strong for faith—they yielded, and were baptized. In Rome they were received with the utmost inhospitality by their own brethren, fearful that the increased numbers would bring evil on the community; even the profligate heart of Alexander the Sixth was moved with indignation,—he commanded the resident Jews to evacuate the country; they bought the revocation of the edict at a considerable price. Those who reached Fez were not permitted to enter the town: the king, though by no means unfriendly, dreaded the famine they might cause among his own subjects. They were encamped on the sand, suffering all the miseries of hunger; living on the roots they dug up, or the grass of the field, "happy," says our Jewish authority, "if the grass had been plentiful:" yet, even in this state, they religiously avoided the violation of the Sabbath by plucking the grass with their hands; they grovelled on their knees, and cropt it with their teeth. Worse than all, they were exposed to the most wanton barbarities of the savage people. An Arab violated a maiden before her parent's face—returned and stabbed her to the heart, lest he should have begotten a child infected with the Jewish faith. Another woman, unable to bear the sight of her pining child in his agony, struck him dead to the earth with a large stone. Many sold their children for bread: the king of the country afterwards declared all such children free. A pirate of Sallee allured a number of youths—one hundred and fifty—on board his ship, with the promise of provisions; and, amid the shrieks of the parents on the shore, set sail, and sold his booty in some distant port. Another party were cast out, by a barbarous captain of a ship, naked and desolate on the African coast: the first, who ascended a hill to survey the country, were devoured by wild beasts, who came howling down upon the rest of the miserable crew. They plunged into the sea, and stood shivering in the water till the wild beasts retreated; they then crept back to the beach. For five days they remained in this miserable plight, and were at length rescued by the humane

activity of the captain of another vessel, who sent his boat to their relief.

But these were the acts of savage barbarians or lawless pirates. In Portugal they trusted to the faith of kings. They offered to Joam II. a large sum, for permission to enter his kingdom. The more intolerant of his advisers urged him to refuse all terms; but the poverty of the king triumphed over his bigotry. They were admitted at the price of eight crusadoes a head—children at the breast alone excepted. The frontier was lined with toll-gatherers, and they were permitted to enter only at particular places. They were merely to pass through the country, and embark for Africa; with the exception of artificers in brass and iron, who were to enter at half-price, and, if they chose, might remain. They brought the plague with them, and many lay perishing by the way-side. Eight months elapsed, and many still lingered in the country—either too poor to obtain a passage, or terrified by the tales of horrid cruelty inflicted on their brethren by the Moors. All these were made slaves—the youth were baptized by force, and drafted off to colonise the unwholesome island of St. Thomas. The new king, Emmanuel, commenced his reign with a hopeful act of mercy: he enfranchised the slaves—he seemed inclined to protect the resident Jews within his realm. But he wedded the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and brought home a dowry of cruelty and intolerance. The son-in-law must follow the example of his parents: he deserved to win their favour by surpassing them even in their own barbarity. He named a day for all Jews to quit the kingdom, and appointed certain ports for their embarkation. Before that time he issued another secret order to seize all children under fourteen years of age, to tear them from the arms —the bosoms of their parents, and disperse them through the kingdom, to be baptized and brought up as Christians. The secret transpired, and, lest they should conceal their children, it was instantly put in execution.—Great God of mercy, this was in the name of Christianity! Frantic mothers threw their children into the wells and rivers,—they destroyed them with their own hands; but, though stifled in the heart of the monarch, the voice of Nature still spoke in that of the people, however bigoted. They assisted the Jews to conceal their children. By a new act of perfidy, Emmanuel suddenly revoked the order for their embarkation at two of the ports which had been named. Many were thrown back upon Lisbon, and the delay made them liable to the law. The more steadfast in their faith were shipped off as slaves, but the spirits of many were broken: on condition that they might receive back their children, and that the government would not scrutinise their conduct too closely for twenty years, they submitted to baptism. Yet most of these were reserved, if

possible, for a more dreadful fate. About ten years after, some of them were detected celebrating the passover; this inflamed the popular resentment against them. In this state of the public mind, it happened that a monk was displaying a crucifix to the eyes of the wondering people, through a narrow aperture in which a light streamed—the light, he declared, of the manifest Deity. While the devout multitude were listening in blind devotion, one man alone was seen to smile; he had, in fact, discovered a lamp behind the mysterious crucifix. In a rash moment he dropped the incautious expression, that if God would manifest himself by water (the year had been unusually dry and sultry) rather than by fire, it would be for the public advantage. The scandalised multitude recognised in the infidel speaker a new Christian. They rushed upon him, dragged him by the hair into the market-place, and there murdered him. His brother stood wailing over the body, he instantly shared his fate. From every quarter the Dominicans rushed forth with crucifixes in their hands, crying out, "Revenge, revenge: down with the heretics; root them out; exterminate them." A Jewish authority asserts, that they offered to every one who should murder a Jew, that his sufferings in purgatory should be limited to a hundred days. The houses of the converts were assailed: men, women, and children involved in a promiscuous massacre —even those who fled into the churches, embraced the sacred relics, or clung to the crucifixes, were dragged forth and burned. The king was absent: on his return he put on great Indignation. The ringleaders of the riot were punished; and the new Christians who escaped, became for the future more cautious. Yet in the Peninsula, Judaism still lurked in the depth of many hearts, inaccessible even to the searching scrutiny of the Inquisition. Secret Jews are said to have obtained the highest offices of the state, and even of the Church; to have worn the cowl of the monk, and even to have sat on the tribunal of the Inquisition. The celebrated Jewish physician, Orobio, stated that he had personal knowledge of many of his brethren who thus eluded the keen eye of the blood-hounds of the Holy Office. How deep a wound was inflicted on the national prosperity by this act of "the most Christian sovereign," cannot easily be calculated; but it may be reckoned among the most effective causes of the decline of Spanish greatness.

BOOK XXVII.

FALSE MESSIAHS.

Jews in Turkey—in Italy—Invention of Printing—Reformation—Luther—Holland—Negotiation with Cromwell—Messiahs—Sabbathai Sevi—Frank.

PROSCRIBED in so many kingdoms of Europe, the Jews again found shelter under the protection of the Crescent. In the north of Africa, the communities which had long existed were considerably increased. Jews of each sect, Karaites as well as Talmudists, are found in every part of this region; in many countries they derive, as might naturally be supposed, a tinge from the manners of the people with whom they dwell; and among these hordes of fierce pirates and savage Moors, their character and habits are impregnated with the ferocity of the region. In Egypt their race has never been exterminated; they once suffered a persecution under Hakim (A. C. 1020), which might remind them of the terrors of former days, but they seem afterwards to have dwelt in peace: Maimonides was the physician of Saladin. But the Ottoman empire, particularly its European dominions, was the great final retreat of those who fled from Spain. 50,000 are estimated to have been admitted into that country, where the haughty Turk condescends to look down on them with far less contempt than on the trampled Greeks. The Greeks are Yeshir, slaves, they hold their lives on sufferance; the Jews, Monsaphir, or visitors. They settled in Constantinople and in the commercial towns of the Levant, particularly Salonichi. Here the Rabbinical dominion was re-established in all its authority; schools were opened; the Semicha, or ordination, was re-enacted; and R. Berab entertained some hopes of re-establishing the Patriarchate of Tiberias. The Osmanlis beheld with stately indifference this busy people, on one hand organising their dispersed communities, strengthening their spiritual government, and labouring in the pursuit of that vain knowledge, which, being beyond the circle of the Koran, is abomination and folly to the true believer, even establishing that mysterious engine, the printing-press; on the other, appropriating to themselves, with diligent industry and successful enterprise, the whole trade of the Levant. Their success in this important branch of

commerce reacted upon the wealth and prosperity of their correspondents, their brethren in Italy. As early as 1400, the jealous republic of Venice had permitted a bank to be opened in their city by two Jews. In almost every town in Italy they pursued their steady course of traffic. They were established in Verona, Genoa, Pisa, Parma, Mantua, Pavia, Padua, Sienna, Bassano, Faenza, Florence, Cremona, Aquila, Ancona, Leghorn,* besides their head-quarters at Rome. Their chief trade, however, was money-lending; in which, at least with the lower classes, they seem to have held a successful contest against their old rivals, the Lombard bankers. An amiable enthusiast, Bernardino of Feltre, moved to see the whole people groaning under their extortions, endeavoured to preach a crusade, not against their religion, but against their usury; though the effect was, in many places, to raise the populace against the Jews. He attempted to enforce the doctrines of his sermons, by active measures of benevolence, the establishment of banks on a more moderate rate of interest for the accommodation of the poor, called Mounts of Piety—Monti di Pietà. He met with great success in many towns; in Mantua, Monselice, Montefiore, Rimini, and Brescia: in Padua he forced the Jews to close their banks, from whence they had drawn an enormous profit. But the people were either so deeply implicated with their usurious masters, so much the slaves of habit, or so much repressed by the honest shame of poverty, as to prefer secret though more disadvantageous dealings with the Jews, to the publicity required in these new banks. The scheme languished, and in many places speedily expired.

The conduct of the Popes varied, as bigotry, policy, or humanity predominated in the character of the Pontiff. In 1442, Eugenius the Fourth deprived them of one of their most valuable privileges, and endeavoured to interrupt their amicable relations with the Christians; they were prohibited from eating and drinking together: Jews were excluded from almost every profession, were forced to wear a badge, to pay tithes; and Christians were forbidden to bequeath legacies to Jews. The succeeding Popes were more wise or more humane. In Naples, the celebrated Abarbanel became the confidential adviser of Ferdinand the Bastard and Alphonso the Second; they experienced a reverse, and were expelled from that city by Charles the Fifth. The stern and haughty Pope, Paul the Fourth, renewed the hostile edicts; he endeavoured to embarrass their traffic, by regulations which prohibited them from disposing of their pledges under eighteen months; deprived them of the trade in corn and in every other necessary of life, but left them the privilege of

* At a later period (under the Medici) it became a proverb in Leghorn, that a man might as well strike the Grand Duke as a Jew.

dealing in old clothes. Paul first shut them up in their Ghetto, a confined quarter of the city, out of which they were prohibited from appearing after sun-set. Pius the Fourth relaxed the severity of his predecessor. He enlarged the Ghetto, and removed the restrictions on their commerce. Pius the Fifth expelled them from every city in the Papal territory, except Rome and Ancona; he endured them in those cities with the avowed design of preserving their commerce with the East. Gregory the Thirteenth pursued the same course; a Bull was published, and suspended at the gate of the Jews' quarter, prohibiting the reading of the Talmud, blasphemies against Christ, or ridicule against the ceremonies of the Church. All Jews above twelve years old, were bound to appear at the regular sermons delivered for their conversion; where, it does not seem, notwithstanding the authority of the Pope, and the eloquence of the cardinals, that their behaviour was very edifying. At length the bold and statesman-like Sextus the Fifth annulled at once all the persecuting or vexatious regulations of his predecessors, opened the gates of every city in the ecclesiastical dominions to these enterprising traders, secured and enlarged their privileges, proclaimed toleration of their religion, subjected them to the ordinary tribunals, and enforced a general and equal taxation.

The great events of this period—the invention and rapid progress of printing, and the Reformation—could not but have some effect on the condition of the Jews. This people were by no means slow to avail themselves of the advantages offered to learning, by the general use of printing. From their presses at Venice, in Turkey, and in other quarters, splendid specimens of typography were sent forth, and the respect of the learned world was insensibly increased by the facilities thus afforded for the knowledge of the Scriptures in the original language, and the bold opening of all the mysteries of Rabbinical wisdom to those who had sufficient inquisitiveness and industry to enter on that wide and unknown field of study. A strong effort was made by struggling bigotry to suppress all these works, which a pusillanimous faith knew to be hostile, and therefore considered dangerous to the Christian religion. One Pfeffercorn, a convert from Judaism, earnestly persuaded the Emperor Maximilian to order the entire destruction of all books printed by the Jews. The celebrated Capnio, or Reuchlin, (such are the names by which he is best known,) interfered; he abandoned certain books, which contained offensive blasphemies against the Redeemer, the Nizzachon, and the Toldoth Jesu, to the zeal of his antagonist; but pleaded, and not without success, the cause of the sounder and more useful parts of Jewish learning.

The Reformation affected the people of Israel rather in its remote than in its immediate consequences. It found the Jews

spread in great numbers in Germany and Poland. They were still liable to the arbitrary caprice of the petty sovereigns or free cities * of the empire; but we have no space to enlarge on the oppressions of the Landgrave of Thuringia; the popular commotions in Nuremberg, Frankfort, and Worms; the expulsion of the Jews from the Mark of Brandenburgh. Excluded from one city or state, they found refuge in another, till the storm blew over; wherever they had an opportunity, though usually more addicted to money-lending, and the sale of gold trinkets and jewellery, they opened larger branches of traffic: in Poland they seem early to have entered into the great corn trade of that kingdom.

The tone in which Luther spoke of the Jews varied, as on many other points not immediately connected with his main object, according to the period of his life, and the light in which he viewed the race. As sordid usurers he detested them, and at first he seems to have approved of violent means of conversion; but later he spoke of them with humane consideration rather than anger, and reprobated all means of attempting their conversion, except those of gentleness and Christian love. It was partly by affording new and more dangerous enemies to the power of the Church, that the Reformation ameliorated the condition of the Jews; they were forgotten or overlooked in the momentous conflict: but to a much greater extent, by the wise maxims of toleration, which, though not the immediate, were not less the legitimate fruits of this great revolution in the European world. The bitterness of religious hatred was gradually assuaged; active animosity settled down into quiet aversion; the popular feeling became contempt of the sordid meanness of the Jewish character, justified perhaps by the filthy habits, the base frauds, and the miserable chicanery of many of the lower orders, who alone came in contact with the mass of the people, rather than revengeful antipathy towards the descendants of those who crucified the Redeemer, and who, by their obstinate unbelief, inherited the guilt of their forefathers.

During the thirty years' war the Jews assisted with great valour in the defence of Prague, and obtained the protection and favour of the grateful emperor. Before this, the Reformation had been the remote cause of another important benefit—the opening the free cities of Holland, where a great number of Portuguese Jews settled, and vied in regularity, enterprise, and wealth, with the commercial citizens of that flourishing republic. The Jews of Amsterdam and other cities bore a high rank for intelligence and punctuality in business.

* In many cities the residents were subject to an oppressive tax; and all foreign Jews were liable to a toll on entering the gates. These municipal regulations are not yet, we believe, entirely abrogated.

From Holland they long looked for some favourable opportunity which might open the exchange, the marts, and the havens of England to their adventurous traffic. But the stern law of Edward I. was still in force, and though, no doubt, often eluded, the religious feeling of the country, as well as the interests of the trading part of the community, would have risen in arms at a proposition for its repeal. It was not till the Protectorate of Cromwell, that the Jews made an open attempt to obtain a legal re-establishment in the realm. The strength of ancient prejudice co-operating with the aversion of a large part of the nation towards the government, gave rise to the most absurd rumours of their secret proposals to the Protector. It was bruited abroad, and widely believed, that they had offered 500,000 pounds on condition of obtaining St. Paul's Church for their synagogue, and the Bodleian Library to begin business with; Harry Martin and Hugh Peters were designated as the profane or fanatic advisers of this strange bargain. Another equally ridiculous story was propagated of certain Asiatic Jews, who sent a deputation to inquire whether Cromwell was not the Messiah, and went to Huntingdon with the ostensible design of buying the Hebrew books belonging to the University of Cambridge, but with the real object of searching the Protector's pedigree to find whether he could claim Jewish descent. The plain fact was this—a physician of great learning and estimation among the Jews, Manasseh Ben Israel, presented a petition to the Protector for the readmission of his countrymen to the realm. The address was drawn with eloquence and skill—it commenced by recognising the hand of God in the appointment of Cromwell to the throne, it dexterously insinuated the instability of all governments unfavourable to the Jews, and it asserted the general joy with which the ambassadors of the Republic had been received in the synagogues of the Jews. Manasseh Ben Israel issued a second address to the Commonwealth of England. It complimented the general humanity of the nation, stated his sole object to be the establishment of a synagogue in the kingdom, it adroitly endeavoured to interest the religious enthusiasm of the nation on his side, by declaring his conviction, that the restoration of Israel, and of course the Last Day, was at hand; it did not neglect the temporal advantages of the worldly, the profits to be derived from their traffic; and concluded with expressing his sincere attachment to a Commonwealth abounding in so many men of piety and learning. Whether moved by one or all these reasons, Cromwell summoned an assembly of two lawyers, seven citizens of London, and fourteen divines, to debate the question, first, whether it was lawful to admit the Jews; secondly, if lawful, on what terms it was expedient to admit them. The lawyers decided at once on the legality; the citizens were divided; but the

contest among the divines was so long and so inconclusive, that Oliver grew weary, and the question was adjourned to a more favourable opportunity. It is a curious fact of the times, that so far were some of the republican writers from hostility to the Jews, that Harrington, in his Oceana, gravely proposes disburthening the kingdom of the weight of Irish affairs, by selling the island to the Jews. The necessities of Charles II. and his courtiers quietly accomplished that change which Cromwell had not dared openly to venture. The convenient Jews stole insensibly into the kingdom, where they have ever since maintained their footing, and no doubt contributed their fair proportion to the national wealth.

We have not thought it expedient to interrupt the course of our history with the account of every adventurer who, from time to time, assumed the name of the Messiah. It is probable that the constant appearance of these successive impostors tended, nevertheless, to keep alive the ardent belief of the nation in this great and consolatory article of their creed. The disappointment in each particular case might break the spirit and confound the faith of the immediate followers of the pretender, but it kept the whole nation incessantly on the watch. The Messiah was ever present to the thoughts and to the visions of the Jews: their prosperity seemed the harbinger of his coming; their darkest calamities gathered around them only to display, with the force of stronger contrast, the mercy of their God and the glory of their Redeemer. In vain the Rabbinical interdict repressed the dangerous curiosity which, still baffled, would still penetrate the secrets of futurity. "Cursed is he who calculates the time of the Messiah's coming," was constantly repeated in the synagogue, but as constantly disregarded. That chord in the national feeling was never struck, but it seemed to vibrate through the whole community. A long list of false Messiahs might be produced—in France, in Fez, in Persia, in Moravia; but their career was so short, and their adventures so inseparably moulded up with fiction, that we have passed them by. But there was one who appeared in more enlightened days, in the middle of the seventeenth century, who demands a more extended notice. This man formed a considerable sect, which—notwithstanding that the conduct of its founder might, it would have seemed, have disabused the most blind and fanatic enthusiasm—long existed, and still continues to exist.

In the year 1655, a certain Samuel Brett published a Narrative of a great Meeting of Jewish Rabbins in the plain of Ageda, about thirty miles from Buda, in Hungary, to discuss their long-baffled hopes of the Messiah, and to consider the prophetic passages applied by Christian writers to their Redeemer. The author declared himself an eye-witness of the pomp of this extra-

ordinary general assembly, where 300 Rabbins pitched their tents, and gravely debated, for seven days, this solemn question. But the authority of Samuel Brett is far from unexceptionable. The Jews, particularly Manasseh Ben Israel, disclaim the whole transaction, as a groundless fiction. Many circumstances of the narrative—the setting Pharisees and Sadducees in array against each other, and the manifest design of the whole to throw odium on the Church of Rome—concur in inducing us entirely to reject the story.

But a few years after the date of this real or fictitious event, in 1666, the whole Jewish world, co-extensive almost with the globe itself, was raised to the highest degree of excitement by the intelligence of the appearance and rapid progress of a pretender, who had appeared in Smyrna, and assumed the name and the authority of the Messiah. Sabbathai Sevi was the younger son of Mordechai Sevi, who first followed the mean trade of a poulterer at Smyrna, afterwards became broker to some English merchants. He was born A. C. 1625. Sabbathai was sent to school, where he made such rapid progress in the Cabbala, that in his eighteenth year he was appointed a Hakim or Rabbi: he even then had many followers among the youth, and indeed among the elders of the place, with whom he practised rigid fasts, and bathed perpetually in the sea. At twenty years old he married a woman of great beauty and rank among his people, but declined all conjugal connexion with her. The father cited him for this neglect of his duty: he was forced to give a bill of divorce. A second time he married; and a second time, on the same plea, the marriage was dissolved. Sabbathai announced that "the voice from heaven" assured him that neither of these were the meet and appointed partners of his life. His partisans asserted that he was actuated by a holy desire of triumphing over human passion: his enemies gave a different turn to the affair: still his fame increased. He sometimes fasted from Sabbath to Sabbath, and bathed till his life was endangered: yet his beauty, which was exquisite, seemed daily to increase. His whole body was said to breathe a delicious odour, which the physician of the family, suspecting to be perfume, declared, on examination, to be a natural exhalation from the skin. He now began to preach and announce himself openly as the Son of David, and had the boldness to utter, in proof of his divine mission, the Ineffable Name, Jehovah. The offended Rabbins, horror-struck at this double crime, declared him worthy of death, and denounced him before the Turkish tribunal. Sabbathai took refuge in Thessalonica. There the Rabbins again rose against him. He fled to Egypt: thence to Jerusalem As he passed by Gaza, he made an important proselyte, named Nathan Benjamin, who, admitted trembling to his presence,

declared, by the great Almighty and dreadful God, that he had seen the Lord in his cherub-borne chariot, as Ezekiel of old, with the ten Sephiroth, murmuring around him like the waves of the sea: a voice came forth—"Your Redeemer is come: his name is Sabbathai Sevi; *he shall go forth as a mighty one, inflamed with wrath as a warrior; he shall cry, he shall roar, he shall prevail against his enemies.*" * In Jerusalem Sabbathai preached, and proclaimed himself the Messiah, with such success, that the Rabbins trembled before him; and the Elias of the new sect, Nathan of Gaza, had the audacity to issue an address to the brethren of Israel, in which he declared that before long the Messiah would reveal himself, and seize the crown from the head of the sultan, who would follow him like a slave. After residing thirteen years in Jerusalem, Sabbathai made a second expedition to Egypt, where he married again, by the account of his enemies, a woman of light character—by that of his partisans, a maiden designated as his bride by the most surprising miracles. She was the daughter of a Polish Jew, made captive by some marauding Muscovites. At eighteen years of age she was suddenly seized from her bed by the ghost of her dead father, set down in a burying-place of the Jews, where she was found—told her story, and declared that she was the appointed bride of the Messiah. She was sent to her brother in Amsterdam; thence to Egypt. After passing three years more in Jerusalem, Sabbathai went openly into the synagogue, and proclaimed himself the Messiah. A violent commotion took place; the Rabbins launched their interdict against him: he fled to his native place, Smyrna. There the ban pursued him; but the people received him with rapture. One Anakia, a Jew of high rank, denounced him on the Exchange as an impostor. The unbeliever returned to his home, fell from his chair, and died: this singular accident was at once recognised as from the hand of God. The Rabbins feared to pursue their interdict; Sabbathai assumed a royal pomp; a banner was borne before him with the words "The right-hand of the Lord is uplifted." He divided among his partisans the kingdoms of the earth: he named his two brothers Kings of Judah and Israel: he himself took the title of King of the Kings of the Earth. One man, of high rank, nearly lost his life for opposing the prevailing delusion. The Head of the Rabbins was degraded: the Vice-President openly espoused the party.

The fame of Sabbathai spread throughout the world. In Poland, in Germany, in Hamburgh, and Amsterdam, the course of business was interrupted on the Exchange, by the gravest Jews breaking off to discuss this wonderful transaction. From Amsterdam inquiries were sent to their commercial agents in the

* Isaiah xlii. 13.

Levant; they received the brief and emphatic answer, "'Tis he and no other." In the mean time rich presents were poured in to the Court of Sabbathai, and embassies were sent from the different communities of the Jews—some of these were detained three or four weeks before they could obtain an audience. His picture was surmounted by a crown of gold; the twenty-first Psalm was sung before him, and a public prayer offered in the synagogue, in which he was acknowledged as the Messiah. In all parts, as if to accomplish the memorable words of Joel, prophets and prophetesses appeared—men and women, youths and maidens, in Samaria, Adrianople, Thessalonica, Constantinople, and in other places, fell to the earth, or went raving about in prophetic raptures, exclaiming, it was said, in Hebrew, of which before they knew not a word, "Sabbathai Sevi is the true Messiah of the race of David: to him the crown and the kingdom are given." Even the daughters of his bitterest opponent, R. Pechina, were seized, as Sabbathai had predicted, with the same frenzy, and burst out in rapturous acknowledgment of the Messiah in the Hebrew language, which they had never learned. One wealthy Israelite, of Constantinople, more cautious than the rest, apprehending that this frenzy would bring some dreadful persecution against the Jews, went to the Grand Vizier, and requested a certificate that he had never been a believer in the Messiah. This reached the ears of the partisans of Sabbathai; they accused their crafty opponent of treasonable designs against the Turks, brought forward false witnesses, and the over-cautious unbeliever was sentenced to the galleys. Among the Persian Jews the excitement was so great, that the husbandmen refused to labour in the fields. The governor, a man, it should seem, of unusual mildness, remonstrated with them for thus abandoning their work, instead of endeavouring to pay their tribute. "Sir," they answered with one voice, "we shall pay no more tribute—our Deliverer is come." The governor bound them in an obligation, to which they readily acceded, to pay 200 tomans, if the Messiah did not appear within three months. But Sabbathai had now advanced too far to recede—his partisans were clamorous for his passing over to Constantinople, to confront the Grand Seignior. He arrived, escorted by a vast number of his friends, and was received with the loudest acclamations by the Jews of Constantinople. The Sultan was absent—he demanded an audience of the Grand Vizier. The Vizier delayed till he had received instructions from his master. The Sultan sent orders that Sabbathai should be seized and kept in safe custody. The Grand Vizier despatched an Aga and some Janissaries to the dwelling of Sabbathai, but the superstitious Aga was so overawed by the appearance of Sabbathai, "bright," he said, "as an angel," that he returned trembling and confounded to his master. Another Aga was

sent, and returned in the same manner. Sabbathai, however, surrendered himself of his own accord; he was committed to the Castle of Sestos, as a sort of honourable prison, where his partisans had free access to him. From thence he issued a manifesto, suspending the fast religiously kept on the 9th of August, on account of the destruction of Jerusalem, and ordered the day to be celebrated, with the utmost festivity, as the birthday of the Messiah Sabbathai Sevi. In Sestos he admitted a deputation from Poland into his presence, whom he astonished with his profound knowledge and ready application of the Cabbala. But there was in Constantinople one stubborn unbeliever, named Nehemiah, who for three days resisted all the arguments of the Messiah, and at the end, openly proclaimed him an impostor. The partisans of Sabbathai rose in the utmost fury; and, when Sabbathai threatened his opponent with death, rushed forward to put his mandate in execution. The Rabbi burst out of the chamber, and fled, pursued by the adherents of Sabbathai—escape was hopeless, when he suddenly seized a turban from the head of a Turk, placed it on his own, and cried aloud, "I am a Moslem!"—the Turks instantly took him under their protection, and he was sent to Adrianople to the Sultan, who summoned Sabbathai to his presence. Sabbathai stood before the Grand Seignior; he was ignorant of Turkish, and a Jewish renegade was appointed as interpreter. But the man before whom the awe-struck Agas had trembled, now before the majesty of the Sultan, in his turn, totally lost his presence of mind; when the Sultan demanded whether he was the Messiah, he stood in trembling silence, and made no answer. He had some reason for his apprehensions, for the Sultan made him the following truly Turkish proposal:—"That he should shoot three poisoned arrows at the Messiah: if he proved invulnerable, he would himself own his title. If he refused to submit to this ordeal, he had his choice, to be put to death, or to embrace Mahometanism." The interpreter urged him to accept the latter alternative—Sabbathai did not hesitate long; he seized a turban from a page, and uttered the irrevocable words, "I am a Mussulman." The Grand Seignior, instead of dismissing him with contempt, ordered him a pelisse of honour, named him Aga Mahomet Effendi; and gave him the title of Capidgi Basha. Consternation at this strange intelligence spread through the followers of Sabbathai; prophets and prophetesses were silent, but Sabbathai was daunted only by the death-denouncing countenance of the Sultan. He issued an address to his brethren in Israel:—"I, Mahomet Capidgi Basha, make it known unto you, that God hath changed me from an Israelite to an Ismaelite. He spake, and it was done; he ordered, and it was fulfilled. Given in the ninth day of my renewal according to his holy will." He most ingeniously

extracted prophetic intimations of his change both from tradition and Scripture. In the book called Pirke Elieser it was written, "that the Messiah must remain some time among the unbelievers." From the Scripture the example of Moses was alleged, who, "dwelt among the Ethiopians;" and the text of Isaiah, "he was numbered among the transgressors." For some time he maintained his double character with great success, honoured by the Moslemites as a true believer, by the Jews as their Messiah. Many of the latter followed his example, and embraced Islamism. St. Croix had frequently heard him preach in the synagogue, and with so much success, that scarcely a day passed but Jews seized the turbans from the heads of the Turks, and declared themselves Mussulmans. His Polish wife died; he again married the daughter of a learned man, who was excommunicated, on account of the unlawful connexion, by the Rabbins. She also embraced Islamism. At length the Rabbins, dreading the total extinction of Judaism, succeeded in gaining the ear of the Sultan. The Messiah was seized, and confined in a castle near Belgrade, where he died of a colic in the year 1676, in the fifty-first year of his age.

It might have been expected that his sect, if it survived his apostasy, at least would have expired with his death; but there is no calculating the obstinacy of human credulity: his followers gave out that he was transported to heaven like Enoch and Elijah; and notwithstanding the constant and active opposition of the Jewish priesthood, the sect spread in all quarters. His forerunner, Nathan of Gaza, had abandoned his cause on his embracing Islamism, and prophesied against him in Italy and Corfu. But it is the most extraordinary fact of all, that Nehemiah, his most vehement opponent, recanted his enforced Islamism, and after all embraced Sabbathaism. A prophet of Smyrna proclaimed that the Messiah would reappear in 111½ years. But the doctrine of Michael Cardoso, which spread rapidly from Fez to Tripoli, and even to Egypt, was the most extravagant—the son of David, he said, would not appear till all Israel were either holy or wicked: as the latter was far the easier process, he recommended all true Israelites to accelerate the coming of the Messiah, by apostatising to Mahometanism—numbers, with pious zeal, complied with this advice. Sabbathaism still exists as a sect of Judaism; though, probably, among most of its believers, rather supported by that corporate spirit which holds the followers of a political or religious faction together, than by any distinct and definite articles of belief.

But in the middle of the last century, an extraordinary adventurer, named Frank, organised a sect out of the wrecks of the Sabbathaic party; it assumed the name of Zoharites, and its founder astonished the whole of Germany, by living in a style

of Oriental magnificence, encircled by a retinue of obsequious adherents; while no one knew, or knows to this day, the source of the vast wealth with which the state of the man was maintained during his life, and his sumptuous funeral conducted after his death. The new creed leant towards Christianity, rather than Islamism. It rejected the Talmud, but insisted on a hidden sense in the Scriptures. It admitted the Trinity, and the Incarnation of the Deity, but preserved an artful ambiguity as to the person in whom the Deity was incarnate, whether Jesus Christ or Sabbathai Sevi. As, however, the great head of this sect, Frank, afterwards openly embraced Christianity, and attended mass, he scarcely belongs to our history—suffice it to say, that this adventurer lived in Vienna, in Brune, and in Offenbach, with a retinue of several hundred beautiful Jewish youth of both sexes; carts containing treasure were reported to be perpetually brought in to him, chiefly from Poland—he went out daily in great state to perform his devotions in the open field —he rode in a chariot drawn by noble horses; ten or twelve Hulans in red and green uniform, glittering with gold, rode by his side, with pikes in their hands, and crests in their caps, of eagles, or stags, or the sun and moon. Water was always carefully poured over the place where he had paid his devotions. He proceeded in the same pomp to church, where his behaviour was peculiar, but grave and solemn. His followers believed him immortal, but in 1791 he died; his burial was as splendid as his mode of living—800 persons followed him to the grave. But with his body the secret of his wealth was interred; his family sank into a state of want, and almost beggary. In vain they appealed to the credulity, to the charity of their brethren; they fell into insignificance, and were obliged to submit to the ordinary labours of mortal life.

BOOK XXVIII.

MODERN JUDAISM.

Change in the relative State of the Jews to the rest of Mankind—Jews in Poland—in Germany—Frederick the Great—Naturalisation Bill in England—Toleration Edict of Joseph II.—Jews of France—Petition to Louis XVI.—Revolution—Buonaparte—More recent Acts for the amelioration of the civil State of the Jews—General Estimate of the Number of Jews in Africa, Asia, Europe, America—Conclusion.

WE have followed the sect of Sabbathai and his disciples to the close of the eighteenth century; we must retrace our steps, and terminate our labours by a rapid sketch of the more important events which influenced the condition of the Jews in the different countries of the world, during that period, down to our own days. The lapse of centuries, and the slow improvement in almost the whole state of society, had made a material alteration in the relative position of the Jews towards the rest of mankind. They were still, many of them, wealthy; but their wealth no longer bore so invidious and dangerous a proportion to that of the community at large, as to tempt unprincipled kings, or a burthened people, to fill their exchequer, or revenge themselves for a long arrear of usurious exaction, by the spoliation of this unprotected race. A milder spirit of Christian forbearance with some, of religious indifference with others, allayed the fierce spirit of animosity, which now, instead of bursting forth at every opportunity, was slowly and with difficulty excited and forced to a violent explosion. Still, in the midst of society, the Jews dwelt apart, excluded by ancient laws from most of the civil offices, by general prejudice and by their own tacit consent from the common intercourse of life; they were endured because mankind had become habituated to their presence, rather than tolerated on any liberal principles, still less courted by any overtures for mutual amity. The Jew was contented with this cessation of hostilities: he had obtained a truce; he sought not for a treaty of alliance. Where commercial restrictions were removed, he either did not feel, or disdained, civil disqualifications. So long as he retained, unmolested, the independent government of his own little world, he left to the Gentiles to

administer the politics of the kingdoms of the earth. If he might be permitted to live as a peaceful merchant, he aspired not to become statesman, magistrate, or soldier. So that the equal law protected him in the acquisition and possession of personal property, he had no great desire to invest his wealth in land, or to exchange the unsettled and enterprising habits of trade for the more slow returns and laborious profits of agriculture. He demanded no more than to be secured from the active enmity of mankind; his pride set him above their contempt. Like the haughty Roman, banished from the world, the Israelite threw back the sentence of banishment, and still retreated to the lofty conviction that his race was not excluded, as an unworthy, but kept apart, as a sacred people; humiliated indeed, but still hallowed, and reserved for the sure though tardy fulfilment of the Divine promises. The lofty feeling of having endured and triumphed over centuries of intolerable wrong, mingled with the splendid recollections of the past, and the hopes of the future, which were sedulously inculcated by their Rabbinical instructors; and thus their exclusion from the communities of the world, from the honours and privileges of social life, was felt by those who were highminded enough to feel at all, rather as a distinction than a disgrace. This at once compelled, and voluntary unsocialness was still the universal national characteristic of the Jews: yet in process of time they became in some degree assimilated to the nations among whom they lived; their relative state of civilisation materially depended on the manners of the surrounding people, and there was nearly as great a difference between the depressed and ignorant Jew of Persia, the fierce fanatic of Barbary or Constantinople, and his opulent and enlightened brethren of Hamburgh or Amsterdam, as between the Mussulman and Christian population of the different countries. The dominion of the Rabbins was universally recognised, except among the Karaïtes, whose orderly and simple congregations were frequent in the East, in the Crimea, in Poland, even in Africa. Rabbinism was still the stronghold and the source of the general stubborn fanaticism: yet even this stern priestcraft, which ruled with its ancient despotism in more barbarous Poland, either lost its weight, or was constrained to accommodate itself to the spirit of the age, in the west of Europe.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Poland and the adjacent provinces had for some time been the head-quarters of the Jews. As early as the fourteenth century, their privileges had been secured by Casimir the Great, who was deeply enamoured of a Jewish mistress. In that kingdom they formed the only middle order between the nobles and the serfs. Almost every branch of traffic was in their hands. They were the corn-merchants, shop-keepers, inn-keepers; in some towns they formed

the greater part of the population, in some villages almost the whole. Poland was likewise the seat of the Rabbinical papacy. The Talmud ruled supreme in the public mind; the synagogues obeyed with implicit deference the mandates of their spiritual superiors, and the whole system of education was rigidly conducted, so as to perpetuate the authority of tradition.* In the west of Europe, in the mean time, those great changes were slowly preparing, which, before the close of the century, were to disorganise the whole frame-work of society. The new opinions not merely altered the political condition of the Jews, as well as that of almost all orders of men, but they penetrated into the very sanctuary of Judaism, and threatened to shake the dominion of the Rabbins, as they had that of the Christian priesthood, to its basis. It is singular, however, that the first of these daring innovators, who declared war alike against ancient prejudices and the most sacred principles, excluded the Jews from the wide pale of their philanthropy. The old bitter and contemptuous antipathy against the Jews lurks in the writings of many of the philosophic school, especially those of Gibbon and Voltaire. It was partly the leaven of hereditary aversion, partly, perhaps, the fastidiousness of Parisian taste, which dreaded all contamination from a filthy and sordid, as well as a superstitious, race; but, most of all, from the intimate relation of the Mosaic with the Christian religion. The Jews were hated as the religious ancestors of the Christians; and, in Paley's phrase, it became the accustomed mode of warfare "to wound Christianity through the sides of Judaism." Strange fate of the Jews, after having suffered centuries of persecution for their opposition to Christianity, now to be held up to public scorn and detestation for their alliance with it! The legislation of Frederick the Great almost, as it were, throws us back into the middle ages. In 1750 appeared an edict for the general regulation of the Jews in the Prussian dominions. It limited the number of Jews in the kingdom, divided them into those who held an ordinary or an extraordinary protection from the crown. The ordinary protection descended to one child, the extraordinary was limited to the life of the bearer. Foreign Jews were prohibited from settling in Prussia, exceptions were obtained only at an exorbitant price. Widows who married foreign Jews must leave the kingdom. The protected Jews were liable to enormous and special burthens. They paid, besides the common taxes of the kingdom, for their patent of protection, for every election of an elder in their communities, and every marriage. By a strange enactment, in which the king and the merchant were somewhat unroyally combined,

* A mystic sect, the Zaddikin or Chassidin, have made rapid progress since the year 1740, among the Jews in Russian Poland.

every Jew on the marriage of a son was obliged to purchase porcelain to the amount of 300 rixdollars, from the king's manufactory, for foreign exportation. Thus heavily burthened, the Jews were excluded from all civil functions, and from many of the most profitable branches of trade—from agriculture, from breweries and distilleries, from manufactures, from inn-keeping, from victualling, from physic and surgery.

Nor in more enlightened countries was the public mind prepared for any innovations in the relative condition of the Jews. In England, since the time of Charles II. they had lived in peace in their two communites of Portuguese and German origin. They had obtained relief under James II. from an alien-duty, which restricted their traffic; the indulgence was revoked under William III. Under Queen Anne a regulation was made to facilitate conversions from the Jews; the Chancellor was empowered to enforce from the father of a convert to Christianity, a fair and sufficient maintenance. The baptism of a rich and influential person of the sect, named Moses Marcus, excited a considerable sensation at the time. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the cause of the Jews was brought forward under the unpopular auspices of Toland the Freethinker. In 1753 a more important measure was attempted. A bill was introduced into Parliament for the naturalisation of all Jews who had resided three years in the kingdom, without being absent more than three months at a time. It excluded them from civil offices, but in other respects bestowed all the privileges of British subjects. The bill passed both Houses, and received the royal assent. But the old jealousies only slumbered, they were not extinguished. The nation, as if horror-struck at finding those whom it had been accustomed to consider as outlaws, thus suddenly introduced into its bosom, burst into an irresistible clamour of indignation. The mayor and citizens of London (for mercantile jealousy mingled with religious prejudices) took the lead in denouncing this inroad on the constitution and insult on Christianity. The pulpits thundered: a respectable clergyman, Tucker, who had written a defence of the measure, was maltreated by the populace. The ministry and the houses of parliament found it necessary to repeal the obnoxious statute.

In Italy, till the French Revolution, the Jews enjoyed their quiet freedom. In Rome they were confined to their Ghetto, and still constrained to listen to periodical sermons. In the maritime towns they continued to prosper.

In Germany the public mind was surprised at the unusual phenomenon of a Jew suddenly starting forward in the career of letters, and assuming a high and acknowledged rank in the rapidly awakening literature of that country, as a metaphysical and philosophical writer. This was the celebrated Moses

Mendelsohn, who, by genius and unwearied application, broke through the most formidable obstacles, poverty, dependence, and the spirit of his sect. The Jews were proud of his distinction, but trembled at his desertion of their ancient opinions; the Christians confidently looked forward to the accession of so enlightened a mind to the Church; the philosophers expected him to join in their fierce crusade against religion. Mendelsohn maintained his own calm and independent course. He remained outwardly a member of the synagogue, while he threw aside disdainfully the trammels of Rabbinism; to a letter of Lavater, urging him to embrace Christianity, he returned a firm and temperate vindication of his adherence to his former faith; his mild and amiable spirit had little in communion with the unprincipled apostles of infidelity. It would be difficult to define the religious opinions of Mendelsohn, whose mind, in some respects singularly lucid, in others partook of the vague and dreamy mysticism of his countrymen; but if he had any fixed view, it probably was to infuse into a kind of philosophic, or, as it would now be called, rationalising, Judaism, the spirit of pure Christian love. But whatever the opinions of Mendelsohn, whether Jew, Christian, or infidel, his success in letters exercised an important influence both on the minds of his own brethren, and on the estimation in which the Jews were held, at least, in Germany. Many of the Jewish youth, emancipated by his example from the control of Rabbinism, probably rushed headlong down the précipice of unbelief: while on the other hand, a kindlier feeling gradually arose towards the brethren of a man whose writings delighted and instructed much of the rising youth of Germany.

In the year 1780, the imperial avant-courier of the Revolution, Joseph the Second, ascended the throne. Among the first measures of this restless and universal reformer, was a measure for the amelioration of the condition of the Jews. In Vienna, they had been barely tolerated since their expulsion by Leopold the First. This monarch had a Jewish mistress, named Esther, who was shot crossing the bridge from Leopoldstadt to the capital. The crime was, most improbably, charged on the Jews, and the afflicted monarch revenged her loss by the expulsion of her brethren from the city. But this exile was not lasting. Under Maria Theresa, the Jews were permitted to reside in Vienna, and enjoyed a certain sort of protection. In the other provinces of the empire they had lived unmolested, unless perhaps by some vexatious local regulations, or popular commotions in the different cities. Joseph published his edict of toleration, by which he opened to the Jews the schools and the universities of the empire, and gave them the privilege of taking degrees as doctors in philosophy, medicine, and civil law. It enforced

upon them the wise preliminary measure of establishing primary schools for their youth. It threw open the whole circle of trade to their speculations, permitted them to establish manufactories of all sorts excepting gunpowder, and to attend fairs in towns where they were not domiciliated. In all the cities of the empire it made them liable to a toleration-tax, and certain other contributions; but it gave them equal rights, and subjected them to the same laws, with the Christians. Some years after, they were made liable to military conscription, but according to the established Austrian code, not being nobles, they could not rise above the rank of non-commissioned officers.

The French Revolution was advancing, that terrible epoch in which all that was wise and sound, as well as all that was antiquated and iniquitous, in the old institutions of Europe, was shattered to the earth—but from which all-merciful Providence will no doubt, as from the tornado, the earthquake, and the volcanic eruption, deduce much eventual good. The Revolution found some Jews in France: after their final expulsion, a few Portuguese fugitives had been permitted to take up their abode in Bourdeaux and Bayonne. There were a certain number in the old papal dominions in Avignon. The conquest of the city of Metz, and afterwards of Alsace, included some considerable communities under the dominion of France. The Jews of this latter province presented a remarkable petition, in 1780, to the king in council. It complained of the burthen of the seignorial rights. Besides the royal patent of protection, for which they paid, the lords of the soil exacted a capitation-tax for the right of residence within their domains, from which not even the aged nor infirm, nor children, nor even the Rabbins and officers of the synagogue, were exempt. These privileges were not hereditary; they expired with the person of the bearer, and for each child a special patent was to be purchased. They complained likewise of the restrictions on their commerce, and of the activity of the clergy, who seduced their children at a very tender age to submit to baptism. They proposed, with great justice, that no abjuration of Judaism should be permitted under twelve years of age. The appeal to the equity of Louis the Sixteenth was not in vain—the capitation-tax was abolished in 1784; and in 1788, a commission was appointed, with the wise and good Malesherbes at its head, to devise means for remodelling on principles of justice all laws relating to the Jews. The celebrated Abbè Gregoire gained the prize for a dissertation, which was received with great applause, on the means of working the regeneration of the Jews. But the revolutionary tribunals were more rapid in their movements than the slow justice of the sovereign. In 1790, the Jews, who had watched their opportunity, sent in a petition, claiming equal rights as

citizens. The measure was not passed without considerable discussion; but Mirabeau and Rabaut St. Etienne declared themselves their advocates, and the Jews were recognised as free citizens of the great republic.

A parallel has often been instituted between Cromwell and Buonaparte; it is a curious coincidence that both should have been engaged in designs for the advantage of the Jews. In the year 1806, while this extraordinary man was distributing to his followers the kingdoms of Europe, and consolidating the superiority of France over the whole continent, the world heard with amazement, almost bordering on ridicule, that he had summoned a grand Sanhedrin of the Jews to assemble at Paris. We are more inclined to look for motives of policy in the acts of Napoleon, than of vanity or philanthropy; nor does it seem unlikely that in this singular transaction he contemplated remotely, if not immediately, both commercial and military objects. He might hope to turn to his own advantage, by a cheap sacrifice to the national vanity, the wide-extended and rapid correspondence of the Jews throughout the world, which notoriously outstripped his own couriers, and the secret ramifications of their trade—which not only commanded the supply of the precious metals, but much of the internal traffic of Europe, and probably made great inroads on his continental system. At all events, in every quarter of Europe, the Jews would be invaluable auxiliaries of a commissariat; and as the reconstruction of the kingdom of Poland might at any time enter into his political system, their aid might not be unworthy of consideration. It must, however, be acknowledged, that the twelve questions submitted to the Sanhedrin seem to refer to the Jews strictly as subjects and citizens of the empire. They were, briefly, as follows:—I. Is polygamy allowed among the Jews? II. Is divorce recognised by the Jewish law? III. Can Jews intermarry with Christians? IV. Will the French people be esteemed by the Jews as strangers or as brethren? V. In what relation, according to the Jewish law, would the Jews stand towards the French? VI. Do Jews born in France consider it their native country? Are they bound to obey the laws and customs of the land? VII. Who elect the Rabbins? VIII. What are the legal powers of the Rabbins? IX. Is the election and authority of the Rabbins grounded on law or custom? X. Is there any kind of business in which Jews may not be engaged? XI. Is usury to their brethren forbidden by the Law? XII. Is it permitted or forbidden to practise usury with strangers? The answers of the deputies were clear and precise: as they tend to elucidate the opinions of the more enlightened Jews, they are subjoined, with as much conciseness as possible, though, we suspect, that they are not universally recognised as the authoritative sentence of the nation. I. Poly-

gamy is forbidden, according to a decree of the Synod of Worms, in 1030. II. Divorce is allowed, but in this respect the Jews recognise the authority of the civil law of the land in which they live. III. Intermarriages with Christians are not forbidden, though difficulties arise from the different forms of marriage. IV. The Jews of France recognise in the fullest sense the French people as their brethren. V. The relation of the Jew to the Frenchman is the same as of Jew to Jew. The only distinction is in their religion. VI. The Jews acknowledged France as their country when oppressed,—how much more must they when admitted to civil rights! VII. The election of the Rabbins is neither defined nor uniform. It usually rests with the heads of each family in the community. VIII. The Rabbins have no judicial power; the Sanhedrin is the only legal tribunal. The Jews of France and Italy being subject to the equal laws of the land, whatever power they might otherwise exercise, is annulled. IX. The election and powers of the Rabbins rest solely on usage. X. All business is permitted to the Jews. The Talmud enjoins that every Jew be taught some trade. XI. XII. The Mosaic institute forbids unlawful interest; but this was the law of an agricultural people. The Talmud allows interest to be taken from brethren and strangers; it forbids usury.

In 1807 the Sanhedrin was formally assembled, according to a plan for the regular organisation of the Jews throughout the empire. Every 2000 Jews were to form a synagogue and a consistory, consisting of one head and two inferior Rabbins, with three householders of the town where the consistory was held. The consistory chose twenty-five Notables, above thirty years old, for their council. Bankrupts and usurers were excluded; the consistory was to watch over the conduct of the Rabbins; the central consistory of Paris was to be a Supreme Tribunal, with the power of appointing or deposing the Rabbins; the Rabbins were to publish the decrees of the Sanhedrin, to preach obedience to the laws, to urge their people to enter into the military service! to pray in the synagogues for the Imperial House! In 1807, the Sanhedrin assembled in great form, and generally ratified the decrees of the Deputies. The Imperial edict confirmed the whole system of organisation, though the triumph of the Jews was in some degree damped by an ordinance, aimed chiefly at those of the Rhenish provinces: It interdicted the Jews from lending money to minors without consent of their guardians, to wives without consent of their husbands, to soldiers without consent of their officers. It annulled all bills, for which "value received" could not be proved. All Jews engaged in commerce were obliged to take out a patent, all strangers to invest some property in land and agriculture. The general effect of all these measures was shown in a return made in 1808. It

reported that there were 80,000 Jews in the dominion of France, 1232 landed proprietors, not reckoning the owners of houses, 797 military, 2360 artisans, 250 manufacturers.

The laws of France relating to the Jews have remained unaltered: in Italy, excepting in the Tuscan dominions, they have become again subject to the ancient regulations. In Germany, some hostility is yet lurking in the popular feeling, not so much from religious animosity, as from commercial jealousy, in the great trading towns, Hamburgh, Bremen, Lubeck, and particularly Frankfort, where they are still liable to an oppressive tax for the right of residence. Nor did the ancient nobility behold, without sentiments of natural indignation, their proud patrimonial estates falling, during the great political changes, into the hands of the more prosperous Israelites. Nevertheless their condition, both political and intellectual, has been rapidly improving. Before the fall of Napoleon, besides many of the smaller states, the Grand Duke of Baden in 1809, the King of Prussia in 1812, the Duke of Mecklenburgh Schwerin in 1813, the King of Bavaria in 1813, issued ordinances, admitting the Jews to civil rights, exempting them from particular imposts, and opening to them all trades and professions. The Act for the federative constitution of Germany, passed at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, pledges the Diet to turn its attention to the amelioration of the civil state of the Jews throughout the empire. The King of Prussia had, before this, given security that he would nobly redeem his pledge; he had long paid great attention to the encouragement of education among the Jews; and in his rapidly improving dominions, the Israelites are said to be by no means the last in the career of advancement. Nor has his benevolence been wasted on an ungrateful race; they are reported to be attached, with patriotic zeal, to their native land; many Jews are stated to have fallen in the Prussian ranks at Waterloo. During the last year, while the states of Wirtemberg were discussing a bill for the extension of civil rights to the Jews, the populace of Stutgard surrounded the Hall of Assembly with fierce outcries, "Down with the Jews, down with the friends of the Jews!" The States maintained their dignity, and, unmoved, proceeded to the ratification of the obnoxious edict.

The policy of the Russian government seems to have been to endeavour to overthrow the Rabbinical authority, and to relieve the crowded Polish provinces by transferring the Jews to less densely peopled parts of their dominions, where, it was hoped, they might be induced or compelled to become an agricultural race. An Ukase of the Emperor Alexander, in 1803-4, prohibited the practice of small trades to the Jews of Poland, and proposed to transport numbers of them to agricultural settlements. He transferred, likewise, the management of the revenue of the

communities, from the Rabbins, who were accused of malversation, to the Elders. A recent decree of the Emperor Nicholas appears to be aimed partly at the Rabbins, who are to be immediately excluded by the police from any town they may enter, and at the petty traffickers, who are entirely prohibited in the Russian dominions; though the higher order of merchants, such as bill-brokers and contractors, are admitted, on receiving an express permission from government: artisans and handicraftsmen are encouraged, though they are subject to rigorous police regulations, and must be attached to some guild or fraternity. They cannot move without a passport.

It only remains to give the best estimate we can afford of the number of the Jews now dispersed throughout the four quarters of the world. Such statements must of necessity be extremely loose and imperfect. Even in Europe it would be difficult to approximate closely to the truth; how much more so in Africa and Asia, where our data depend on no statistic returns, and where the habits of the people are probably less stationary.

It is calculated that there exist between four and five millions* of this people, descended in a direct line from, and maintaining the same laws with, their forefathers, who, above 3000 years ago, retreated from Egypt under the guidance of their inspired lawgiver.

In Africa we know little more of their numbers than that they are found along the whole coast, from Morocco to Egypt: they travel with the caravans into the interior, nor is there probably a region undiscovered by Christian enterprise, which has not been visited by the Jewish trafficker. In Morocco they are said to be held in low estimation, and to be treated with great indignity by the Moors.

In Egypt, 150 families alone inhabit that great city, Alexandria, which has so often flowed with torrents of Jewish blood, and where, in the splendid days of the Macedonian city, their still recruited wealth excited the rapacious jealousy of the hostile populace or oppressive government.

In Cairo, the number of Jews is stated at 2000, including, it should seem, sixty Karaïte families. The Falishas, or Jewish tribe named by Bruce, inhabit the borders of Abyssinia; and it is probable that in that singular kingdom many Jews either dwell or make their periodical visits.†

* A statement has just been published in this country, from the Weimar Geographical Ephemerides, which gives the whole number of Jews at little more than three millions. We should conceive the Asiatic, and perhaps the Russian, stated too low; but we subjoin their numbers.

† In the Weimar Statement the Jews of Africa stand as follows:—Morocco and Fez, 300,000; Tunis, 130,000; Algiers, 30,000; Gabes or Habesh, 20,000; Tripoli, 12,000; Egypt, 12,000. Total, 504,000.

In Asia the Jews still most likely might be found in considerable numbers on the verge of the Continent; in China, where we are not aware that their communities have ceased to exist; and on the coast of Malabar, in Cochin, where two distinct races, called black and white Jews, were visited by Dr. Buchanan. The traditions of the latter averred that they had found their way to that region after the fall of Jerusalem; but the date they assigned for their migration singularly coincided with that of a persecution in Persia, about A. C. 508, from whence, most likely, they found their way to India. The origin of the black Jews is more obscure: it is not impossible that they may have been converts of the more civilised whites, or, more probably, are descendants of black slaves. The Malabar Jews were about 1000; they possessed a copy of the Old Testament. Many are found in other parts of the East Indies.

In Bokhara reside 2000 families of Jews; in Balkh, 150.

In Persia they have deeply partaken of the desolation which has fallen on the fair provinces of that land; their numbers were variously stated to Mr. Wolff at 2974 and 3590 families. Their chief communities are at Shiraz and Ispahan, Kashaan and Yazd. They are subject to the heaviest exactions, and to the capricious despotism of the governors. "I have travelled far," said a Jew to Mr. Wolff; "the Jews are everywhere princes, in comparison with those in the land of Persia. Heavy is our captivity, heavy is our burthen, heavy is our slavery; anxiously we wait for redemption."

In Mesopotamia and Assyria, the ancient seats of the Babylonian Jews are still occupied by 5270 families, exclusive of those in Bagdad and Bassora. The latter are described as a fine race, both in form and intellect; in the provinces they are broken in mind and body by the heavy exactions of the pashas, and by long ages of sluggish ignorance. At Bagdad the ancient title of Prince of the Captivity, so long, according to the accounts of the Jews, entirely suppressed, was borne by an ancient Jew named Isaac. He paid dear for his honour; he was suddenly summoned to Constantinople and imprisoned.

At Damascus there are seven synagogues and four colleges.

In Arabia, whether not entirely expelled by Mahomet, or having returned to their ancient dwellings in later periods, the Beni-Khaibr still retain their Jewish descent and faith. In Yemen reside 2658 families, 18,000 souls.

In Palestine, of late years, the Israelites have greatly increased; it is said, but we are inclined to doubt the numbers, that 10,000 inhabit Safet and Jerusalem. They are partly Karaïtes; some very pathetic hymns of this interesting Israelitish race have been published in the Journals of Mr. Wolff, which must have a singularly affecting sound when heard from children

of Israel, bewailing, upon the very ruins of Jerusalem, the fallen city, and the suffering people.*

In the Turkish dominions, not including the Barbary States, the Israelites are calculated at 800,000. In Asia Minor they are numerous, in general unenlightened, rapacious, warred on, and at war with mankind.

In Constantinople they are described as the most fierce and fanatical race which inhabit the city: hated by and hating the Greeks with the unmitigated animosity of ages, they lend themselves to every atrocity for which the government may demand unrelenting executioners. They were employed in the barbarous murder and maltreatment of the body of the Patriarch; on the other hand, the old rumours of their crucifying Christian children are still revived: the body of a youth was found pierced with many wounds; the murder was, with one voice, charged upon the Jews. Their numbers are stated at 40,000.

At Adrianople reside 800 families, with thirteen synagogues.

In Salonichi, 30,000 possess thirty synagogues; and in this city, the ancient Thessalonica, the most learned of the Eastern Rabbins are reported to teach in their schools, with great diligence, the old Talmudic learning.

In the Crimea the Karaïtes still possess their wild and picturesque mountain-fortress, so beautifully described by Dr. Clarke, with its cemetery reposing under its ancient and peaceful grove, and retain the simple manners of an industrious and blameless people, who are proverbial elsewhere, as in this settlement, for their honesty. Their numbers amount to about 1200.

In the Russian Asiatic dominions, about Caucasus and in Georgia, their numbers are considerable. In Georgia some of them are serfs attached to the soil; some, among the wild tribes about Caucasus, are bold and marauding horsemen, like their Tartar compatriots.

But the ancient kingdom of Poland, with the adjacent provinces of Moravia, Moldavia, and Wallachia, is still the great seat of the modern Jewish population. Three millions have been stated to exist in these regions; but probably this is a great exaggeration. In Poland they form the intermediate class between the haughty nobles and the miserable agricultural villains of that kingdom.† The rapid increase of their population, beyond all possible maintenance by trade, embarrasses the

* Asia:—Asiatic Turkey, 300,000; Arabias, 200,000; Hindostan, 100,000; China, 60,000; Turkistan, 40,000; Province of Iran, 35,000; Russia in Asia, 3000. Total, 738,000.—*Weimar Statement.*

† A Jewish free corps served under Kosciusko during the insurrection in Poland.

government. They cannot ascend or descend; they may not become possessors, they are averse to becoming cultivators, of the soil; they swarm in all the towns. In some districts, as in Volhynia, they are described by Bishop James as a fine race, with the lively expressive eye of the Jew, and forms, though not robust, active and well-proportioned. Of late years much attention, under the sanction of the government, has been paid to their education, and a great institution established for this purpose at Warsaw.

The number of Jews in the Austrian dominions is estimated, including Gallicia, at 650,000; in the Prussian dominions, at 135,000; in the rest of Germany, 138,000. The Emperor of Austria has afforded to Europe the novel sight of a Jew created a baron, and invested with a patent of nobility.

In Denmark and Sweden the Jews are in considerable numbers; those resident in Copenhagen were stated, in 1819, at 1491. They enjoy freedom of trade and the protection of the government.

The Netherlands contain 80,000.

In France, now deprived of the German and Italian provinces of the empire, the Israelites are reckoned at about 40 or 50,000.

In Spain, the iron edict of Ferdinand and Isabella still excludes the Israelite. At the extremity of the land, in Gibraltar, 3 or 4000 are found under the equitable protection of Great Britain.

In Portugal they have been tolerated since the time of the late king, John VI., who remunerated their services in introducing large cargoes of corn during a famine, by the recognition of their right to inhabit Lisbon.*

In Italy their numbers are considerable.† It is said that many have taken refuge in Tuscany from the sterner government of Sardinia; where, under the French dominion, among a Jewish population of 5543, there were 182 landed proprietors, 402 children attended the public schools: 7000 is given as their number in the Austrian territories in Italy.

In Great Britain the number of Jews is variously stated from

* Europe:—in Russia and Poland, 658,809; Austria, 453,524; European Turkey, 321,000; States of the German Confederation, 138,000; Prussia, 134,000; Netherlands, 80,000; France, 60,000; Italy, 36,000; Great Britain, 12,000; Cracow, 7300; Ionian Isles, 7000; Denmark, 6000; Switzerland, 1970; Sweden, 450. Total number of Jews in Europe, 1,916,053; or a proportion of an 113th part of the population, calculated at 227 millions.—*Weimar Statement.*

† The Author is informed, on the authority of a very intelligent Italian, that the number of Jews in Italy is greatly underrated. Some suppose that they amount to near 100,000. In the Austrian dominions they are extremely numerous. In the district of Mantua alone, under the former kingdom of Italy, they were reckoned at 5000. In Parma and Modena, 7000. In Venice, Tuscany, and the Papal States, they abound.

12,000 to 25,000.* They are entitled to every privilege of British subjects, except certain corporate offices and seats in parliament, from which they are excluded by the recent act, which requires an oath to be taken on the faith of a Christian. They cannot vote for members of parliament, at least might be disqualified from so doing by the form of the Oath of Abjuration; and they are excluded from the higher branches of the learned professions by the same cause, and probably by restrictions on education; from the lower chiefly by popular opinion and their own habits. In the city of London they are prevented by municipal regulations from taking out their freedom—a restriction which subjects them to great occasional embarrassment and vexation, as no one can legally follow a retail trade, without having previously gone through this ceremony.

In America the Jews are calculated at about 6000; the few in the former dominions of Spain and Portugal are descendants of those who, under the assumed name of Christians, fled from the Inquisition. In Surinam, a prosperous community is settled under the protection of the Dutch; they were originally established at Cayenne; there are some in Jamaica. In the United States their principal settlements are at New York, Philadelphia, and Charlestown.†

Such, according to the best authorities to which we have access, is the number and distribution of the children of Israel; they are still found in every quarter of the world, under every climate, in every region, under every form of government, wearing the indelible national stamp on their features, united by the close moral affinity of habits and feelings, and, at least the mass of the community, treasuring in their hearts the same reliance on their national privileges, the same trust in the promises of their God, the same conscientious attachment to the institutions of their fathers.

History, which is the record of the Past, has now discharged its office: it presumes not to raise the mysterious veil which the Almighty has spread over the Future. The destinies of this wonderful people, as of all mankind, are in the hands of the All-wise Ruler of the Universe; his decrees will be accomplished; his truth, his goodness, and his wisdom vindicated. This, however, we may venture to assert, that true religion will advance with the dissemination of knowledge; the more enlightened the Jew becomes, the less credible will it appear that the Universal Father intended an exclusive religion, confined to one family

* Since the first edition of this work, their number has been stated in Parliament at near 30,000.

† America:—North America, 5000; Netherlandish Colonies, 500; Demerara and Essequibo, 200. Total, 5700. New Holland, 50.—*Weimar Statement.*

among the race of man, to be permanent: the more evident that the faith which embraces the whole human race within the sphere of its benevolence, is alone adapted to a more advanced and civilised age. On the other hand, Christianity, to work any change on the hereditary religious pride of the Jew, on his inflexible confidence in his inalienable privileges, must put off the hostile and repulsive aspect which it has too long worn; it must show itself as the faith of reason, of universal peace and good-will to man, and thus, unanswerably, prove its descent from the All-wise and All-merciful Father.

APPENDIX.

THE Preface to the Third Volume of a former Edition of this work ended with these words:—"In the works of writers hostile to revelation, the author has seen many objections embarrassing to those who take up a narrow system of interpreting the Hebrew writings; to those who adopt a more rational latitude of exposition, none." In the few sentences prefixed to the present Edition, he has referred to the opinions of Paley on this subject; on further consideration, and for the convenience of the reader, he subjoins that writer's Chapter, from his celebrated work on the Evidences, on the Connexion of Christianity with the Jewish History.

"Undoubtedly our Saviour assumes the divine origin of the Mosaic institution; and, independently of his authority, I conceive it to be very difficult to assign any other cause for the commencement or existence of that institution; especially for the singular circumstance of the Jews adhering to the Unity, when every other people slid into polytheism; for their being men in religion, children in everything else; behind other nations in the arts of peace and war, superior to the most improved in their sentiments and doctrines relating to the Deity. Undoubtedly, also, our Saviour recognises the prophetic character of many of their ancient writers. So far, therefore, we are bound, as Christians, to go. But to make Christianity answerable, with its life, for the circumstantial truth of each separate passage of the Old Testament, the genuineness of every book, the information, fidelity, and judgment, of every writer in it, is to bring, I will not say great, but unnecessary, difficulties into the whole system. These books were universally read and received by the Jews of our Saviour's time. He and his Apostles, in common with all other Jews, referred to them, alluded to them, used them. Yet, except where he expressly ascribes a divine authority to particular predictions, I do not know that we can strictly draw any conclusion from the books being so used and applied, beside the

proof, which it unquestionably is, of their notoriety and reception at that time. In this view, our Scriptures afford a valuable testimony to that of the Jews. But the nature of this testimony ought to be understood. It is surely very different from what it is sometimes represented to be — a specific ratification of each particular fact and opinion; and not only of each particular fact, but of the motives assigned for every action, together with the judgment of praise or dispraise bestowed upon them. Saint James, in his Epistle, says, 'Ye have heard of the patience of Job, and have seen the end of the Lord.' Notwithstanding this text, the reality of Job's history, and even the existence of such a person, has been always deemed a fair subject of inquiry and discussion amongst Christian divines. St. James's authority is considered as good evidence of the existence of the Book of Job at that time, and of its reception by the Jews; and of nothing more. St. Paul, in his Second Epistle to Timothy, has this similitude:—'Now as Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, so do these also resist the truth.' Those names are not found in the Old Testament. And it is uncertain whether St. Paul took them from some apocryphal writing then extant, or from tradition. But no one ever imagined that St. Paul is here asserting the authority of the writing, if it was a written account which he quoted, or making himself answerable for the authenticity of the tradition; much less that he so involves himself with either of these questions as that the credit of his own history and mission should depend upon the fact, whether Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses or not. For what reason a more rigorous interpretation should be put upon other references, it is difficult to know. I do not mean that other passages of the Jewish History stand upon no better evidence than the history of Job, or of Jannes and Jambres (I think much otherwise); but I mean that a reference, in the New Testament, to a passage in the Old, does not so fix its authority, as to exclude all inquiry into the separate reasons upon which its credibility is founded; and that it is an unwarrantable, as well as unsafe, rule, to lay down concerning the Jewish History, what was never laid down concerning any other, that either every particular of it must be true, or the whole false. I have thought it necessary to state this point explicitly, because a fashion, revived by Voltaire, and pursued by the disciples of his school, seems to have much prevailed of late, of attacking Christianity through the sides of Judaism. Some objections of this class are founded on misconstruction, some on exaggeration, but all proceed upon a supposition, which has not been made out by argument, viz., that the attestation which the author and first teachers of Christianity gave to the mission of Moses and the prophets, extends to every point and portion of the Jewish History; and so extends as to make Christianity responsible in

its own credibility for the circumstantial truth (I had almost said for the critical accuracy) of every narrative contained in the Old Testament." *

Paley wrote during the fiercest heat of battle against the Christian faith, but he was too manly and courageous a reasoner to abandon any position which his singularly clear and powerful understanding considered either tenable or important. But, in fact, it is not necessary to rake into the dust of buried infidelity, to discover the objections to which he alludes; they are perpetually current amongst us, and rise up to every mind which ventures to think, to inquire, or to reason on such subjects. These difficulties, which, on the view of Paley, and, if the Author may presume to add, his own, fall at once to the ground, may be briefly stated under the following heads. The 1st, perhaps the least important, is the discrepancies between the different books and narratives of the Old Testament. Now these, which can only be fairly appreciated after a profound and critical study of the whole text, and each separate narrative (a study which has been for some time almost in abeyance in this country), are only perplexing to those who consider the Hebrew books as infallible oracles, not only of moral and religious truth, but even of the most minute historical incident. To him who receives them as the records of honest and faithful historians (and in this light some of our most sober divines are content to consider the Evangelists), far from losing their authority, their general credibility is rather strengthened and confirmed.

II. On the objections raised against many of the actions of those who were employed as instruments of Divine Providence for specific purposes, some observations have been offered at the end of the first book. Of these, it may be added, many are grounded on ignorance of ancient or of Eastern manners and customs, or on disregard of the state of civilisation at the particular periods; and hence the Author has studiously endeavoured to throw an Oriental cast over his earlier narrative, for, unless considered with reference to Eastern usages, it is impossible to comprehend the real spirit of the History. Where moral delinquencies have been the subject of hostile animadversion, the objections have been usually met by the unsatisfactory answer of exculpation, not always successful—by extenuation, by palliation, or by any other means which superstitious veneration for those who, one and all, are often unaccountably enough called the "Saints" of the Old Testament, may suggest. The Author prefers the more plain and manly course of rejecting at once what appears to him a complete, though pious fallacy—namely, the notion that the Patriarchs, or the Judges, or the Kings of the

* Paley's Evidences, Part III. Chap. 3.

Jews are to be considered, excepting where their actions are unequivocally sanctioned by the Almighty, as possessing any claim upon our reverence or admiration more than ordinary mortals. Here, again, the difficulties are entirely of our own making; we have chosen, without warrant from reason or revelation, to conclude that the instruments must necessarily be the favourites of the Almighty; and thus embarrass ourselves with the necessity of vindicating all their actions. While, on the other view, if the worst which the subtle sarcasm of Bayle, the more sportive malice of Voltaire, or the rude vehemence of Paine, have asserted or insinuated, were true to the letter, it becomes utterly unimportant and irrelevant to the great question, the truth of the Christian or Mosaic religion.

III. The historical insignificance of the chosen people, as a nation, and some of the minute provisions of the law, have formed another strong ground of objection. Neither has this question been altogether fairly met. The latter vanishes at once before the candid consideration of the general scope and character of the Mosaic institutes: the former, our view of the History may, perhaps, in some degree have answered, particularly where we have contrasted Moses with other human legislators. In truth, while the more important religious design of the Jewish constitution has absorbed the attention, its remarkable political character has generally escaped observation. But undoubtedly a great step in civil improvement was made in the Hebrew polity; so great, that those who trace the benignant designs of Divine Providence in the development of the human race, might hence infer, even without any other evidence, the overruling goodness of the Deity. The only national governments known at the time of the foundation of the Jewish commonwealth, were the Oriental despotism, the abuse of the Patriarchal rule, and the scarcely less tyrannical aristocracy of Castes. In the Hebrew Institutes, for the first time in the history of man, the welfare of the whole community was assumed as the end and object of the polity. The federal constitution of the Hebrews is a sort of link between the arbitrary monarchies or priestly oligarchies of Asia, and the free republics of Europe; avoiding, with singular felicity, the evils of both: in the former, the overweening power of the sovereign or the order—the unmitigated slavery of the lower class of the community in the latter.

IV. There is one other point which all calm reasoners approach with some degree of reluctance—the fierce and sanguinary character of some of the transactions recorded in the early History of the Jews, particularly the authorisation, or, if our stern opponents will, the command of the extirpation of the Canaanites. Any attempt to throw light on this subject, if successful, would surely deserve the gratitude, if not quite satisfactory, the candid

consideration of all thoughtful Christians. The common answer, so strongly urged, among other powerful writers, by Paley—the appeal to the analogy of nature; and the argument, that the Almighty might employ the arms of an invading people, as well as the earthquake or pestilence, to punish some "high-viced" race, is full and satisfactory, as regards half, but only half, the question. Were such a Divine commission issued to a civilised nation in the present day, we should consider, not only the evil wrought on the destroyed, but on the destroyers: the habits of bloody and relentless warfare—the excitement of the fiercest passions—the contempt for human life—and all the brutalising effects produced on national character by being engaged in a war of extermination. But throw the transaction back into its proper stage of civilisation, and represent it as the common barbarous warfare of a barbarous age, the case is materially altered. What if one generation (for the conquest was clearly intended to be completed by one generation) were left to the unreclaimed ferocity of the more savage state, before the milder genius of the Mosaic institutes was to subdue these fierce conquerors into a peaceful agricultural people? In this case we have nothing more than the ordinary and common development of society—an event which finds its melancholy precedent in the early history of almost every nation.*

Hence, although the political history of the Jews was selected as the main object of our work, it is not, if fairly considered, without its advantages in a religious point of view, as thus tending to obviate difficulties which can scarcely escape the notice of any attentive reader of the Sacred History.

But however, in these respects, our work may have departed from the usual view of the Jewish annals, the point which seems to have made the strongest impression, and has been urged with the greatest vehemence against the "History of the Jews," regards the manner in which the miracles are related. Will it be credited that, after all the clamour, proceeding, in some instances, from quarters where such ignorance is almost incredible, the interpretations in this work, with two or three exceptions, are the same with those which have been long current in the most popular books; in Calmet, in Natural Histories of the Bible, in Commentaries of all classes, and even in the Family Bible of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge? The Author

* In the History we have pointed out the barbarity of warfare common among the tribes in Palestine; in the contemporary, or nearly contemporary, Egyptian sculptures, we have some horrid illustrations of the ferocity of the times—captives bound alive to the whirling wheels of the chariots (see Hamilton's Ægyptiaca), or coolly mutilated, in the presence of the king, with the scribe taking regular note of the number of amputated limbs. (See Champollion's Letters from Egypt.)

ventures to request the reader's attention to the following Parallel. On the subject of the first miraculous event, the Destruction of the "Cities of the Plain," a Critic, who, if he had substituted calm reason, erudition somewhat more general and extensive, and Christian candour for passionate declamation, would have written with more effect, bursts out into the following indignant apostrophe:—"Who art thou, O man, who hast dared to lay bare the works of the Almighty arm, and delineate with such easy familiarity the acts of Him whose thoughts are not as thy thoughts, and whose ways are not as thy ways? . . . *We care not what foundation the writer may have for such bold descriptions*, nor how he may attempt to overwhelm us with the learning of Rosenmuller or Michaelis."* A profoundly learned divine would probably have heard of certain celebrated dissertations of Le Clerc on these points. Our valiant opponent proceeds to declare himself ready to encounter "a thousand Germans" in such a cause: the Author, however, has no intention of summoning to his aid these foreign and suspected auxiliaries—he will go no further than that Family Bible to which he alluded above. The Author would add, that where he differs from it *on these points*, it is often because some of the circumstances which he has introduced have come to light subsequent to the publication of that useful work.

* Who but this writer (says the same critic), unless he were a sceptic, would have uttered the supposition that, when he slew the Egyptian, "an unformed notion of delivering his countrymen from their bondage was already brooding in the mind of Moses?" Let us hear what the Proto-Martyr, St. Stephen, says on this subject. "When he (Moses) was full forty years old, it came into his heart to visit his brethren, the children of Israel; and seeing one of them suffer wrong, he defended him, and avenged him that was oppressed, and smote the Egyptian. *For he supposed his brethren would have understood how that God by his hand would deliver them, but they understood not.*"—Acts vii. 23—25, &c. &c.

DESTRUCTION OF SODOM AND GOMORRAH.

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THE plain where these cities stood, which had been pleasant and fruitful, like an earthly paradise, was first inflamed by lightning, which set fire to the bitumen with which it was replete; and it was afterwards overflowed by the waters of the Jordan, which diffused itself there, and formed the Dead Sea, or Lake of Sodom, called also the Lake Asphaltites, because of the asphaltus or bitumen with which it abounded; and the Salt Sea, because the Hebrews call nitre and bitumen, salt; &c. &c. &c.—CALMET.—BPS. PATRICK and POCOCKE. — MAUNDRELL.

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THE valley of the Jordan, in which the cities of Sodom, Gomorrah, Adma, and Tseboim, were situated, was rich and highly cultivated. It is most probable, that the river then flowed in a deep and uninterrupted channel down a regular descent, and discharged itself into the eastern gulf of the Red Sea. The cities stood on a soil broken and undermined with veins of bitumen and sulphur. These inflammable substances, set on fire by lightning, caused a tremendous convulsion; the water-courses, both the river and the canals, by which the land was extensively irrigated, burst their banks; the cities, the walls of which were, perhaps, built from the combustible materials of the soil, were entirely swallowed up by the fiery inundation; and the whole valley, which had been compared to Paradise and to the well-watered corn-fields of the Nile, became a dead and fetid lake.

TRANSFORMATION OF LOT'S WIFE.

It is probable that some of the dreadful shower which destroyed the cities of the plain, overtook her, and, falling upon her, wrapped her body in a sheet of nitro-sulphureous matter; which congealed like a crust, as hard as a stone, and made her appear like a pillar of salt, her body being, as it were, corroded with it. Josephus says that the pillar was remaining in his time.—BPS. PATRICK and WILSON.

His wife, lingering behind, was suffocated by the sulphureous vapours, and her body encrusted with the saline particles which filled the atmosphere. Later tradition, founded on a literal interpretation of the Mosaic account, pointed to a heap or column of salt, which bore, perhaps, some resemblance to the human form, and was believed even by the historian Josephus, who had seen it, to be the pillar into which she was transformed.

SWEETENING OF THE WATERS OF MARAH.

It is a question, whether those bitter waters were sweetened by the miraculous power of God, or by the natural property of the tree to which God directed Moses. Most probably, it is to be attributed to the former.—(STACKHOUSE.) Niebuhr, when upon the spot where this

The spring was sweetened by the branch of a tree which Moses cast into it, whether from the natural virtue of the plant seems uncertain. A plant with this property is indicated in the papers of Forskal, who travelled with Niebuhr as botanist. Burckhardt suggests the berry of the

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miracle was performed, inquired after wood capable of producing such an effect, but could gain no information of any. The water of these parts continues so bad to this day, and is so much in want of improvement, that, had the discovery of a wood, possessing such a corrective quality, been communicated to Moses, it could hardly have been lost.—(CALMET'S *Dictionary.*) The Arabs call a shrub, or tree, not unlike our hawthorn in form or flower, by the name of El-vah. It was with this wood, they say, Moses sweetened the waters of Marah.—BRUCE.

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Gharkad, a shrub which grows in the neighbourhood.*

THE QUAILS.

God gave quails to his people twice: once on this occasion, a short time after they had passed the Red Sea; and a second time, at the encampment called Kibroth-hattaavah, or "the graves of lust."—Numb. xi. 31—34; Ps. cv. 40. Both of these happened in the spring, when the quails pass from Asia into Europe. Then they are found in great quantities on the coasts of the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. God, by a wind, drove them within and about the camp of Israel; and in this the miracle consisted, that they were brought so seasonably to this place, and in so great numbers, as to suffice two or three millions of persons longer than a month. Some persons think locusts to have been here intended; but the other sense is that of the Oriental interpreters in general, of the Greek translators, and of Josephus.—(CALMET.) The quail of the desert, according to Hasselquist, very much resembles the red partridge, but is not larger than the turtle-dove. The Arabs bring many thousands of them to sell at Jerusalem, about Whitsuntide.—Dr. HALES.

Without hesitation, Moses promised an immediate and plentiful supply. In the spring of the year, quails, migratory birds, pass in large flocks over the Arabian peninsula: they are very heavy on the wing, and their line of flight depends much on the direction of the wind. A cloud of these birds was suddenly wafted over the camp of the Israelites, and fell around them in immense numbers.

* In the new edition is a note on this subject, which may be read with interest. The Jews seem to have supposed that the plant possessed a natural property. "Was not the water made sweet with wood, that the virtue thereof might be known?"—*Ecclesiasticus*, xxxviii., 5.

THE MANNA.

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The meaning of this word (Manna) is uncertain. A great number of ancient and modern expositors understand the Hebrew word to signify "what is this;" — to which the following words, "they wist not what it was," seem to refer the meaning. Others think it may be better expounded, "It is a gift or portion," as being sent from God. *Others maintain that the Hebrews well knew what Manna was, and said one to another, "This is Manna."*—BP. PATRICK—CALMET.

The Manna was truly miraculous on the following accounts:—1. It fell but six days in the week. 2. It fell in such a prodigious quantity that it sustained almost three million of souls. 3. There fell a double quantity every sixth day, to serve them for the Sabbath. 4. What was gathered in the first five days, stunk and had worms if kept above one day; but what was gathered on the sixth day remained sweet for two days. Lastly, it continued falling while the Israelites abode in the wilderness, but ceased as soon as they left it, and could procure corn to eat, in the land of Canaan.—STACKHOUSE.

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"Nor was this all; in the morning, exactly as Moses had foretold, the ground was covered with Manna. This is now clearly ascertained by Seetzen and Burckhardt 'to be a natural production; it distils from the thorns of the tamarisk, in the month of June. It is still collected by the Arabs before sunrise, when it is coagulated; but it dissolves as soon as the sun shines upon it.' Its taste is agreeable, somewhat aromatic, and as sweet as honey. It may be kept for a year, and is found only after a wet season. It is still called by the Bedouins, 'Mann.' The quantity now collected (for it is only found in a few valleys) is very small: the preternatural *part of the Mosaic narrative consists in the immense and continual supply, and the circumstances under which it was gathered,* particularly its being preserved pure and sweet only for the Sabbath-day. The regulation, that enough, and only enough, for the consumption of the day should be collected at a time, seems a prudent precaution, lest the more covetous or active should secure an unfair proportion, and leave the rest to starve."

N.B. The statements of Seetzen and Burckhardt, the first travellers who have accurately described the nature and properties of the Manna of the Desert, were published *subsequent* to the compilation of the Family Bible. This passage is slightly modified, and a note added, in the new edition. Josephus asserts that in his day it still "rained Manna" in the Desert.

THE DEFEAT OF THE AMALEKITES.

Not as a standard-bearer, so much as a suppliant, doth Moses lift up *his hand, &c.*—BP. HALL.

He himself, with his brother Aaron and others, takes his station on an eminence; there, in the sight *of the whole army, he raises his hands in earnest supplication to* heaven. *The Israelites, encouraged by their trust in Divine Providence,* fight

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manfully; still the attack is fierce, long, and obstinate. The strength of Moses fails, and the Israelites behold with alarm and trepidation his arms hanging languidly down, and their courage, too, begins to give way. His companions, observing this, place him on a stone, and support his hands on each side. The valour of the people revives, and they gain a complete victory.

This is inserted to show that the Author is not singular in supposing that Moses stood rather as a "suppliant than a standard-bearer." The above interpretation seems most simple; for if there was any interference, strictly speaking miraculous, as the success and failure of the Israelites followed the raising or sinking of their leader's arm, the miraculous agency of God would thus be made dependent on the physical strength of Moses.

THE FIRE AT TABERAH.

[*The Fire of the Lord.*] That is, a fire which the Lord sent among them. —Bp. Kidder. — This fire came either immediately from heaven like lightning, or from the pillar of the cloud which went before the tabernacle. Or it might be a hot burning wind, in these places not unusual, and often very pestilential; and on this occasion preternaturally raised in the rear of the army to punish the stragglers, and such as loitered behind out of pretence of weariness. — Stackhouse.

"At Taberah a fire broke out which raged with great fury among the dry and combustible materials of which their tents were made. It was ascribed to the anger of the Lord, and ceased at the prayer of Moses."

The best commentators adopt the notion that this was lightning. "In the uttermost parts of the camp," appeared to imply great extent of conflagration. This passage is slightly modified in the new edition.

SECOND MIRACLE OF QUAILS.

The Family Bible is here silent. As, however, the fact is curious, I shall quote my authority, although that of a German—the first, it may be observed. "Scilicet jam veteres observarunt, coturnices elleboro et aliis herbis venenatis vesci solere: qua de re plura attulit, Bochartus, l. I., p. 657. Plinius, Hist. Nat., lib. x., c. 23. Coturnicibus veneni semen gratissimus cibus; quam ob causam eas damnavere mensis. Didymus in Geoponicis, lib. xiv. οἱ ὄρτυγες, ἐλλέβορον

Quails again fell in great abundance around the camp; but immediately on this change of diet, or before, if we are to receive the account to the strict letter, a dreadful pestilence broke out. It has been suggested that quails feed on hellebore, and other poisonous plants, and may thus become most pernicious and deadly food:

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ἐπινεμόμενοι, τοὺς ἐσθίοντας εἰς κίνδυνον ἐμβάλλουσι, κατεινόμενους καὶ ἰλιγγιῶντας, id quod confirmat Avicenna apud Bochartum.—Rosenmuller, Schol. in loc.

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THE MANNER IN WHICH THE ISRAELITES' WANTS OF CLOTHING WERE SUPPLIED IN THE DESERT.

A miracle is here said to be omitted; namely, the miraculous preservation of their garments and shoes.

[*Thy raiment waxed not old upon thee.*] Some interpreters, and particularly the Jewish Rabbins, understand by these words, that the raiment of the Israelites, during their abode in the wilderness for forty years, never decayed by using, and never was torn by accident; and that the very clothes which they had when they were children, grew like their skin along with their bodies, and fitted them when they were men. Others explain it thus:—The good providence of God took care that the Israelites in the wilderness never wanted raiment. They were supplied partly by the flocks and the materials which they brought out of Egypt, and partly by the Arabs, Ishmaelites, and neighbouring people: so that they had change of apparel, when they stood in need of it, and were not obliged to go barefoot, ragged, and half naked for want of clothes. God so ordered the course of things, that they obtained whatsoever was needful by natural means, or, if they failed, by a miraculous interposition.—Dr. JORTIN.

Jortin seems, like the Author, to have followed Le Clerc.

Most of their stations were on the elevated district around Mount Sinai, which is about thirty miles in diameter, the most fruitful and habitable part of the peninsula. Here their tribes could find water and pasture for their flocks and cattle. Their own labours and traffic with the caravans which crossed this region, could supply most of their wants.

The first of these opinions, that of the Margaret Professor of Divinity in Oxford, Rosenmuller styles "inepta et ridicula opinio." But Rosenmuller is a German. It is not inexpedient sometimes to think before we write. Has Dr. Fausset considered that almost the whole generation perished in the wilderness? did their clothes and shoes descend, like heirlooms, to their children—

"Grow with their growth, and strengthen with their strength."

The Professor likewise objects to the "favourable view of that part of the Peninsula" in which the Israelites probably passed most of their wanderings, as disparaging the miraculous supply of food. Does Dr. Fausset suppose that the flocks and herds fed upon manna?

THE PLAGUE OF SERPENTS.

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As Moses represents these serpents to have caused a great mortality, so the heathen writers concur in testifying, that the deserts wherein the Israelites journeyed, produced serpents of so venomous a kind, that their biting was deadly beyond the power of any art then known to cure it. The ancients observed, in general, that the most barren and sandy deserts had the greatest number and most venomous of serpents: Diodorus remarks this most particularly of the sands in Africa; but it was equally true of the wilderness in which the Israelites journeyed. Serpents and scorpions were here, according to Moses, as natural as drought or want of water. Deut. viii. 15.—SHUCKFORD.

The author, in the note, goes on to make some religious remarks on the subject.

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Marching along the valley, due south, the Israelites arrived at a district dreadfully infested by serpents. An adjacent region, visited by Burckhardt, is still dangerous on this account. Moses caused a serpent of brass to be made; by steadfastly gazing on which, whoever was bitten, recovered.

(This is expanded in the new edition.)

THE DESTRUCTION OF SENNACHERIB'S ARMY.

Among other interpretations is this:—The destruction of the army was probably effected by bringing on them the hot wind, which is frequent in those parts, and which often, when it falls on a multitude, destroys vast numbers in a moment, as frequently occurs to those great caravans of Mahometans who go on annual pilgrimages to Mecca. The words of Isaiah, ver. 7, which threatened Sennacherib with a blast, to be sent upon his army by God, seems to denote that this was the method of their destruction.—DEAN PRIDEAUX.

Extracts from BRUCE and Dr. HALES follow to the same purpose:—"It is remarkable that the blast which destroyed the Assyrians happened at

The destruction of Sennacherib's army is generally supposed to have been caused by the Simoom, or hot and pestilential wind of the desert. The Arabs, who are well experienced in the signs which portend its approach, fall on their faces and escape its mortal influence. But the foreign forces of Sennacherib were little acquainted with the means of avoiding this unusual enemy; and the catastrophe taking place by night (the miraculous part of the transaction, as the hot wind is in general attributed to the heat of the meridian sun), suffered immense loss.

But see note to our new edition.

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night; whereas the Simoom usually blows in the daytime, and mostly about noon, being raised by the intense heat of the sun."

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The two important* remaining miracles, concerning the relation of which strong objection has been made, are the passage of the Red Sea, and the stopping of the sun at the command of Joshua. In the first, the whole tenour of the argument goes to confirm the interference of Divine Providence. One single expression has been fixed upon, in which the writer, to every candid mind, would appear to be making an hypothetical concession, in order that his conclusion might be more fairly drawn.

On the latter the author has given no judgment. He has stated with candour the different opinions;—he has said that "many learned writers, whom to suspect of hostility to revealed religion would be the worst uncharitableness, have either doubted the reality or the extent of this miracle." Among the authors to whom he alluded was Grotius; the others were the Jesuit Pereirius and Le Clerc, as well as more modern writers. It must be remembered that this miracle stands in some degree alone: it is related on the authority of a book not now extant. This book is twice quoted in the Old Testament: both of the passages (the present included) are not merely poetical, but strictly metrical. Still, the author has placed the more prevailing opinion last, and has stated, with sufficient strength and fairness, the most striking argument by which it is supported.

On one point, not miraculous, which has been strongly animadverted upon, it may be well to contrast the language of the two works.

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Besides the accomplishment of the Divine decree, Jehu had this further design, in requesting this *cruel* service of the rulers and elders and great men of the nation, namely, that he might thereby engage them in the same *conspiracy* with himself: for by prevailing with them to *murder*

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An indiscriminate slaughter of the seventy sons, the friends and kindred of Ahab, took place: the heads were sent, in the modern Turkish fashion, to Jehu at Jezreel. The subtle usurper ordered them to be placed by the gate, and addressed the assembled people, obliquely exculpating himself from

* The critic before alluded to has entered into a long discussion on the raising Samuel by the Witch of Endor, but seems entirely in the dark as to the objections to the reality of the apparition. If it was real, either the woman herself possessed the power of evoking the spirits of the just, or it was by Divine permission. The former will scarcely be maintained; if the latter, we make the Almighty sanction, and encourage, by its success on this memorable occasion, the practice of an art, against which the law enacted capital punishment.

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Ahab's kinsmen in this manner, he tied them to his interest so closely, that if any of the inferior people had wished to oppose his designs, they were by this means deprived of any man of figure and distinction to head them: and not only so, but by this expedient Jehu thought likewise that he might in a great measure justify, at least lessen, the *odium of his own cruel and perfidious conduct.*—CALMET.

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the guilt of the massacre,—"Behold, I conspired against my master and slew him; but who slew all these?"

The Author must state that all these coincidences are purely accidental: he scarcely, if ever, consulted the Family Bible during the course of his work, but in many cases obviously the same authorities.

The Author must add, that he has always looked on the present volume as the outline of a more copious and extensive work on the same subject, in which he will be able to give, not merely the unsupported results of his inquiries, but also the arguments and authorities on which he has formed his opinions.

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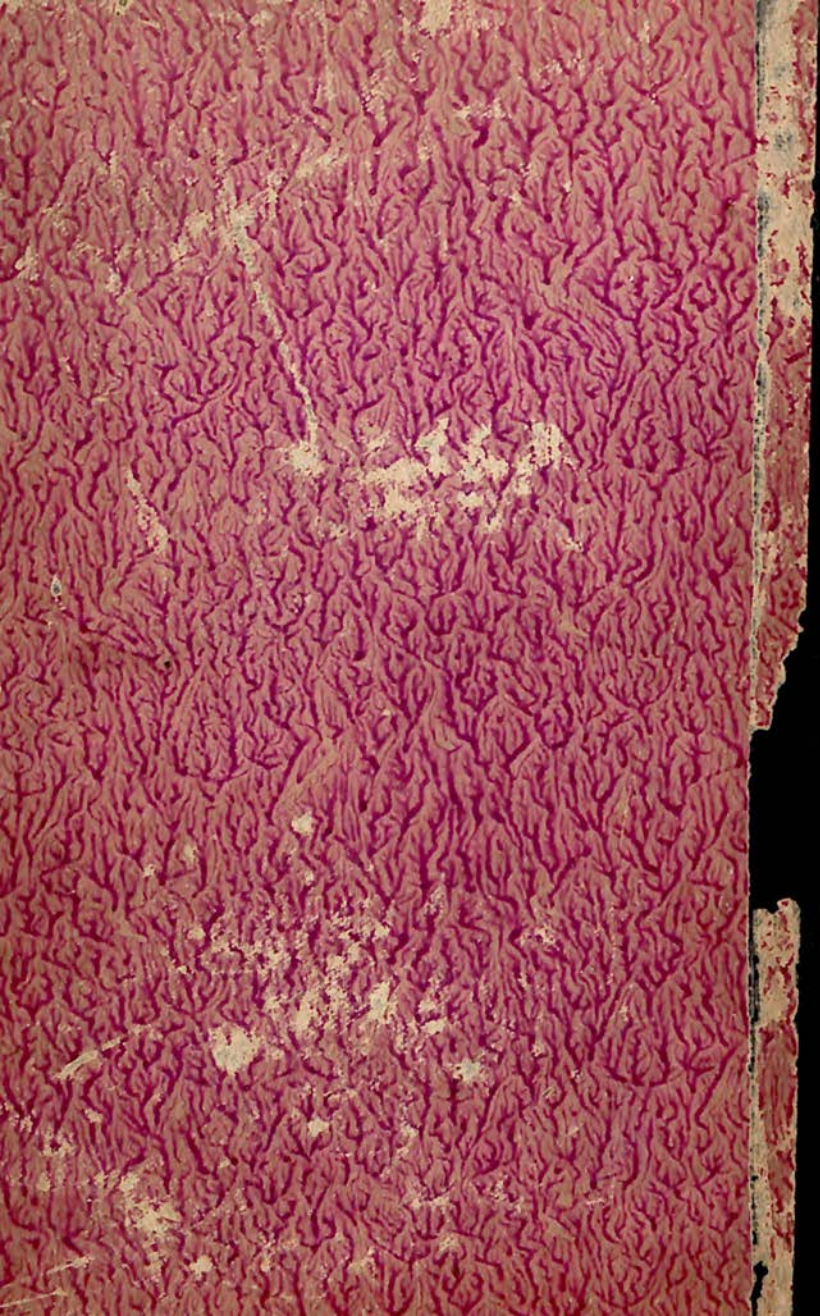
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